

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION
GENEVA, 1952

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
GENEVA, 1953

09616



Published by the International Labour Office, Geneva (Switzerland)

Printed by “La Tribune de Genève”

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INTRODUCTION

The Thirty-fifth Session of the General Conference of Members of the International Labour Organisation was held at Geneva from 4 to 28 June 1952.

The following letter and memorandum concerning the session and communicating the agenda were addressed to the Governments of the Members on 21 September 1951 :

Geneva, 21 September 1951.

Sir,

I have the honour to communicate to you the Agenda of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference, together with certain information concerning the date, place and organisation of the session.

1. *Agenda of the Conference.*

The Agenda of the Conference, as determined by the Governing Body at its 113th Session (Brussels, November 1950) and its 114th Session (Geneva, March 1951), and by the 34th Session of the International Labour Conference (Geneva, June 1951), is as follows :

- I. Report of the Director-General.
- II. Financial and Budgetary Questions.
- III. Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.
- IV. Holidays with Pay in Agriculture (second discussion).
- V. Objectives and Standards of Social Security :
 - A. Minimum Standards of Social Security (second discussion) ;
 - B. Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security (first discussion).
- VI. Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations :
 - A. Co-operation at the Level of the Undertaking (second discussion of a proposed Recommendation concerning co-operation at the level of the undertaking and first discussion of a draft text containing, as model guiding principles, examples of good practice concerning consultation and co-operation) ;
 - B. Co-operation at the Level of the Industry and at the National Level (first discussion).
- VII. Revision of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3).
- VIII. Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment (first discussion).
- IX. Regulation of the Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Coal Mines (general discussion, to be regarded as a first discussion if the Conference decides to proceed to draft international regulations on the subject for second discussion in 1953).

I enclose for your information a memorandum prepared in the light of the discussions which took place in the Governing Body and at the International Labour Conference, with a view to explaining the scope and purport of the items on the Agenda and the procedure which the Conference will follow in dealing with them.

Every effort will be made by the Office to ensure that the documents submitted to the Conference are communicated to you sufficiently in advance of the opening of the session.

In this connection, I venture to remind you that the timely preparation by the Office of the final reports for submission to the Conference depends essentially on the punctual communication by Governments, by the dates stipulated, of their replies to, and observations on, the questionnaires and preliminary reports which are addressed to them.

2. *Place and Date of the Session.*

At its 113th Session (Brussels, November 1950), the Governing Body decided that the 35th Session of the Conference should be held in Geneva, at the Palais des Nations, and should open at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 4 June 1952, the two preceding days being left free for preliminary meetings of the Government, Employers' and Workers' groups. The Conference is expected to continue until about 28 June.

3. *Organisation of the Conference.*

In addition to explanations concerning the Agenda, the enclosed memorandum contains information relating to the composition of delegations and to certain provisions of the Standing Orders of the Conference concerning the depositing of credentials and draft resolutions. In this connection, I should draw your attention to the fact that items III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX are placed on the Agenda in accordance with Articles 3 and 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. Under the provisions of these articles, each delegate to the Conference may be accompanied by two advisers for each of these seven items.

4. *Accommodation for Delegations in Geneva.*¹

I have the honour to be, etc.,

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

MEMORANDUM ON THE 35TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE (1952)

A. AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE²

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

I. *Report of the Director-General.*

In accordance with the Standing Orders, a Report by the Director-General of the International Labour Office will be submitted to the Conference. The opinion has been expressed that the International Labour Conference, while devoting its attention to certain well-defined questions, should also afford an opportunity for the consideration of some general problems in the social field. The discussion of the Report of the Director-General affords such an opportunity.

The Governing Body of the International Labour Office has, moreover, requested the Director-General to report to the 35th Session of the Conference on the subject of reduction of working hours as a consequence of rising labour productivity.

II. *Financial and Budgetary Questions.*

The Conference will be called upon to consider and approve the budget of the International Labour Organisation for 1953 and to deal with any other financial matters which may be brought to its attention in accordance with the financial regulations.

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

Article 23 of the Constitution provides that the Director-General shall lay before the Conference a summary of the information and reports communicated to him by Governments in pursuance of Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution on the measures taken to give effect to the Conventions which they have ratified and on the position in their respective countries with regard to the subject-matter of Conventions which they have not ratified, and of Recommendations; Article 35 provides that Governments which have ratified Conventions shall supply the Director-General with information concerning the application of such Conventions to non-metropolitan territories. The Conference at its 35th Session will have to consider the information and reports supplied by Governments in pursuance of the above-mentioned articles of the Constitution, together with the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

¹ Not reproduced here.

² Section A of the memorandum, which repeats the information contained in the letter of convocation, has not been reprinted.

IV. *Holidays with Pay in Agriculture (second discussion).*

This question was the subject of a first discussion at the 34th Session. By a resolution adopted on 29 June 1951 the Conference, having approved as general conclusions proposals for a Convention and Recommendation relating to holidays with pay in agriculture, which would serve as a basis for consulting Governments, decided to place the question on the agenda of the 35th Session with a view to a final decision on a Convention and Recommendation on the subject. In accordance with Article 39, paragraphs 6 and 7, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office will communicate to the Governments draft texts of a Convention and a Recommendation on holidays with pay in agriculture, asking them to state whether they have any amendments to suggest or comments to make. On the basis of their replies the Office will draw up a final report containing draft texts of a Convention and a Recommendation, with any necessary amendments, to serve as a basis of discussion at the 35th Session.

V. *Objectives and Standards of Social Security.*

(a) *Minimum Standards of Social Security (second discussion).*

The fourth item on the agenda of the 34th Session of the Conference was " Objectives and Minimum Standards of Social Security ". The question was dealt with under the double-discussion procedure. The Committee on Social Security, to which the Conference referred the question, decided provisionally to discuss the matter on the basis of the text submitted by the Office, which provided that the instrument should take the form of a Convention providing for both a minimum and an advanced standard. In the course of its work, however, the Committee found that the time allotted to it would not suffice for a discussion of both the minimum and the advanced standard. It therefore confined itself to preparing conclusions covering the general provisions and the minimum standard of social security.

By a resolution adopted on 29 June 1951 the Conference, having adopted as general conclusions the proposals made by the Committee on Social Security for a Convention on minimum standards, which would serve as a basis for consulting Governments, decided to place on the agenda of the 35th Session the question of " Minimum Standards of Social Security ", with a view to a final decision on a Convention on the subject.

In order to give effect to this resolution, and in accordance with Article 39, paragraphs 6 and 7, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office will communicate to the Governments a draft text of a Convention, asking them to state whether they have any amendments to suggest or comments to make. On the basis of their replies the Office will draw up a final report containing the draft text of a Convention, with any necessary amendments, to serve as a basis of discussion at the 35th Session.

(b) *Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security (first discussion).*

As stated above, this question appeared on the agenda of the 34th Session of the Conference as part of the fourth item. By a resolution adopted on 29 June 1951 the Conference, having taken note of the regret expressed by the Committee on Social Security that it could not reach conclusions on the entire item which it was appointed to examine, decided to place on the agenda of the 35th Session the question of " Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security ", for a first discussion.

The Office will take account of the replies made by the Governments to the questionnaire which was sent to them with a view to the preparation of the texts submitted to the 34th Session of the Conference, and of the discussions which took place at that session, in preparing a new report setting out the principal questions to be considered by the Conference and in submitting draft conclusions.

VI. *Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations.*

(a) *Co-operation at the Level of the Undertaking* (second discussion of a draft text of a Recommendation concerning co-operation at the level of the undertaking and first discussion of a draft text containing, as model guiding principles, examples of good practice concerning consultation and co-operation).

The sixth item on the agenda of the 34th Session of the Conference, for first discussion, was " Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations ".

The Conference had before it a report on the subject, prepared by the Office, which contained proposed conclusions concerning co-operation at the level of the undertaking, at the level of the industry and at the national level.

Having realised that, owing to lack of time, it was materially impossible to study the whole of this item during the 34th Session, the Conference decided to limit its deliberations to the question of co-operation at the level of the undertaking. On 29 June 1951, after adopting conclusions relating to a Recommendation on the subject, it adopted a resolution in which it decided to place on the agenda of the 35th Session the question of co-operation at the level of the undertaking, with a view to the adoption of international regulations in the form of a Recommendation.

In accordance with Article 39, paragraphs 6 and 7, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office will communicate to the Governments a draft text of a Recommendation concerning co-operation at the level of the undertaking, asking them to state whether

they have any amendments to suggest or comments to make. On the basis of their replies the Office will draw up a final report containing the draft text of a Recommendation, with any necessary amendments, to serve as a basis of discussion at the 35th Session.

In the same resolution the Conference also instructed the Office to prepare for submission to Governments with a view to a first discussion at the 35th Session a draft text containing, as model guiding principles, examples of good practice concerning consultation and co-operation, which should be taken into account in legislation or in negotiations concerning arrangements for co-operation made on a voluntary basis in individual cases. The Office will address a questionnaire on this subject to the Governments and, on the basis of their replies, will prepare the draft text in question.

(b) *Co-operation at the Level of the Industry and at the National Level (first discussion).*

As stated above, the question of co-operation between public authorities and employers' and workers' organisations was on the agenda of the 34th Session of the Conference. Basing itself on the considerations described above, the Conference decided, by the resolution adopted on 29 June 1951 which is mentioned above, to place on the agenda of the 35th Session for a first discussion the question of co-operation between public authorities and employers' and workers' organisations at the level of the industry and at the national level. The Conference will have before it, for this first discussion, the report already submitted to the 34th Session, Report VI: *Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations*: it will also have at its disposal a study entitled *Co-operation in Industry* (Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 26, Geneva, 1951).

VII. *Revision of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3).*

At its 114th Session (Geneva, March 1951) the Governing Body, on the recommendation of its Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, decided to place on the agenda of the 35th Session of the Conference the question of the revision in whole of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919, with a view to the adoption of one or more Conventions and, if necessary, of a supplementary Recommendation on the subject. In accordance with the provisions of Article 44 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office will submit to the Conference draft amendments drawn up in accordance with the conclusions of the report of the Governing Body recommending the revision in whole of the Convention and containing the suggestions and comments communicated by the Governments of States Members in reply to the notification sent to them in accordance with Article 9 of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body.

In view of the importance of the medical aspects of maternity protection, the Governing Body also decided that the World Health Organization should be associated with the preparatory work for the revision of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919. The result of these consultations will be brought to the attention of the States Members.

VIII. *Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment (first discussion).*

At its 113th Session (Brussels, November 1950), the Governing Body decided to place on the agenda of the 35th Session of the Conference the question of the protection of the health of workers in dangerous or unhealthy trades. At the same time it invited a Committee on the programme of work of the Office in the field of industrial safety and health, which it had set up at an earlier session, to define the particular aspects of the subject to which the proposed international regulations should be directed and to make recommendations to it on the question. The Committee met in Geneva from 11 to 16 December 1950 and its report was examined by the Governing Body at its 114th Session (Geneva, March 1951). The Committee expressed the opinion that there were practical difficulties in attempting to draw up any precise list of dangerous or unhealthy occupations and that danger and unhealthiness were matters of degree. It considered that the expression "dangerous or unhealthy occupations" must be widely interpreted and that the words "in places of employment" would be more suitable. The Governing Body agreed with this view.

The question will be dealt with under the double-discussion procedure. In accordance with Article 39, paragraph 1, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office has prepared and communicated to Governments a preliminary report setting out the law and practice in the different countries, together with a questionnaire: International Labour Conference, 35th Session, 1952, Report VIII (1): *Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment*.

In accordance with Article 39, paragraph 3, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Office will prepare a further report on the basis of the replies from the Governments to the questionnaire contained in Report VIII (1), indicating the principal questions which require consideration by the Conference.

IX. *Regulation of the Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Coal Mines.*

The 27th (1945) Session of the Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Governing Body to place on the agenda of an early, and if possible, of the next session of the Conference the question of the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines.

At its 98th Session (Montreal, May 1946), however, the Governing Body decided to refer the question for examination to the Coal Mines Committee. At its Second Session (Geneva, 1947) the Coal Mines Committee decided that the question needed investigation in regard to the possibility of establishing international standards for the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines. The Office consequently carried out this investigation, the results of which were communicated to the Third Session of the Coal Mines Committee (Pittsburgh, 1949) in a report entitled: *The Protection of Young Workers Employed Underground in Coal Mines* (Geneva, 1948). The Coal Mines Committee examined this report and gave particular attention to the following questions: minimum age of admission to employment, medical examination, night work, weekly rest and annual holidays with pay. It was agreed that the question of the minimum age of admission should be further examined at the Fourth Session of the Committee, in 1951.

The preliminary conclusions of the Coal Mines Committee were submitted to the Governing Body at its 113th Session (Brussels, November 1950), which considered that the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines should be placed on the agenda of the 35th Session of the Conference for general discussion, to be regarded as a first discussion if the Conference decides to proceed to draft international regulations on the subject for second discussion at the 36th Session of the Conference. The Office is preparing and will communicate to Governments a report upon the subject, containing a questionnaire.

C. COMPOSITION OF DELEGATIONS

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

In accordance with the provisions of Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Constitution, each delegate may be accompanied by two advisers for each separate item on the agenda. As each of the last seven items mentioned in Section A¹ of this memorandum forms a separate item on the agenda of the session, each Government, Employers' and Workers' delegate to the 35th Session may be accompanied by not more than fourteen advisers.

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

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

- (a) persons nominated by it as representatives of any such territory in regard to matters within the self-governing powers of that territory; and
- (b) persons nominated by it to advise its delegates in regard to matters concerning non-self-governing territories.

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

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

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

Women Delegates and Advisers.

It will be noted that the items on the agenda of the 35th Session concern women as much as men. The attention of Governments is therefore drawn to the fact that women are equally eligible with men for appointment as delegates or advisers to the Conference, irrespective of the nature of the items on the agenda, and that Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Organisation provides that when questions specially affecting women are on the agenda, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

D. CREDENTIALS

The credentials of delegates to the Conference and their advisers should, in conformity with the provisions of Article 26, paragraph 1, of the Standing Orders, be deposited with the International Labour Office at least fifteen days before the date fixed for the opening of the session of the Conference.

As the Governing Body decided that the session should open on 4 June 1952, the final date for the deposit of credentials will therefore be 20 May 1952. For the convenience of Governments, a suggested form for the credentials of delegates is attached to the present memorandum.²

E. RESOLUTIONS

The texts of proposed resolutions submitted to the Conference, other than those dealing with items on the agenda, should, in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 1 (1)

¹ Section A not being reproduced in this Introduction, see letter of convocation above.

² Not reproduced here.

of the Standing Orders, be deposited with the International Labour Office at least seven days before the date fixed for the opening of the Conference session. The final date for the deposit of proposed resolutions will therefore be 28 May 1952.

On 9 April 1952 the following letter was sent to the Governments of the States Members :

Geneva, 9 April 1952.

Sir,

With reference to my letter No. D. 635-100 of 21 September 1951, in which I had the honour to inform you concerning the agenda, date, place and organisation of the 35th (1952) Session of the International Labour Conference, I now have the honour to inform you that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided, at its 118th Session (Geneva, March 1952), to make the following alterations in the arrangements for the session.

The Employers' and Workers' groups will meet at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Monday, 2 and Tuesday, 3 June 1952.

The Government group will meet at the Palais des Nations at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Tuesday, 3 June 1952.

The session will open at the Palais des Nations on Wednesday, 4 June 1952 at 10 a.m. (and not at 11 a.m., as stated in my letter of 21 September 1951).

Effective results can be obtained from the group meetings which precede the session only if the composition of each group is complete, and I therefore venture to urge that every possible step should be taken to ensure that the Employers' and Workers' delegates and advisers appointed by your Government should reach Geneva in time to participate in the meetings at 10 a.m. on Monday, 2 June and that the Government delegates and advisers appointed by your Government should reach Geneva in time to participate in the meeting at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, 3 June.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

For the Director-General :

(Signed) JEF RENS,
Deputy Director-General.

* * *

This Record of Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Conference is arranged as follows :

FIRST PART

List of members of delegations, etc., and of the Committees, and the Officers and Secretariat of the Conference.

SECOND PART

A verbatim report of the proceedings, consisting of stenographic reports of the original speeches in the case of speeches delivered in English, and of translations based on the interpretations into English given by the official interpreters to the Conference in the case of speeches delivered in languages other than English. The majority of the interpretations were given simultaneously with the original speeches and relayed to the delegates by telephone.

THIRD PART

Appendices, including the documents and reports of the Committees of the Conference, and the texts of the Conventions, Recommendations and Resolutions adopted by the Conference.

In addition, the volume contains a table of contents, which precedes this introduction, and an index to the Second and Third Parts.

FIRST PART

LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

AFGHANISTAN

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :

Mr. Abdul Baqui LATIFI, Director-General of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Hamid HAMIDULLAH, Labour Office, Kabul.

Mr. Abdul WASSÉ.

Mr. Ziai ZIAOULLAH.

ARGENTINA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Galileo PUENTE, Director-General for Trade Union Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Andrés Mauricio LESCURE, Permanent Delegate of Argentina to the European Office of the United Nations.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Wenceslao SOUZA, Argentine Legation, Berne.

Mr. Américo RONCAROLO, Labour Attaché.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Gastón Aldo SOLARI, President, Production Confederation; Acting President, General Economic Confederation; Director, *Sociedad Rural Argentina*.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. José G. ESPEJO, General Secretary, General Confederation of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Antonio VALERGA, Executive Member of the General Confederation of Labour; General Secretary, National Clothing Workers' Union.

Mr. Humberto GRUPPI, Treasurer, General Confederation of Labour; General Secretary, Federation of Woodworkers.

Mr. Raúl COSTA, General Secretary, Union of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades; Member of the Central Committee, General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. José F. MASSACCESI, Vice-President, Railway Workers' Union; Member of the Central Committee, General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. Valentín RUBIO, President, Street-Car Workers' Union; Member of the Central Committee, General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. Abdala BALUCH, General Secretary, Metallurgical Workers' Union; Member of the Central Committee, General Confederation of Labour.

AUSTRALIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Ian Gordon SHARP, Assistant Secretary, Department of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Patrick SHAW, Australian Permanent Delegate to the European Office of the United Nations; Representative of the Australian Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Keith Colin McKENZIE, Department of Labour and National Service.

Advisers :

Mr. Francis Harry ROWE, Director-General, Department of Social Services.

Mr. Raymond Henry BEEERS, Secretary, Department of Labour, State of Victoria.

Mr. Marshall Lewis JOHNSTON, Third Secretary, Australian Embassy, Paris.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Lewis Charles BURNE, Vice-President, Australian Council of Employers' Federations.

Advisers :

Mr. Leonard STRUDWICK, Assistant Director, Associated Chambers of Manufacturers of Australia.

Mr. George Frederick GILL, Secretary, Western Australian Employers' Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. James Norman THOM, General Secretary, Electrical Trades Union.

Advisers :

Mr. William HEGNEY, Vice-President, Western Australian Branch, Australian Labour Party.

Mr. Michael C. C. JORDAN, Assistant Secretary, Melbourne Trades Hall Council.

AUSTRIA

MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE :

Mr. Karl MAISEL, Minister of Social Affairs.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Josef HAMMERL, Chief of the Social Policy Section, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Mr. Artur RUDOLPH, Director-General, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Paul HEMPEL, Counsellor, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Advisers :

Mr. Peter NUEL, Counsellor, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. Walter HÜBINGER.

Mrs. Berta BAIERLEIN-FERCHITZ, Secretary, Ministry of Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Emil WEINBERGER, Member of the Committee of the Austrian Industrial Employers' Federation.

Advisers :

Mr. Theodor SCHNEIDER, General Secretary, Austrian Industrial Employers' Federation.

Mr. Ottokar PROCHÁZKA, Legal Adviser to the Federal Economic Council; Substitute for the Chief of the Social Policy Service, Austrian Chamber of Industry.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Johann BOEHM, Vice-President of the National Council; President, Austrian Federation of Trade Unions; President, Austrian Federation of Social Insurance Institutions; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Erwin ALTENBURGER, Member of the National Council; former Minister; Vice-President, Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. Edward STARK, Adviser on Social Policy, Austrian Federation of Trade Unions; Vice-President, Austrian Federation of Social Insurance Institutions.

Mrs. Wilhelmine MOIK.

BELGIUM

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. G. van den DAELE, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Léon-Eli TROCLET, Senator; former Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Antoine Joseph FAFCHAMPS, Special Assistant to the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Léon SERVAIS, Senator.

Mrs. Marguerite de RIEMAECKER, Member of the Chamber of Representatives.

Mr. Hilaire WILLOT, Member of the Chamber of Representatives.

Advisers :

Mr. Léon WATILLON, Director-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Walter LEËN, Deputy Administrator-General, National Office for Social Security.

Dr. Albert-Guillaume UYTENDHOEF, Inspector-General, Chief of the Industrial Health Inspection Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Georges Félix LOGELAIN, Chief Engineer; Director, Mining Administration.

Mr. Michel WALLIN, Chief of the International Relations Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Ignace MEERSCHAUT, Assistant Adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Pierre van der REST, Chairman, Metal Industries Committee; Member of the Managing Board of the Federation of Belgian Industries.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Albert VERSCHUEREN, Director, Federation of Belgian Industries.

Advisers :

Mr. Camille F. LEGRAND, Honorary Director-General, Federation of Coal Mining Associations of Belgium.

Mr. René M. MICHA, Director-General, Association of Wholesale Distributors; Representative of the Liaison Committee for Trade, Banking and Insurance.

Mr. Maurice A. J. PIETTE, Director-General, Belgian Agriculturists Alliance.

Mr. Paul BULTYNCK, Director, Federation of Belgian Industries.

Mr. Jacques de BRUYN, Secretary of the Belgian Association of Banks.

Mr. Elie JACQUEMART.

Mr. Francis BUCHET, Secretary, Association of Wholesale Distributors.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Nathalis de BOCK, National Secretary, Belgian General Confederation of Labour.

Advisers :

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

Mr. J. KEULEERS, Deputy Secretary, Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

Mr. F. DECOURCELLE, General Secretary, Christian Wood and Building Workers' Union.

Mr. J. PIRONET, Deputy Secretary, Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

Mr. Amédée de KEULENEIR, Member of the House of Representatives; Secretary, Ghent Regional Section of the Belgian General Federation of Labour.

Mr. André GENOT, Deputy National Secretary, Belgian General Federation of Labour.

BOLIVIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :

Mr. Álvaro PÉREZ del CASTILLO, Under-Secretary, Ministry of External Relations.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Mario TORRES, General Secretary, Bolivian Workers' Union.

BRAZIL

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. José de SEGADAS VIANNA, Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce.

Mr. Luiz Augusto de REGO MONTEIRO, Attorney at the Labour Court; Member of the Permanent Commission on Social Legislation; former Director of the National Labour Department.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Alfredo Ewbank da ROCHA LEÃO.

Advisers :

Mr. Francisco Benjamin GALLOTTI, Senator, appointed by the National Congress.

Mr. João VILLAS BOAS, Senator, appointed by the National Congress.

Mr. Victorino FREIRE, Senator, appointed by the National Congress.

Mr. Samuel Vital DUARTE, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, appointed by the National Congress.

Mr. Jeronimo DIX-HUIT ROSADO, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, appointed by the National Congress.

Mr. Brígido TINOCO, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, appointed by the National Congress.

Mrs. Alzira VARGAS DO AMARAL PEIXOTO, Member of the Social Welfare Committee, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Arnaldo LOPES SUSSEKIND, Attorney at the Labour Court; Director, Recreation and Cultural Assistance Service, Ministry of Labour; Member of the Permanent Commission on Social Legislation.

Mr. Francisco Carlos de CASTRO NEVES.

Mr. Hermes LIMA.

Mr. Humberto C. GRANDE, Attorney-General at the Labour Court; Member of the Permanent Commission on Social Legislation.

Mr. Miguel REALE.

Mr. Nerio Siegfried Wagner BATTENDIERI, Legal Adviser to the National Confederation of Industries.

Mr. Pericles de SOUZA MONTEIRO, Special Adviser to the Minister of Labour; Member of the Permanent Commission on Social Legislation; Solicitor to the Industrialists' Institute.

Mr. Waldo Carneiro LEÃO DE VASCONCELLOS.

Mr. Augusto de ULHÔA REIS.

Mr. Joaquim Canuto MENDES DE ALMEIDA.

Mr. José Arthur da FROTA MOREIRA.

Mr. José Gonçalves de ANDRADE FIGUEIRA.

Mr. Josué de CASTRO.

Mr. Virgílio PIRES DE SÁ, Secretary to the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce.

Mrs. Clóris MARTINS-FERREIRA SMITH BRAZ, Member of the Minister of Labour's Cabinet; Official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. José GOMES TALARICO, Chairman of the Press Committee, Ministry of Labour; Press Attaché accredited to the Workers' Organisations.

Mr. Antonio ALVES DE ABREU, Member of the Cabinet of the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce.

Mr. José BARREIROS.

Mr. Georges GALVÃO.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Artur BRAGE RODRIGUES PIRES.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Mariano JATAI MARCONDES FERRAZ.

Advisers :

Mr. Gaetano de VASCONCELLOS.

Mr. Emilio LANG, Junior.

Mr. José Manoel FERNANDES.

Mr. Gerson DIAS, Member of the Trade Federation of Minas Gerais.

Mr. Eduardo GARCIA ROSSI.

Mr. Fritz WILBERG.

Mr. Alôerto FLORES DE PAIVA CHAVES.

Mr. Octacílio de Freitas ASSUMPÇÃO.

Mr. Stanislaw FISCHLOWITZ, Counsellor to the National Committee on Social Welfare; Adviser to the Commercial Welfare Service.

Mr. Geraldo CARDOSO SERAPHIM.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Paulo BAETA NEVES, President, National Confederation of Commercial Employees.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. José SANCHES DURAN, Treasurer, National Confederation of Industrial Workers.

Advisers :

Mr. Joviano de ARAUJO, Secretary, National Federation of Shipping and Inland Waterway Transport Workers.

Mr. Cid Cabral de MELLO, Secretary, National Confederation of Commercial Employees; President, Rio de Janeiro Commercial Salaried Employees' Federation.

Mr. Minotti José Garibaldi di CATALDO, President, Tailors' and Dressmakers' Union; Member of the Executive Committee of the National Confederation of Industrial Workers.

Mr. Syndulpho de AZEVEDO PEQUENO, President, National Federation of Tramway Workers; Substitute Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Roberto José RODRIGUES FILHO, President, Niteroi Stevedores' Union.

Mr. Armando Alfonso COSTA.

Mrs. Sara Eva Olga KUPPERMANN.

Mrs. Alice NOGUEIRA AMARO.

Mr. Irineu PEREIRA DA COSTA.

Mr. Lourenço José Maria PEREIRA DA CUNHA.

Mr. David MILMAN.

Mr. Ferdinando Marius ESBERARD.

Mr. Manoel FERRETE, Junior.

BURMA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Khint MAUNG, Director of Labour; Representative of the Burmese Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Sein MYINT, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Labour.

Adviser :

Mr. Than ZIN, Labour Officer, Directorate of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Aung THU, Secretary, Burma Chamber of Commerce.

Advisers :

Mr. Moosa MADHA, Managing Partner, Madha Bros.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Sein WIN, Assistant General Secretary, Trade Union Congress (Burma).

Adviser :

Mr. TUN, Member of Executive Committee, Trade Union Congress (Burma).

CANADA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Murdoch M. MACLEAN, C.B.E., Assistant Deputy Minister and Director of Industrial Relations Branch, Department of Labour.

Mr. Paul GOULET, O.B.E., Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Labour; Director, I.L.O. Branch, Department of Labour.

Advisers :

- Mr. Clifford A. L. MURCHISON, Commissioner, Unemployment Insurance Commission.
 Dr. Ernest A. WATKINSON, Medical Officer, Industrial Health Division, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 Mr. Joseph W. WILLARD, Director, Research Division, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 Mr. Bruce WILLIAMS, Secretary, Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

- Mr. Harry TAYLOR, O.B.E., Representative, Canadian Manufacturers' Association; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

- Mr. James A. BRASS, General Secretary, Railway Association of Canada.
 Mr. Hugh W. MACDONNELL, Secretary, Canadian Manufacturers' Association.
 Mr. Allan C. ROSS, Representative, Canadian Construction Association.
 Mr. T. Woodford SMITH, Representative, Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

- Mr. Claude JODOIN, Vice-President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

- Mr. Max SWERDLOW, District Representative, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

Advisers :

- Mr. Rodolphe HAMEL, President, National Federation of Mine Workers of Canada.
 Mr. James G. McLEAN, Member of the Dominion Joint Legislative Committee of the Railway Transportation Brotherhoods.

CEYLON

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

- Mr. Edmund M. WIJENAIKE, C.C.S., Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Services.
 Mr. Neville L. ABEYWIRA, Assistant Commissioner of Labour, Department of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

- Mr. Donald R. RUTNAM, O.B.E., General Secretary, Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

- Mr. Walter K. WIJEMANNE, Vice-President, All-Ceylon Trades Union Congress.

CHILE

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

- Mr. Isauro TORRES CERECEDA, Senator; Chairman of the Labour and Social Legislation Commission of the Chilean Senate.
 Mr. Fernando CISTERNAS ORTIZ, Minister of Chile in Switzerland; Representative of the Chilean Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

- Mr. Fernando DONOSO SILVA, Consul-General of Chile in Switzerland; Substitute Representa-

tive of the Chilean Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Dr. Alfredo Leonardo BRAVO, Chief of the Tuberculosis Department of the Ministry of Health; Member of the Executive Board, World Health Organization.

Mr. Francisco FABRES LARRAÍN, Legal Adviser to the Industrial Accidents Fund of Chile.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Fernando BENÍTEZ GONZÁLEZ, Vice-President, National Mining Association.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Manuel HORMAZÁBAL MORALES, Adviser, Chilean Confederation of Labour; Adviser, Compulsory Insurance Fund; Member of the Managing Board of the Leather-workers' Union.

Adviser :

Mr. Alfredo ESPINOZA CONTRERAS, Adviser, Compulsory Insurance Fund.

CHINA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

- Mr. YÜ Tsune-chi, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Rome.
 Mr. TUAN Mao-lan, Minister Plenipotentiary, Chinese Embassy, Paris; Representative of the Chinese Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

- Mr. LEE Yen-ping.
 Mr. LIU Tsing-chang, Counsellor, Chinese Embassy, Paris.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. H. H. LING.

Adviser :

Mr. Robert CHI TSUN, Sub-Manager of the Puta Training Company, Taipeh.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. LIANG Yung-chang.

Advisers :

- Mr. TENG Wan-hsi.
 Mr. CHEN Tien-shun.

COLOMBIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

- Mr. Luis GONZÁLEZ BARROS, Permanent Delegate of Colombia accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.
 Mr. Arturo GÓMEZ JARAMILLO, Consul-General of Colombia in Switzerland.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Justiniano ESPINOSA.

COSTA RICA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :

Mr. Aristide P. DONNADIEU, Consul-General of Costa Rica in Geneva; Permanent Delegate of the Republic of Costa Rica accredited to the International Labour Organisation and to the International Organisations in Geneva.

CUBA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. José Enrique de SANDOVAL, Chief of the Technical Advisory Board and I.L.O. Branch, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Andrés SOBERÓN CASAS, Director-General of Labour.

Adviser :

Mr. Leandro ROBAINAS ARQUIMBAN.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Isaac COWLEY HERNÁNDEZ, former President of the Cuban Planters' Association.

Adviser :

Mr. Alberto del PINO.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Ángel COFIÑO GARCÍA, Member of the Executive Committee, Cuban Confederation of Workers.

Advisers :

Mr. Francisco AGUIRRE VIDAURRETA.
Mr. Ignacio GONZÁLEZ TELLECHEA, Secretary for External Relations, Cuban Confederation of Workers.
Mr. José PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. František ROHÁČ, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary ; Secretary, Czechoslovak Embassy in London.
Mr. Vladislav PLEŠEK, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Jindřich GREF, Deputy Chief of Section, Ministry of Heavy Industries.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Josef KOLSKÝ, General Secretary, Central Council of Trade Unions.

Adviser :

Mr. Vladimír VONDRAS, Secretary, Central Council of Trade Unions.

DENMARK**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Carl V. BRAMSNAES, former Minister of Finance ; Governor of the National Bank of Denmark ; former Associate Professor of Social Policy, University of Copenhagen.
Mr. Erik DREYER, Director of the State Factory Inspection Service.

Advisers :

Mrs. Hanne BUDTZ, Barrister, Court of Appeal.
Mr. Poul JUHL-CHRISTENSEN, Chief of the Social Insurance Division, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
Mr. Tyge HAARLÖV, Chief of the International Relations Division, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Hans L. LARSEN, President, Danish Employers' Confederation.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Allan RISE, Director, Danish Employers' Confederation.

Advisers :

Mr. Henning NIELSEN, Danish Employers' Confederation.
Mr. Jørgen SAABYE, Danish Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Einar NIELSEN, Vice-President, Confederation of Danish Trade Unions.

Advisers :

Mr. Aksel OLSSON, Treasurer, Confederation of Danish Trade Unions.
Mr. Ingvard DAHL, President, Danish Carpenters' Union.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Pedro TRONCOSO SÁNCHEZ, Ambassador of the Dominican Republic in France.
Mr. J. B. PEYNADO SOLER.

Adviser :

Mr. Horacio VICIOSO.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. José Dolores GUERRERO.

WORKERS' DELEGATES :

Mr. Julio César BALLESTER HERNÁNDEZ, General Secretary, Dominican Workers' Confederation.

ECUADOR**GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :**

Mr. Bolívar PAREDES ZARAMA, Chargé d'affaires of Ecuador in Berne.

EGYPT**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Hassan ISMAIL Bey, Director-General, Department of Labour.
Mr. Ibrahim MAZHAR, Controller of Manpower, Department of Labour.

Adviser :

Mr. Moïm Ahmed LOTFY, Labour Attaché, Egyptian Embassy, Paris.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Abdel Fattah S. WAHIDA, General Secretary, Egyptian Federation of Industries.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Mohamed Fathy KAMEL, President, Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Company Workers' Union.

EL SALVADOR**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Mario Héctor SALAZAR, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Rafael Ignacio FUNES, Director-General, National Department of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Andrés MOLINS.

FINLAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Eero Aarne WUORI, Director of the General Department, Ministry of Social Affairs ; former Minister ; Finnish Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Tauno August JYLHÄ, Chief Actuary, Institute of National Pensions.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Olli VALLILA, Counsellor of Legation ; Delegate of Finland accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Väinö Adolf Mathias KARIKOSKI, Director-General, Finnish Employers' Confederation.

Advisers :

Mr. Gustav Wilhelm Emerik SJÖBERG, General Secretary, Finnish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Nils Östen GROTFELT, Chief of Section, Finnish Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Toimi Aku SUMU, President, Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions.

Adviser :

Mr. Nils Karl NILSSON, Assistant Secretary, Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions.

FRANCE

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Paul RAMADIER, former Prime Minister, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Henry HAUCK, Labour Counsellor for the French Embassy, London ; substitute French Government representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. André PIERARD, *Maître des requêtes*, Council of State ; Director of the Cabinet of the Minister of Labour and Social Security.

Advisers :

Mr. Jacques DOUBLET, *Maître des requêtes*, Council of State ; Director-General of Social Security.

Mr. Edouard LAMBERT, Director of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. Francis NETTER, Deputy Director, General Directorate for Social Security.

Miss Olga RAFFALOVICH, Deputy Director of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. Marcel LEGRAS, Deputy Director of the General Directorate of Social Security, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. JARLIER, Chief Mining Engineer, Ministry of Industry and Commerce.

Mr. René L. J. LARCHEVÊQUE, Director of Social and Professional Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture.

Miss Lucrèce GUELFY, Inspector-General of Labour and Manpower, Ministry of Overseas France.

Miss Betty PIGUET, Civil Administrator ; Chief of the Works Councils Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. Maurice CHACHUAT, Civil Administrator, Chief of the International Relations Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. VAYSSIÈRE, Divisional Labour and Manpower Inspector, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. Marcel PARINI, Principal Labour and Manpower Inspector, Ministry of Overseas France.

Mr. Bernard TOUSSAINT, Permanent Representative of France accredited to the European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Pierre Edouard Michel WALINE, General Representative, Federation of Metal and Mining Industries ; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Jacques E. BELIN, Deputy Director, Technical and Social Services of the French Coal Mining Industry.

Mr. Maurice BOURDON, General Representative, Federation of Chemical Industries ; Chairman, Commission on Hygiene and Safety of the National Council of French Employers.

Mr. Louis J. CONIL-LACOSTE, Chief of the Manpower and Social Questions Service, National Federation of Agriculturists.

Miss Bernadette FAURE, Chief of the Social Security Service, Federation of Metal and Mining Industries.

Mr. Georges de LAGARDE, General Representative, Central Committee of Social Institutions ; Member, Higher Council of Social Security.

Mr. Jacques A. LEBLANC, Director, Federation of Metal and Mining Industries.

Mr. Gabriel SAINTIGNY, Director-General, Mulard Works ; Member of the Board, Confederation of Small and Medium Undertakings.

Mr. Jean de HULSTER, Deputy Secretary-General, Social Commission of the National Council of French Employers.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Léon JOUHAUX, President, General Confederation of Labour—*Force ouvrière* ; Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Alain LE LÉAP, General Secretary, General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. Henri J. RAYNAUD, Secretary, General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. Michel QUATREPOINT, Director, International Department of the General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. Gaston TESSIER, Member of the Council of State ; President, French Confederation of Christian Workers.

Mr. Maurice BOULADOUX, General Secretary, French Confederation of Christian Workers.

Mr. Aimé TEXIER, Secretary, Social Commission of the General Confederation of Labour—*Force ouvrière*.

Mr. Roger MILLOT, General Representative, General Confederation of Supervisors.

Mr. Charles VEILLON, Secretary, General Confederation of Labour—*Force ouvrière*.

Mr. Raymond R. FLEURY, General Administrative Secretary, General Confederation of Supervisors.

Mr. Roger MARIO.

Mrs. Simone TROISGROS.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Maximilian SAUERBORN, Secretary of State,
Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Josef ECKERT, Director, Ministry of Labour.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Kurt CLASSEN, Director, Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Wilhelm DOBBERNACK, Counsellor, Ministry
of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Michael BAUER, Counsellor, Ministry of
Labour.
Mr. Heinrich GOLDSCHMIDT, Counsellor, Ministry
of Labour.
Mr. Hans STEPHANY, Counsellor, Ministry of
Labour.
Mr. Ludwig KATTENSTROTH, Chief of Service,
Ministry of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Carl-Heinz WINKLER, Director, Henkel
Factories.

Advisers :

Mr. Georg Friedrich BAUR, Legal Adviser ; Presi-
dent, Agricultural and Forestry Employers'
Federation of Schleswig-Holstein.
Mr. Ernst-Gerhard ERDMANN, Deputy Member
of the Executive Committee, German Con-
federation of Employers' Associations.
Mr. Karl FELLINGER, Directorate of German
Coal Mines.
Mr. Hermann KLAUE, Directing Member of the
Executive Committee, Federation of German
Textile Manufacturers.
Mr. Reinhard PETRI, Secretary, Association of
Textile Manufacturers, Bielefeld.
Mr. Fritz REERMANN, Member of the Executive
Committee, Federation of Employers in North
Rhine-Westphalia.
Mr. Walter REINECKE, Director, Association of
Iron, Steel and Metal Trades Employers of
Düsseldorf and Region.
Mr. Alfred WÖMPENER, Mathias Stinnes Coal
Mines Company, Hagenbeck Mine.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Erich BÜHRIG, Member of the Executive
Board of the German Confederation of Trade
Unions.

Advisers :

Mr. Otto GÜNTHER, Member of the Directorate,
Executive Committee of the German Union of
Salaried Employees, Chief of the Social Policy
Division.
Mr. Henry DRUNSEL, Vice-President, Union of
Horticultural, Agricultural and Forestry Workers.
Mr. Karl HÖFNER, Secretary for Social Affairs,
Mine Workers' Union.
Mrs. Thea HARMUTH, Member of the Executive
Board, German Confederation of Trade Unions.
Mr. Erich LÜBBE, Expert attached to the Execu-
tive Board, German Confederation of Trade
Unions.
Mr. Willy RICHTER, Member of the Executive
Board, German Confederation of Trade Unions.
Mr. August SCHMIDT, President, Mine Workers'
Union.

GREECE**MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE :**

Mr. C. CASSIMATIS, Minister of Labour.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Panos PAVLAKIS, Director-General, Ministry
of Labour.
Mr. Nicolas HADJI VASSILIOU, Permanent
Delegate of Greece accredited to the interna-
tional organisations in Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Alexander TSATSOS, President, League of
Greek Industrialists.

Adviser :

Mr. Alexander BARDAS, Legal Adviser, League of
Greek Industrialists.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Photis MACRIS, General Secretary, General
Confederation of Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. André KYRIAKOPOULOS, Secretary, General
Confederation of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Athanase VLACHOS, General Secretary, Patras
Workers' Centre.
Mr. George CASCARIS, Secretary, General Con-
federation of Labour.
Mr. Basil HADJOPOULOS, Technical Adviser,
General Confederation of Labour.

GUATEMALA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Carlos Enrique PERALTA, Legal Adviser for
Labour Questions, Ministry of Economy and
Labour ; President of the National Wages
Commission.
Mr. Roberto MONZÓN MALICE, Legal Adviser,
Ministry of Economy and Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Carlos Federico MORA, President of the
Technical Council, Social Insurance Institute.
Mr. Julio GARCÍA HAEUSSLER.
Mrs. Rosa CASTAÑEDA de MORA.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Alirio RECINOS, Secretary, Consultative
Council of the General Confederation of Guate-
malan Workers.

HAITI**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Clément JUMELLE, Minister of Labour.
Mr. Arsène E. MAGLOIRE, Member of the Board
of Directors, National Bank of the Republic
of Haiti.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Alfred ADDOR, Consul-General of Haiti in
Geneva.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Raymond L. ROY, Director, Prince Works
(agricultural and industrial undertaking) ; Mem-
ber of the Haiti Chamber of Commerce ; Member
of the Higher Council for Wages.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Max LACROIX, Member of the Carpenters'
Union.

ICELAND**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Jónas GUDMUNDSSON, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Affairs.
Mr. Jón S. ÓLAFSSON, Secretary, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Haraldur GUDMUNDSSON, Director, State Social Security Institute.
Mr. Olivier de FERRON, Consul of Iceland in Switzerland.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Kjartan THORS, President, Employers' Federation of Iceland.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Magnús ÁSTMARSSON, Member of the Executive Council, Icelandic Federation of Labour.

INDIA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Vyankatesh V. DRAVID, Minister for Labour, Development and Local Self-Government, Province of Madhya Bharat.
Mr. Vadakke K. R. MENON, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Ram S. PANDE, Secretary to the Government of Bihar, Department of Labour.
Mr. Nagari M. PATNAIK, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Kewal SINGH, Chargé d'affaires, Indian Legation, Lisbon.
Mr. P. N. MENON, First Secretary, Indian Embassy, The Hague.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Naval H. TATA, Director, Tata Sons Limited ; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Tediur S. SWAMINATHAN, Secretary, Employers' Federation of India.
Mr. Binaykrishna ROHATGI, Managing Director, India Electric Works Limited.
Mr. Mulchand C. PAREKH, K. Worah and Co., Ltd.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Hariharnath SHASTRI, Member of Parliament ; General Secretary, Indian National Trade Union Congress ; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Kamakhya P. TRIPATHI, Member of Parliament ; Vice-President, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Assam Branch.
Mr. Abdulkader Mohamed SERANG, General Secretary, National Seamen's Union of India ; Member of Working Committee, Indian National Trade Union Congress.
Mr. S. NIYAZI, General Secretary, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Vidarbha Branch.

INDONESIA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. SAMJONO, Chief of the Division of Legal Affairs, Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Tahi TOBING, Chief of the Division for International Labour Affairs, Ministry of Labour.

Adviser :

Mr. A. Y. HELMI, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Suchjar TEDJASUKMANA, General Secretary, Indonesian Chamber of Commerce.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. SUMARNO, General Secretary, Central Body of Workers' Organisations.

IRAN**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Hassan AFCHAR, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Labour ; Professor of Law, University of Teheran ; Representative of the Iranian Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Djafar KAFAI, Iranian Consul-General in Geneva.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Hassan NAZIH.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Massoud GHAYOUR, President, Industrial Employers' Association of Iran.

Adviser :

Mr. Issa BEHZADY.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Amir KEYVAN.

Adviser :

Mr. CHII.

IRAQ**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Hadi al PACHACHI, Director-General, Ministry of Social Affairs.
Mr. Abdul Razzak IBRAHIM, Director-General, Labour Department, Ministry of Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Abdul Hafidh TAHA, Senior Liaison Officer, Basrah Petroleum Company.

Adviser :

Mr. Edward KINCH, Personnel Manager, Iraq Petroleum Co. Ltd.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Abdul Karim MOHAMED, Member of the Kirkuk Fields Welfare Committee.

IRELAND**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. William MAGUIRE, Secretary, Department of Social Welfare.
Mr. Thomas MURRAY, Assistant Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Timothy CAHILL, Chief Administrative Officer of the Labour Court.

Advisers :

Mr. Patrick D. McCARTHY, Assistant Principal,
Department of Industry and Commerce.
Mr. Donal J. O'MAHONY, Executive Officer,
Department of Industry and Commerce.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. John J. O'BRIEN, Director-General, Federated
Union of Employers.

Adviser :

Mr. Frederick M. SUMMERFIELD, Senator ;
Chairman and Managing Director, F. M. Summer-
field and Co., Ltd.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Gerald DOYLE, General Secretary, Operative
Plasterers' Trade Society.

Adviser :

Mr. Leo CRAWFORD, Secretary, Congress of Irish
Unions.

ISRAEL

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Zvi BERINSON, Director-General, Ministry of
Labour.
Mr. Zvi BAR-NIV, Legal Adviser, Ministry of
Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Menahem KAHANY, Chargé d'affaires ; Per-
manent Delegate of Israel accredited to the
European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Shlomo MORIEL, Director, Department of
Labour of the Manufacturers' Association of
Israel.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Reuven BARKATT, Member of the Executive
Committee, General Confederation of Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Itzhak KANEV, Member of the Central Com-
mittee of the Sickness Fund of the General
Confederation of Labour ; Director, Social Re-
search Institute.

ITALY

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Dino DEL BO, Member of the Chamber of
Deputies ; Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry
of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Rosario PURPURA, Director-General, Minis-
try of Labour and Social Welfare.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Franco BOUNOUS, Assistant Director-General
for Emigration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Carlo CARLONI, Inspector-General, Ministry
of Labour and Social Welfare.

Advisers :

Mr. Pietro DI DONNA, Chief Medical Inspector,
Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Roberto BERNA, Principal Inspector, Ministry
of Agriculture and Forests.
Mr. Mario BONACCHI, Director of the Genoa
Regional Office, Ministry of Labour and Social
Welfare.
Mr. Paolo BULGARELLI, Principal Inspector,
Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Antonio d'HARMANT FRANÇOIS, Ministry
of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. Gabriele POSTERARO, Ministry of Labour and
Social Welfare.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Pietro CAMPANELLA, President, Genoa
Industrial Association ; Member of the Board,
General Confederation of Manufacturers of Italy ;
Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the
International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Antonio BANTI, Director-General, National
Federation of Electrical Industries.
Mr. Renzo BOCCARDI, Head of the Delegation for
Northern Italy, General Confederation of Manu-
facturers of Italy.
Mr. Alberto DONINI, Inspector-General, Italian
General Confederation of Agriculture.
Mr. Pietro GAMALERO, Trade Union Service,
Italian General Confederation of Agriculture.
Mr. Giorgio PEYROT, Director, National Trade
Federation ; Italian General Confederation of
Commerce.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Giulio PASTORE, Member of the Chamber
of Deputies ; General Secretary, Italian Confedera-
tion of Trade Unions ; Deputy Member of the
Governing Body of the International Labour
Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Enrico PARRI, Secretary, Italian Confedera-
tion of Trade Unions.
Mr. Giovanni CANINI, Secretary, Italian Confedera-
tion of Trade Unions.
Mr. Bruno STORTI, Secretary, Italian Confedera-
tion of Trade Unions.
Mr. Enzo DALLA CHIESA, Member of the General
Secretariat, General Labour Union of Italy.
Mr. Umberto PAGANI, Member of the Central
Committee, General Labour Union of Italy.

JAPAN

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Yoshimaru KANNO, Deputy Director, Cabinet
Secretariat.
Mr. Hirosaku TERAMOTO, Deputy Minister of
Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Keiichi TATSUKE, Counsellor, Japanese
Legation in Switzerland.

Advisers :

Mr. Masaji EBITSUKA, First Secretary, Japanese
Legation in Switzerland.
Mr. Zenshiro TACHIBANA, Chief of International
Labour Section, Ministry of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Tadashi ADACHI, President, Radio Tokyo Inc.

Advisers :

Mr. Sadamu MATSUMOTO, Director, Seika Mining
Company.
Mr. Tatsuo SHIBATA, Associate Editor, *Mainichi
English Newspaper*.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Saburo OKA, Chairman, Japan Teachers'
Union.

Advisers :

Mr. Shigeo TSUBAKI, Chairman, National Federation of Metal Industry Workers' Union.
 Mr. Seichi OKURA, Chairman, All-Japan Express Workers' Union.

LIBERIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Kolli S. TAMBA, Director of Foreign Conferences, Department of State.
 Mr. Stephen TOLBERT, Assistant Minister of Agriculture.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. A. Dash WILSON.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Sydney W. KING.

LIBYA

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES :

Mr. Osman el GERBI, Commissioner of Labour, Cyrenaica.
 Mr. A. W. CARTER, Deputy Commissioner of Labour, Tripolitania Administration.

LUXEMBOURG

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Nicolas BIEVER, Minister of Labour and Social Security.
 Mr. Paul WILWERTZ, State Counsellor ; Chairman, Permanent Committee on Social Policy.

Advisers :

Mr. François HUBERTY, Director of Labour and Mines.
 Mr. Armand KAYSER, Adviser to the Government.
 Mr. Gust van WERVEKE, Secretary-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.
 Mrs. Lily KRIER-BECKER, Member of the I.L.O. Correspondence Committee on Women's Work.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Alphonse DIEDERICH, Managing Director, Rodange Mining and Metal Company.

Advisers :

Mr. Jules HAYOT, Director, Federation of Luxembourg Manufacturers.
 Mr. Raymond ROLLINGER, General Secretary, Craftsmen's Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Antoine KRIER, General Secretary, National Federation of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. Maurice LEICK, President, National Federation of Luxembourg Railwaymen.
 Mr. Léon WAGNER, President, Confederation of Luxembourg Christian Trade Unions.
 Mr. Antoine Henri WEISS, Assistant General Secretary of the National Federation of Workers.
 Mr. Alexis WERNÉ, President, Salaried Employees' Federation.

MEXICO

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Manuel AGUILAR, Director-General of the Consular Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 Mr. Adolfo DESENTIS, Counsellor, Mexican Institute of Social Insurance.

Advisers :

Mr. José Luis LARIS, Head of the Permanent Mexican Delegation accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.
 Mr. Juan José GÓMEZ de RUEDA, Permanent Mexican Delegation accredited to the international organisations in Geneva.
 Mr. Salvador ARBIDE HERNÁNDEZ.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Anatolio RAMOS RAMÍREZ, Secretary for External Relations and Propaganda of the General Executive Committee of the Petroleum Workers' Union of Mexico.

NETHERLANDS

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Father J. G. STOKMAN, O.F.M., Member of Parliament.
 Miss G. J. STEMBERG, Adviser, Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health.

Advisers :

Mr. H. L. FAGEL, Chief of the Industrial Relations Section, Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health.
 Mr. A. C. M. van de VEN, State Counsellor ; Chief of the Social Insurance Section, Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health.
 Mr. T. M. PELLINKHOF, Chief of the International Affairs Section, Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health.
 Mr. P. SCHIERBEEK, Chief of the Mines Section, Ministry of Economic Affairs.
 Dr. F. BEZEMER, Medical Adviser, Labour Inspectorate.
 Mr. W. M. ESSER, Agricultural Board, Ministry of Agriculture, Fishing and Food.

Additional Adviser representing a Non-Metropolitan Territory :

Mr. I. C. DEBROT, Chief of the Social Affairs Section for the Netherlands Antilles.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. A. G. FENNEMA, Director, Employers' Federation for International Labour Affairs ; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. G. C. van DIJK, General Secretary, Central Federation of Employers.
 Mr. J. L. J. M. RAYMAKERS, Chairman and Managing Director, J. A. Raymakers Textile Co. ; Member of the Federation of Catholic Employers.
 Mr. E. H. BISSCHOP BOELE, Secretary of the Board of Directors of the Orange-Nassau Mines.
 Mr. N. A. VAANDRAGER, Deputy Secretary, Royal Netherlands Committee on Agriculture.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. A. BORSTLAP, Secretary, Netherlands Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

Advisers :

Mr. A. VERMEULEN, Secretary, Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions ; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. P. STOKMAN, President, Christian Agricultural Workers' Union.
 Mr. J. ALDERS, Secretary, Netherlands Catholic Workers' Movement.
 Mr. H. KORTE, Jr., Secretary-General, Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions.

NEW ZEALAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Herbert Leslie BOCKETT, Secretary of Labour
 Mr. Cecil Porter SMITH, Registrar of Industrial Unions, Department of Labour and Employment.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. William Edward ANDERSON, Secretary, Auckland Provincial Employers' Association.

Adviser :

Mr. Geoffrey Arnott TURNER, Assistant Secretary, Wellington Employers' Association.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Percy Malcolm VELVIN, National Secretary. Amalgamated Shop Assistants and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers.

Adviser :

Mr. Ernest Bishop NEWTON, Secretary, Clothing Employees' Union and Laundry Workers' Union, Wellington and Taranaki.

NORWAY

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Kalmar J. ØKSNES, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Social Affairs, Representative of the Norwegian Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
 Mrs. Rakel SEWERIIN, President, Social Commission of the Storting.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Agnar KRINGLEBOTEN, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Affairs.
 Mr. Berger ULSAKER, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Local Government Affairs.

Advisers :

Mr. Finn ALEXANDER, Director, National Social Insurance Institution.
 Dr. Jon GLÖMME, Medical Counsellor, Directorate of Labour Inspection.
 Mr. Halldor HELDAL, Principal, Ministry of Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. A. P. ØSTBERG, Director, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Knut E. HENRIKSEN, Legal Adviser, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.

Advisers :

Mr. Christian ERLANDSEN, Director, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.
 Mr. Nils GLATVED, District Manager, Norwegian Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Parelius MENTSEN, Vice-President, General Confederation of Norwegian Trade Unions.

Advisers :

Mr. Bjarne DAHLBERG, President, Norwegian Federation of Bakers and Confectioners.
 Mr. Arne K. MEEDBY, Legal Adviser, General Confederation of Norwegian Trade Unions.

PAKISTAN

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. A. M. MALIK, Minister of Labour.

Mr. Shahzada ALAMGIR, Labour Commissioner, Government of Punjab.

Adviser :

Mr. Anwar A. SHAHEED, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Syed Wajid ALI, Chairman, Employers' Association of West Pakistan.

Adviser :

Mr. M. ISMAIL, Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries ; Director, State Bank of Pakistan.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Faiz AHMAD, Secretary-General, All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour.

Adviser :

Mr. Narayandas BECHAR, Member of the Central Executive Board, All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour.

PERU

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Arturo GARCÍA.
 Mr. Carlos LEGUÍA, Consul-General of Peru in Geneva.

PHILIPPINES

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Juan L. LANTING, Judge, Court of Industrial Relations.
 Mr. Enrique MAGALONA, Senator.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Raul LEUTERIO, Member of the House of Representatives.

Adviser :

Mr. Pascual ESPINOSA, Member of the House of Representatives.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Manuel TUASON.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Daniel GOMEZ.

Adviser :

Mr. Francisco DALUPAN.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Pedro D. FERNANDEZ, President, Philippine Dockworkers' Union.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Jose HERNANDEZ.
 Mr. Alberto HOFFMAN.

Advisers :

Mr. Desiderio DALISAY.
 Mr. Artemio NABOR.
 Mr. Jose TOLENTINO, Secretary to the Philippine Dockworkers' Union.

POLAND**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Léon CHAJN, Deputy Director of the Audit Office.
Mr. Jerzy LICKI, Director, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Advisers :

Mrs. Fryderyka KALINOWSKA, Chief of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Janusz ZABLOCKI, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Alojzy FARNIK.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Antoni WANDAS, Secretary of the Regional Union of Trade Unions.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mrs. Irena ANDRZEJEWSKA, Member of the National Union of Teachers' Unions.

PORTUGAL**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Jorge PEREIRA JARDIM, former Under-Secretary of State for Industry and Commerce ; Representative of the Portuguese Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. João de MATOS ANTUNES VARELA, Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Coimbra.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Raul Jorge VENTURA, Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Lisbon.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Antonio CALHEIROS LOPES, President, Rice Industries Association ; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Virgilio PRETO, President, Southern Association of Building Industrialists.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Artur Aurélio GONÇALVES, President, National Union of Office Workers.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates :

Mr. Mário da SILVA ÁVILA, President of the Executive Committee, National Union of Technicians and Workers in the Metal Industries, Lisbon.
Mr. José Manuel FRAGOSO FERNANDES, Representative of the Landworkers' Organisation (People's Institutes).

SWEDEN**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Wilhelm BJÖRCK, Director-General, Paymaster-General's Office ; former Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Social Affairs.
Mr. Per ECKERBERG, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Sten-Eric HEINRICI, Chief of Section, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Advisers :

Mrs. Inga THORSSON, Member of the Price Control Board ; Stockholm City Councillor.
Mr. Lars ANDRÉ, Deputy Director-General, Chief of the Technical and Labour Inspection Division, Workers' Protection Board.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

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

Advisers :

Mr. Erik BRODÉN, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.
Mr. Tore BROWALDH, Director, Swedish Employers' Confederation.
Mr. Curt-Steffan GIESECKE, Swedish Employers' Confederation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Arnold SÖLVÉN, Legal Adviser, Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions ; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Ture FLYBOO, Assistant Secretary, Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions.
Mrs. Sigrid EKENDAHL, National Organiser, Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions ; Chairman, Trade Union Women's Council.
Mr. Otto NORDENSKIÖLD, Secretary, Swedish Federation of Salaried Employees' Organisations.

SWITZERLAND**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. William RAPPARD, Professor of Economics ; Director of the Institute of Higher International Studies, Geneva.
Mr. Max KAUFMANN, Director, Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Arnold SAXER, Director, Federal Office of Social Insurance.

Advisers :

Mrs. Margarita SCHWARZ-GAGG, Member of the Federal Factories Commission.
Mr. Hans Peter KELLER, Assistant Director, Agricultural Division of the Federal Department of Public Economy.
Mr. Edouard EICHHOLZER, Chief of the Workers' Protection and Labour Law Section, Federal Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour.
Mr. Ernest KAISER, Chief of the Mathematics and Statistics Section, Federal Office of Social Insurance.
Mr. Charles SCHLUCHTER, Chief of Service, Office of Industry, Arts and Crafts, and Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

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

Advisers :

Mr. Charles Arnold DUBOIS, Secretary, Swiss Engineering Employers' Association.
Mr. Robert JACCARD, Secretary, Swiss Federation of Arts and Crafts.

Mr. Walter LÜDI, Delegate of the Board of Directors of the Ennenda Carpet Factory, Zurich.
 Mr. Albert HÜNI, Chief of the Division for Research into the Profitability of Agriculture, Swiss Peasants' Union.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Jean MÖRI, Secretary, Swiss Federation of Trade Unions ; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Emile GIROUD, Central Secretary, Swiss Federation of Metalworkers and Watchmakers.
 Mr. Willy SCHÜPBACH, Assistant Secretary, Swiss Federation of Textile and Factory Workers.
 Mr. Joseph BOTTINI, Deputy, Zurich Grand Council ; Vice-President, Federation of Swiss Societies of Salaried Employees.
 Mr. Adelrich SCHULER, Secretary, Swiss Christian Federation of Textile and Garment Workers.

SYRIA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Ihsan JOUKHADAR, Director-General of Labour and Social Affairs.
 Mr. Rafic SIOUFI, Director of the Budget and Comptroller.

Adviser :

Mrs. Elizabeth GENNAOUI.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Nabih ELIAS.

Advisers :

Mr. Charif CHARABATI, President, Union of Employers' Associations.
 Mr. Mouhammad Rabi SALEM.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Antoine CACHECHO.

Adviser :

Mr. Soubhi EL KHATIB.

THAILAND**GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :**

Mr. Bhusana KRAIRIKSH, Second Secretary, Royal Thai Legation, Berne.

TURKEY**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Nedjdete AZAK, Principal Legal Adviser, Ministry of Labour.
 Mr. Ferit Hakki SAYMEN, Professor of Civil and Labour Law, Faculty of Law of the University of Istanbul.

Adviser :

Mr. Necmettin TUNCEL, Permanent Delegate of Turkey to the European Office of the United Nations.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Haydar DÜNDAR, President, Izmir Stock Exchange ; President, Izmir Tobacco Producers' Association.

Adviser :

Mr. Muhittin ALAM, President, Industrial Union of Izmir ; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Recep KIRIM, Member of the Textile Workers' Federation ; Member of the Bursa Trade Unions Federation.

Adviser :

Mr. Sedat TOYDEMİR, Adviser to the Automobile Workers' Trade Union.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. Lionel Emmanuel ORKIN, Under-Secretary for Labour.
 Mr. Frederick Jacobus MYBURGH, Labour Attaché, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, London.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Reginald Siddall BROOKE, M.P., Managing Director, Brooke's Lenos, Ltd. ; former President, Cape Chamber of Industries, Capetown.

Adviser :

Mr. Errol Prain DRUMMOND, Secretary, Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Kenneth John GEORGE, Vice-Chairman, South African Federation of Trade Unions ; General Secretary, South African Association of Municipal Employees.

Adviser :

Mr. Raymond Francis BUDD, Chairman, South African Council, Amalgamated Engineering Union.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND**MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE :**

The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter MONCKTON, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., M.C., Q.C., M.P., Minister of Labour and National Service.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS, K.C.M.G., C.B., Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service ; United Kingdom Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Geoffrey Ronald Aubert BUCKLAND, C.B., Under-Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Cyril George DENNYS, C.B., M.C., Under-Secretary, Ministry of National Insurance.

Advisers :

Mr. Frank Wingate CARPENTER, Commissioner of Labour, Government of Kenya.

Mr. John Alexander DIACK, Counsellor, Foreign Office.

Mr. Owen FRANCIS, Assistant Secretary, Coal Division, Ministry of Fuel and Power.

Mr. George GARDINER, Principal, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Archibald Frederick HARRISON, C.B.E., Solicitor, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Lex Hamilton HORNSBY, Director of Public Relations, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Frederick Cecil MASON, Assistant Labour Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. Arthur Edward MORGAN, Senior Executive Officer, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Alun Michael MORGAN, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Robert William STEELE, O.B.E., Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Insurance, Northern Ireland.

Mr. Mark Dalcour TENNANT, C.M.G., Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Brian VERNON, Principal, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Mr. Robert Mustoe WALKER, Principal, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Noel Duncan WATSON, Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.

Miss Margaret Jaffrey WHEATLEY, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Sir John FORBES WATSON, K.C.M.G., Director, British Employers' Confederation ; Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers :

Mr. Christopher BELLINGHAM-SMITH, British Employers' Confederation.

Mr. John Abdale BROUMLEY, Chief Labour Officer, Dorman Long and Company, Limited ; Member of the Central Council of Iron and Steel Employers' Associations.

Mr. Kenneth John BURTON, Secretary, British Employers' Confederation.

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SECRETARIES :

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Resolutions Committee

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Czechoslovakia : Mr. ROHÁČ.
France : Mr. HAUCK; substitutes: Mr. TOUS-SAINT, Miss GUELF.
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Iran : Mr. KAFAI; substitute: Mr. NAZIH.
Israel : Mr. KAHANY.
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Yugoslavia : Mr. PETROVIĆ; substitute: Mr. MARIĆ.

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Venezuela : Mr. GRATEROL.

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Mr. FENNEMA; substitute: Mr. Van DIJK (*Netherlands*).
Sir John FORBES WATSON; substitutes: Mr. BURTON, Mr. BELLINGHAM-SMITH (*United Kingdom*).
Mr. van der REST; substitute: Mr. VERSCHUEREN (*Belgium*).
Mr. SHAW; substitutes: Mr. BARTON, Mr. CALHOUN (*United States*).
Mr. VELUTINI; substitute: Mr. MARTÍNEZ (*Venezuela*).
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Mr. JENKS.

Assisted by :

Mr. L'HOMMELAIS.

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Austria : Mr. HAMMERL ; substitutes : Mrs. BAIERLEIN-FERSCHITZ.
Belgium : Mr. FAFCHAMPS ; substitute : Mr. WALLIN.
Bolivia :
Brazil : Mr. de REGO MONTEIRO.
Burma : Mr. MAUNG ; substitute : Mr. MYINT.
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Chile : Mr. CISTERNAS.
China : Mr. YÜ ; substitute : Mr. TUAN.
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Iceland : Mr. GUDMUNDSSON ; substitute : Mr. ÓLAFSSON.
India : Mr. MENON ; substitute : Mr. PATNAIK.
Indonesia : Mr. TOBING ; substitute : Mr. SAMJONO.
Iran :
Iraq : Mr. PACHACHI.
Ireland : Mr. MURRAY ; substitutes : Mr. MAGUIRE, Mr. CAHILL.
Israel : Mr. KAHANY.
Italy : Mr. DEL BO ; substitute : Mr. BOUNOUS.
Japan : Mr. TERAMOTO.
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Luxembourg :
Mexico : Mr. AGUILAR.
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New Zealand : Mr. BOCKETT ; substitute : Mr. SMITH.
Norway : Mr. KRINGLEBOTTEN.
Pakistan : Mr. MALIK ; substitute : Mr. SHAHEED.
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Philippines : Mr. LANTING.
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Union of South Africa : Mr. ORKIN ; substitute : Mr. MYBURGH.
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Yugoslavia : Mr. DULAR.

GOVERNING BODY DELEGATION :

Mr. RAMADIER.
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Assisted by : Mr. REYMOND.

Mr. STACEY.

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 Miss P. CHAMBERLAIN.
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Committee on the Application
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 Mr. KUNTSCHEM ; substitute : Mr. JACCARD (*Switzerland*).
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Mr. PONS ; substitute : Mr. BAYCE (*Uruguay*).
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Mr. SHAW ; substitutes : Mr. McGRATH, Mr. KNOWLTON (*United States*).

Mr. WINKLER ; substitutes : Mr. ERDMANN, Mr. FELLINGER (*Federal Republic of Germany*).

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Mr. ÖSTBERG ; substitute : Mr. HENRIKSEN (*Norway*).

Mr. ELIAS ; substitute : Mr. SALEM (*Syria*).

Mr. ADACHI ; substitute : Mr. SHIBATA (*Japan*).

Mr. LING ; substitute : Mr. CHI TSUN (*China*).

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Mr. DURAN (*Brazil*).

Mr. ESPEJO (*Argentina*).

Mr. MÜRI (*Switzerland*).

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Mr. COOL.

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Assisted by : Mr. AHMAD.

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Mr. VALTICOS.

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Brazil : Mrs. VARGAS DO AMARAL PEIXOTO ; substitutes : Mr. GRANDE, Mr. de CASTRO NEVES.

Burma : Mr. ZIN ; substitute : Mr. MAUNG.

Colombia : Mr. GONZÁLEZ.

Cuba : Mr. SOBERÓN.

Czechoslovakia : Mr. ROHÁČ.

Denmark : Mrs. BUDTZ.

Ecuador : Mr. BOLÍVAR.

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France : Mr. LARCHEVÊQUE ; substitute : Mr. PARINI.

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Guatemala : Mr. PERALTA.

India : Mr. PANDE.

Indonesia : Mr. TOBING ; substitute Mr. HELMI.

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Peru : Mr. GARCÍA.

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Venezuela : Mr. GRATEROL.

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 Mr. WIJCKMENS (*Representative of the International Federation of Christian Landworkers' Unions*).

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Czechoslovakia: Mr. PLEŠEK.
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Finland: Mr. JYLHÄ.

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Federal Republic of Germany: Mr. ECKERT; substitute: Mr. DOBBERNACK.

Guatemala: Mr. PERALTA; substitute: Mr. MORA.

Iceland: Mr. OLAFSSON; substitutes: Mr. J. GUDMUNDSSON, Mr. H. GUDMUNDSSON.

India: Mr. MENON.

Iraq: Mr. IBRAHIM.

Ireland: Mr. MAGUIRE; substitute: Mr. McCARTHY.

Israel: Mr. BAR-NIV.

Italy: Mr. CARLONI.

Japan: Mr. TERAMOTO; substitute: Mr. TACHIBANA.

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Mexico: Mr. DESENTIS.

Netherlands: Mr. van de VEN.

Norway: Mr. ALEXANDER; substitute: Mr. KRINGLEBOTTEN.

Peru: Mr. GARCÍA.

Poland: Mr. LICKI.

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Turkey: Mr. SAYMEN.

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United States: Mr. MYERS.

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Mr. BURNE; substitute: Mr. STRUDWICK (*Australia*).

Mr. CAMPANELLA; substitutes: Mr. BOCCARDI, Mr. PEYROT, Mr. DONINI (*Italy*).

Mr. FENNEMA; substitutes: Mr. RAYMAKERS, Mr. van DIJK (*Netherlands*).

Sir John FORBES WATSON; substitutes: Mr. George TAYLOR, Mr. BROUMLEY (*United Kingdom*).

Mr. GUERRERO (*Dominican Republic*).

Mr. ÖSTBERG; substitute: Mr. HENRIKSEN (*Norway*).

Mr. van der REST; substitutes: Mr. MICHA, Mr. BUCHET, Mr. VERSCHUEREN (*Belgium*).

Mr. RUTNAM (*Ceylon*).

Mr. SHAW; substitute: Mr. CALHOUN (*United States*).

Mr. TATA; substitute: Mr. SWAMINATHAN (*India*).

Mr. TAYLOR; substitutes: Mr. SMITH, Mr. MACDONNELL, Mr. BRASS (*Canada*).

Mr. THU ; substitute : Mr. MADHA (*Burma*).
 Mr. VELUTINI ; substitutes : Mr. SÁNCHEZ,
 Mr. SOTO (*Venezuela*).
 Mr. WALINE ; substitutes : Miss FAURE, Mr. de
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 Mr. WEINBERGER ; substitute : Mr. SCHNEIDER
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 Mr. LANG (*Brazil*).
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 Mr. KUNTSCHE ; substitute : Mr. DUBOIS
 (*Switzerland*).
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mark).
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 Mr. TSATSOS (*Greece*).
 Mr. TEDJASUKMANA (*Indonesia*).

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 Mr. BARTLETT (*United Kingdom*).
 Mr. BECHAR (*Pakistan*).
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 Mr. BUDD (*Union of South Africa*).
 Mr. COSTA (*Argentina*).
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 Mr. HORMAZÁBAL (*Chile*).
 Mr. JORDAN (*Australia*).
 Mr. KANEV (*Israel*).
 Mr. KORTE (*Netherlands*).
 Mr. KRIER ; later Mr. LEICK (*Luxembourg*).
 Mr. KYRIAKOPOULOS (*Greece*).
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 Mr. OKA (*Japan*).
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 Mr. RUTTENBERG (*United States*).
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Deputy Members :
 (in order of priority)

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 Mr. MOHAMED (*Iraq*) ; later Mr. KEYVAN
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 Mr. RAYNAUD ; later Mr. MARIO (*France*).
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Mr. MAYSTRE (*Representative of the World Medical*
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Mr. STARK.

REPORTER :

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Assisted by : Mr. STACK.

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Mr. FERAUD.

Mr. GERIG.

Mr. de VIADO.

SECRETARIES :

Miss CRAIG.

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 MENDES de ALMEIDA, Mr. de CASTRO
 NEVES, Mr. da FROTA MOREIRA.

Burma : Mr. MAUNG ; substitute : Mr. MYINT.

Canada : Mr. MACLEAN ; substitute : Mr. MUR-
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Ceylon : Mr. ABEYWIRA.

Chile : Mr. DONOSO.

China : Mr. YÜ ; substitute : Mr. LIU.

Cuba : Mr. de SANDOVAL.

Denmark : Mr. DREYER.

Dominican Republic : Mr. TRONCOSO ; substi-
 tute : Mr. PEYNADO.

Egypt : ISMAIL Bey.

Finland : Mr. WUORI ; substitute : Mr. VALLILA.

France : Miss RAFFALOVICH ; substitute : Miss
 PIGUET.

Federal Republic of Germany : Mr. CLASSEN ;
 substitutes : Mr. GOLDSCHMIDT, Mr. KAT-
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Greece : Mr. PAVLAKIS ; substitute : Mr. HADJI
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 Israel : Mr. BERINSON ; substitute : Mr. BAR-NIV.
 Italy : Mr. PURPURA ; substitute : Mr. BONACCHI.
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 Luxembourg : Mr. HUBERTY ; substitute : Mr. WILWERTZ.
 Mexico : Mr. LARIS.
 Netherlands : Father STOKMAN ; substitute : Mr. FAGEL.
 New Zealand : Mr. BOCKETT.
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Mr. de GIVRY.

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Mr. VANEK.

Miss PERALTA.

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Guatemala : Mr. MORA ; substitute : Mrs. MORA.

Haiti : Mr. JUMELLE ; substitute : Mr. MAGLOIRE.

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Yugoslavia : Mrs. SAVITCH.

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Mr. TEDJASUKMANA (*Indonesia*).

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Brazil : Mr. de SOUZA MONTEIRO ; substitutes : Mr. ANDRADE FIGUEIRA, Mr. ULHÔA REIS.
Burma : Mr. MYINT ; substitute : Mr. MAUNG.
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Mr. VELUTINI ; substitutes : Mr. CONDE JAHN, Mr. MARTÍNEZ (*Venezuela*).
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Mr. WEINBERGER ; substitute : Mr. PROCHÁZKA (*Austria*).
Mr. WINKLER ; substitutes : Mr. REINECKE, Mr. REERMANN (*Federal Republic of Germany*).

Deputy Members :

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Mr. FENNEMA ; substitute : Mr. BISSCHOP BOELE (*Netherlands*).
Mr. KUNTSCHEM ; substitute : Mr. LÜDI (*Switzerland*).
Mr. LING ; substitute : Mr. CHI TSUN (*China*).
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 Mr. David A. MORSE, Secretary-General of the Conference.
 Mr. JENKS, Assistant Secretary-General and Legal Adviser of the Conference.
 Mr. MORELLET, Assistant Secretary-General of the Conference.
 Mr. LAFRANCE, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General of the Conference.

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SECOND PART

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

Verbatim Report of the Proceedings

FIRST SITTING

Wednesday, 4 June 1952, 10.15 a.m.

*Presidents : Mr. Ramadier, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office,
and Mr. de Segadas Vianna*

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Interpretation : Mr. RAMADIER—The 35th Session of the International Labour Conference is opened. Thus for the 35th time representatives of Governments and of employers and workers are meeting in this Conference. Such a long record is rare among international organisations. The oldest of them are purely technical in their aims. The International Labour Organisation, the sole survivor of the creations of the Treaty of Versailles, is strong primarily because of the originality of its conception. It is not simply a meeting of Governments who agree upon their social policy. Those who drew up the blue prints knew that social life cannot and should not be regulated by Governments in the proud but sterile solitude of their sovereignty. Social relationships are established spontaneously between various forces whose make-up is the result of the complex reaction of various elements which often cannot be distinguished from one another and on which political action can have an influence only by adhering to their laws in the respectful dependence of man on nature.

No doubt some of those who conceived the Organisation—the workers' representatives of the West, both European and American, who met at Leeds in 1916, and one of whom at least, our friend Léon Jouhaux, still attends and inspires our meetings—may have felt some distrust or even contempt with regard to the political power. They had no patience with its sovereign pretensions, or with its intermittent authority, or with its demands or its concessions. Their faith was based entirely in the trade union movement (particularly in the workers' organisations, but also in em-

ployers' organisations), which expressed deep-rooted aspirations less precisely than decrees, but which represented greater security and stability. The entrance of trade unions into international life was to protect producers against the capricious rulings of the political power.

Naturally an attempt was made to turn this fierce independence into a doctrine. Proudhonian anarchism, the politico-economic liberalism of the Manchester school, and many other such measures were tried—mostly in France, where we are naturally inclined towards theorising. Any doctrine is necessarily false in some way because no doctrine can ever embrace reality as a whole. Trade unionism never allowed itself to be restricted within the narrow confines of the doctrinaires. It has been pursuing its career with the complete freedom of an instrument which records variations where science itself is contradicted.

No doubt the employers' organisations obeyed other impulses, but they were not much more sympathetic towards the State. They rendered to Caesar the respectful homage which was due to him but, having done so, they preserved their freedom of action. The right of property offered them inviolable protection which the State could not transgress. Secure in this protection they pursued a policy with regard to the workers which was sometimes austere, sometimes paternal, but for which they never had to account.

The setting-up of the International Labour Organisation was, no doubt, the result of the developments of the preceding 20 years, and in particular of the war years. Nevertheless, this step did represent a clean break with the tradition of isolation and mistrust between employers' and workers' organisations. Both

agreed to co-operate with Governments with a view to the drawing-up of an international labour code and to achieving social justice—the guarantee of peace. The International Labour Office became the centre which radiated a new social policy agreed upon by all the elements associated in it—States and workers' and employers' organisations. Freed by its origin from the irritating preoccupations of internal policies within the various States, a certain number of common concepts were accepted which were clarified as the result of intensive study and which, no longer fraught with the risk inherent in the unknown, became familiar to the leading spirits of the social movement in each country. It could hardly be said that this constant exchange of views brought to light a common ideal. Moreover, this was not desirable. It was essential for each element to retain its particular function and its own initiative. Nevertheless, all the controversies were based on a common body of experience.

The vitality and the richness of the social movement rests on this flexible type of association in which everyone guards jealously his independence but where mistrust disappears. Once this obstacle had been overcome, however, the social movement had to face a new danger, namely, the increasingly large part played by the State. From having once been confronted with the hostility both of employers and workers, the State has come to claim leadership of the social movement. It takes the initiative, it reforms, it creates, and it will not admit that anything can take place without it. Everything is based in it. From a systematic indifference, characteristic of the 19th century, it passed to timid interventions, and it has now reached the point of absorbing everything.

This State intervention has reached its height in the totalitarian States. The employers' and workers' organisations, where they still exist, are scarcely more than organs of the State. They obey impulses from above, and it would be illogical, under such a régime, to imagine that they could be truly independent. In some cases the organisations which remain have a certain value as executive bodies, but they cannot actually contribute, as independent forces, towards ensuring social equilibrium.

The position of new countries which have recently become industrialised is still more difficult. In such countries occupational organisations are, of necessity, not based on a long tradition. They have had no opportunity to learn from past mistakes and from exaggerations which hard facts have gradually corrected. Sometimes they have sprung suddenly to life, they have mushroomed, as the result of fortuitous necessity. Sometimes they have merely followed the example of foreign movements. Sometimes they have been promoted by Governments. In many cases these three factors have been brought to bear simultaneously and trade union movements without a past, without deep roots, have pursued an erratic course.

In such circumstances the influence of the State made itself strongly felt. Governments, increasingly aware of the importance of labour problems, determined to work for social progress, used the trade unions as instruments for

their policies and in this way achieved or at least attempted to carry out reforms which could not have been effected by other means. The trade unions took advantage of the impulse that was given to them, and the result, in many cases, has been an alliance between them and the State. However, in such cases, the State often retains the initiative and the trade union loses part of its independence without having even assured its position.

A change of Government in many cases means ruin for the trade unions. The new Government in its turn recognises the need for a social policy and for securing the support and the services of the workers' and employers' organisations. New organisations are set up and the cycle continues.

Such a system is necessarily unhealthy, both for the Government and for the trade unions. The latter lose their forcefulness and cease to strengthen their roots among the masses of the people. They come to place their trust in the Government, and to owe their stability to the régime of which they are a part: instead of supporting it they depend upon it for support. If it falls, they fall with it.

It is no doubt a slower and more painful process to build trade unions as the result of a bitter struggle against the employers and the State. The price the trade unionist has to pay for the independence of the movement, which often is not achieved within his lifetime, is frequently poverty and imprisonment. It took more than a century to build the British and the French trade unions. The United States trade union organisation grew a little more rapidly. But such organisations have thus acquired strength, freedom and wisdom. They are capable of upholding the interests of the workers and they constitute within a nation a strong and resolute force. Through their early struggles and having converted their power into authority, they were enabled to constitute the first foundation of the International Labour Office.

Freedom of association was thus inscribed in our Charter not as a result of pure experience and reflection but owing to the logical needs of our Organisation. What may seem surprising is that it was only in 1948 that the International Labour Conference adopted a Convention on freedom of association. No doubt the principle was so evident that to introduce a legal instrument would simply have weakened the case.

However, it is on the basis of such evidence, and not on the basis of an international contract, that the Governing Body decided at its January 1950 Session to establish the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association and a procedure for the examination of complaints. It would be wrong to think that its aim is to pass judgment or to constitute a judicial procedure. Neither the officers of the Governing Body nor the Committee set up by the Governing Body—nor the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission itself—is called upon to judge or decide. Their mission is primarily one of apostleship. They must, indeed, reject false accusations, but they have, above all, to discern in each fact what the usage is, to see where excesses have occurred and to persuade those who have committed those excesses that they should

cease. We appraise the facts, certainly, but chiefly with the object of avoiding any repetition of the mistake. We give neither a good mark nor absolution, but try to obtain a greater concern for freedom on the part of the Governments and greater independence for the trade unions.

This task of confessor and apostle is extremely delicate. It alone allows the world which is enrolled under the banner of our Organisation to find its strength in the very forces from which the Organisation drew its strength in the beginning.

I beg your indulgence for having so emphasised our basic principles at this opening meeting, but this is the only way in which we can keep a grip on reality and not become a mere toy of circumstances.

In the course of this Conference we are going to examine many problems and to carry on the work undertaken by our predecessors. The river must follow its course. Let us hope that the water will not be muddied but will retain the purity and the forcefulness with which it sprang into being. This strength and this freshness will provide social justice and peace.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Interpretation: Mr. RAMADIER—Our first business is the election of the President of the Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. MONTTOYA (*Government delegate, Venezuela*)—In my capacity as Government delegate of my country to the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference I have the great honour, in accordance with the express instructions of my Government, to submit to this meeting the nomination of Mr. José de Segadas Vianna, Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce of the United States of Brazil and leader of his country's delegation to this Conference.

The proposal for the nomination of this excellent personality, in addition to satisfying the most sincere wishes of my Government, is also in accordance with my own feelings of esteem and respect for his qualities as statesman and citizen. His interest in social questions in general and the impulse which he has given to social legislation in Brazil are well known; I would like nevertheless to mention some of his most outstanding activities.

Mr. de Segadas Vianna is a lawyer and a journalist. In 1940 he became active in connection with the social security activities of the Labour Court, quitting these activities for a short time on his election as deputy by the Labour Party of Brazil. He has drafted a number of important laws, among the most important being the Brazilian Labour Code and legislation connected with holidays with pay, the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, and their sharing in the profits of the undertakings. In the Chamber of Deputies he was chairman of the Standing Committee on Social Legislation. In the Ministry of Labour he has filled several important posts, culminating with his appointment by President Vargas, in September 1951, as Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce.

With such experience, and with the capacity, talent and ability which Mr. de Segadas Vianna showed as President of the Fifth Regional Conference of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation held recently at Petropolis, where he led our discussions with tact and the greatest of care, I am certain that this Conference will find in him an expert leader.

In view of these facts I formally propose the name of Mr. José de Segadas Vianna as President of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference and I am certain that he will receive the unanimous approval of the various delegations.

Mr. KAISER (*Government delegate, United States*)—On behalf of my Government I have the great privilege to second the nomination of my good friend Mr. de Segadas Vianna, the Minister of Labour, Commerce and Industry of the United States of Brazil.

Mr. de Segadas Vianna has had a brilliant career, both in private life and in public life. He was and he is an outstanding lawyer. He has had great success in his career as a journalist, and now he is Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce in one of the great democracies of the world.

In choosing Mr. de Segadas Vianna as our President we do ourselves proud in two respects. First, we recognise the significant contribution that he has made in the social field as the Minister of Labour of his country. Secondly, we assure ourselves of an outstanding President. Those of us who attended the recent Regional Conference of American States in Petropolis had the good fortune to carry out our work under his outstanding chairmanship. He is a man of wisdom, intelligence and complete and sincere objectivity. It is a great pleasure indeed, and a privilege, to second the nomination of Mr. de Segadas Vianna.

Sir John FORBES WATSON (*Employers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—On behalf of the Employers' group I have the honour and pleasure of supporting the proposal that Mr. de Segadas Vianna be elected President of this Conference. There has been brought to your notice his distinguished career and his public service in his own great country and these facts will, I think, bring prestige to our Organisation. It has also been brought to your notice that he starts with a practical knowledge of the work we do, and we know that the able manner in which he presided over the recent American Regional Conference of this Organisation earned the admiration of all the three groups of that Conference.

It cannot be said too often—and you have said it well this morning, Mr. Chairman—that this is a tripartite Organisation of representatives of Governments, employers and workers. It is the only organisation that has ever existed in the world where the Employers' and Workers' representatives are appointed as the official representatives of the employers and workers of their country. What is even more important, these employers' and workers' representatives have a status equal to that of the representatives of their respective Governments. I am one of those who believe that it

is the tripartite nature of our Organisation that enabled it to survive the last war. Our Organisation also stands for freedom of speech and freedom of thought. It is therefore essential for our meetings to be presided over by a President who will be impartial. We can count on Mr. de Segadas Vianna loyally observing the principles of the Organisation to which we all belong, and we as an Employers' group in turn pledge him our fullest co-operation in the difficult task he is now undertaking.

Mr. SHASTRI (*Workers' delegate, India*)—Speaking on behalf of the Workers' group, I have great pleasure in supporting the nomination of Mr. de Segadas Vianna as President of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. In doing so I fully associate myself with the glowing tributes that have been paid to him.

The unique and rapid progress that Brazil has made in the domain of social security has been largely due to the imaginative and progressive role that Mr. de Segadas Vianna has played as Minister of Labour in that country. The remarkable manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the last Conference of American States Members as its Chairman won appreciation from all groups, and not the least from the Workers' group. His election as President will no doubt be received with profound satisfaction by all the groups at this Conference, and with these few words I have great pleasure in supporting the motion which has been made and duly seconded.

Interpretation: Mr. RAMADIER—The name of Mr. de Segadas Vianna has been suggested and the nomination has been seconded. If there are no other nominations I declare Mr. de Segadas Vianna elected President of the Conference.

(*Mr. de Segadas Vianna is elected unanimously.*)

Interpretation: Mr. RAMADIER—I am sure you will permit me to express to Mr. de Segadas Vianna congratulations in the name of all of you, but perhaps more particularly in the name of those who recently attended the Conference at Petropolis and who owe a very strong debt of gratitude to him.

I will now ask Mr. de Segadas Vianna to take the Chair.

(*Mr. de Segadas Vianna takes the Chair.*)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I must express my gratitude with the greatest emotion for the tribute you have paid to my country by electing me President of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. I consider this a compliment to the devotion which Brazil has always felt for the International Labour Organisation, which was made clear very recently at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the International

Labour Organisation when the President of the Republic of Brazil, Mr. Getulio Vargas, reaffirmed the support which my country has given and will continue to give to the initiative and the work of the International Labour Organisation.

We are living in a period of great international strain in which only support and enthusiasm for the work of the International Labour Organisation will ensure throughout the world the existence of an atmosphere of social peace and understanding between employers, workers and Governments, thereby strengthening the democratic institutions which we need so badly and which are so often lacking. I am sure that during this Conference new ways will be planned for the achievement of the goals we have in mind, so that in all the countries of the world the classes struggling for progress will achieve better understanding and mutual esteem, which will lead to all the peoples of the world being even more closely bound together.

May I express again the utmost gratitude to you all for the honour you have paid to my country, and I hope that with the goodwill and collaboration of all the delegates we will be able to carry out this task which is without equal in the world, the greatest contribution which could be made to social peace—the work of the International Labour Organisation.

ADDRESS BY MR. PELT, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. PELT (*Representative of the United Nations*)—I am privileged to convey to you the greetings of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his best wishes for the success of this Conference. I do not have to remind you of the importance which has always been attached by the Secretary-General to the work of the I.L.O. His 20-year programme for achieving peace contains, as one of its ten objects, the more vigorous use by all Member Governments of the specialised agencies to promote, in the words of the Charter "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress". No international agency has a greater contribution to make in these fields than the I.L.O., and social justice holds a key position in any long-term programme for achieving lasting peace. This is admirably expressed by two sentences in the Report of the Director-General, and I quote from that Report: "Lasting peace can only be achieved if positive solutions are found to mankind's social and economic problems.... The ideal of social justice is a harmonising force, and in its service countries with widely differing economic, social and political patterns can live at peace with one another."

The Report from which I have just quoted reveals how the programme of the I.L.O. has been adapted to meet most effectively the current problems of the world which come within the Organisation's field of interest. The Secretary-General has noted with particular interest the emphasis recently placed by the I.L.O. on manpower problems and the programme which has been developed to meet the

urgent need throughout the world for practical action in regard to the organisation of employment, technical training and migration. He has also noted the intensified efforts by the I.L.O. in promoting social security and in raising productivity, and he is gratified that a close relationship has been developed between the programmes of the I.L.O. and the United Nations.

As an illustration of how interwoven the programmes of our two organisations have become and how dependent we are upon each other's work, one has only to look at the agenda of the Economic and Social Council, which is currently in session in New York. Of some 30 substantive items on the agenda of that body, nearly 20 are of close interest to the I.L.O., including full employment, migration, social activities, the Covenant on Human Rights and trade union rights. On a number of other important questions, notably forced

labour, freedom of association and technical assistance for economic development, work is being actively carried forward through close co-operation established under the decisions of the Economic and Social Council and the organs of the I.L.O.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations wishes me, in conclusion, to pay a warm tribute on his behalf to your Director-General, Mr. David Morse, for the excellent co-operation which the United Nations has received at all times from him and from the International Labour Office. I am personally looking forward to the opportunity of continuing the close contact with him and his staff for the purposes of ensuring here in Geneva the closest co-operation in achieving the common aims of our two organisations.

(The Conference adjourned at 11 a.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Ghayour	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Licki
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Heinrici (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Bergenström Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Barkatt	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Molins	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Purpura) Mr. Pastore	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Segadas Vianna Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Dias (substitute for Mr. A. Pires)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sunu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Tatsuke (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Ebisuka (substitute for Mr. Teramoto)	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Kayser (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Hayot (substitute for Mr. Diederich) Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Makris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Roberts
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Murray Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle Mr. Magloire Mr. Roy Mr. Lacroix	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Öksnes Mrs. Sewerinn Mr. Erlandsen (substitute for Mr. Östberg) Mr. Mentsen	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Martínez (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Ochoa
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Bechar (substitute for Mr. Ahmad)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Cofiño	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Helmi (substitute for Mr. Samjono)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrovič Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. el Gerbi, Mr. Carter (*Libya*), Mr. Pelt, Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Obez, Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Hoveyda (*Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees*), Mr. Falchi (*Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe*), Mr. Tennfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Oldenbroek, Mr. Patteet (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*), Mr. Watkins, Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*), Mr. Emery (*International Organisation of Employers*).

SECOND SITTING

Wednesday, 4 June 1952, 3.15 p.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

ELECTION OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The agenda calls for the election of the three Vice-Presidents of the Conference. I shall ask the Clerk of the Conference to read out the proposals made by the three groups.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The following are the nominations made by the groups :

Government group : Mr. Dravid (*India*).

Employers' group : Mr. Pons (*Uruguay*).

Workers' group : Mr. Delaney (*United States*).

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I take it that these proposals are adopted, and declare the three delegates named Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

(The proposal is adopted.)

OBJECTION TO CREDENTIALS OF CHINESE DELEGATION

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—I have asked permission to speak at this juncture on behalf of my Government and with the consent of all the other members of the Czechoslovak delegation. The Czechoslovak delegation protests most strongly against the presence of the representatives of the Kuomintang clique, who unlawfully have taken the place which is rightfully that of the delegation of the People's Republic of China.

It is an irrefutable fact that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China holds authority over the whole territory of China and its 500 million inhabitants, while the Kuomintang clique has nothing whatsoever in common with the Chinese people, has no jurisdiction over the territory of China and exists only since the armed intervention of the United States of America, which illegally occupied a part of Chinese

territory in order to give protection and asylum to the said Kuomintang clique. The representatives of the rotten and corrupt régime which, in spite of injections of billions of dollars, has been overthrown by the Chinese people, do not have the right to represent these people. The only rightful representative is the Government which these people have freely chosen and which has resisted colonial oppression and desires the social justice which, according to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, should form the basis of the Organisation's endeavour.

The Czechoslovak delegation therefore proposes that the 35th Session of the Conference of the I.L.O., first, excludes the representatives of the Kuomintang clique from the International Labour Organisation ; and secondly, invites the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to take part in the work of the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation : Mr. LICKI (*Government delegate, Poland*)—I have been instructed by the Government of Poland to make the following declaration.

During the last session of the International Labour Conference the Polish delegation raised a very serious protest against the delegates from the Kuomintang clique at that session of the Conference and asked that their credentials be declared invalid. Events that have taken place during the year have shown, even to the most determined adversaries of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, that it is only that Government which has any rights throughout the whole territory. Only to that Government can we attribute the social reform and the enormous progress made in the accelerated development and the economic power of the country, and the raising of the standard of living of the people of China. Impressive progress has been made by the Government.

The presence in this assembly of the representatives of the so-called Government of

China—already expelled by the people of China—who have been supported by the armed force of a foreign power in order to facilitate aggression against China, is in absolute contradiction with international standards and the fundamental principles of this Organisation. I therefore demand that the representatives of the Kuomintang be expelled from this Conference.

Mr. YÜ (*Government delegate, China*)—Once again duty to my Government and to the International Labour Organisation compels me to condemn today the obnoxious attempt made by a satellite of the U.S.S.R. to unseat the delegation of the Republic of China, which has been an ardent supporter of the principles of the I.L.O. since the inception of that Organisation over 30 years ago. We all know that the Soviet bloc has made such attempts on at least a hundred occasions, and on every occasion an overwhelming majority of the members of every international conference has, for numerous reasons, rejected this persistent, sinister, communist effort.

In order to save time I am determined not to repeat the facts and figures, grounds and arguments, which I had occasion to enumerate in this connection at the last session of the International Labour Conference and at the sessions of several other organs of the United Nations in the course of the past year; but it behoves me to bring to the attention of all the delegates to this Conference one of the basic truths of our time, namely—to use the recent words of General Ridgway, who has gained valuable knowledge of communists in Asia—that “everything these people (the communists) do all ties into one over-all plan”.

The puppet régime of Peiping is the one which is the fruit of aggression and which has been condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor, and where mass murder, wholesale persecution and international banditry are the order of the day. It is that régime that has just forced the British merchants to liquidate their assets, amounting to more than U.S. \$840 million, on the mainland of China. It is that régime that has bled the employers white, made the workers slaves, and slaughtered the trade union leaders. It is that régime which, in carrying out the orders of Moscow, is still waging a war of aggression against the United Nations in Korea.

The apparently formal and virtually routine gesture on the part of the communist countries to bring such a régime into the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and other international organisations obviously ties into the over-all plan of communist domination and world conquest. Let us not belittle this psychological “germ warfare” with the definite purpose of poisoning the atmosphere of the international forum and the minds of the peoples of the earth. It is imperative that we who are still privileged to breathe the air of freedom should further build up our already strong body and strengthen our mind in face of the communist tyranny of words and tirades of propaganda.

History will tell posterity that my country, in combating communist aggression inside the halls of international conferences, as well as

outside them, is fighting not only for our own survival but also for that of all the civilised world. Happily, we realise that in this gigantic struggle we are not alone, for the freedom-loving peoples everywhere, especially those of the I.L.O. who reflect three major cross-sections of world opinion, are with us. Certainly the teeming millions of our fellow countrymen who are being enslaved on China's mainland and whom I do, in fact, represent are morally and actually with us.

You will recall that last year the delegate from Poland spoke from this rostrum (this year he repeated the same story) and said that I represented nothing and nobody. This year both the delegate from Poland and the delegate from Czechoslovakia say that I represent the so-called Kuomintang clique. I am here on behalf of a Government that represents 450 million people, legally and factually. No words destined to confuse can alter this fact. The fallaciousness of the representative of the Polish Government's remark in saying that I represented nobody and nothing can only be contrasted with the truth of the fact that he represents something, namely, the Kremlin, and that he represents somebody, namely, Joseph Stalin. How could the Polish delegate indulge, as he did, in those derogatory expressions against me when he comes from a country whose Minister of Defence was assigned to the post by another country? In fact, his delegation does not represent Poland but the U.S.S.R., which is neither a Member of nor a believer in the I.L.O.

May I recall that when the initial attempts to unseat my country's representatives were made by the Soviet bloc, and doomed to failure, their representatives staged their notorious walk-out, saying that they would not be present in the same hall with the representatives of my country? Had they honoured their words in this respect they would have saved much of the time and facilitated a good deal of the work of the sessions of various international organisations. In truth, the world knows, and knows well and appreciates fully, that it was entirely due to the walk-outs of the Soviet delegate that the Security Council of the United Nations could adopt, two years ago, the all-important measure to check communist aggression in Korea; and that it was partly due to the absence of the representatives of the Soviet bloc during the 33rd Session of the International Labour Conference and during the 11th Session of the Economic and Social Council that these sessions were able to conduct their affairs in a tranquil atmosphere and to produce the fruitful results they did. Now the Polish delegate, after having eaten his own words uttered two years ago at the International Labour Conference (and this goes for the delegate from Czechoslovakia, too), is with us again this year, as he was last year. Logically both these delegates should have remained silent and atoned for their past follies, but they continue to employ the same derogatory phrases against my delegation and to echo their master's voice of propaganda from the dark side of the iron curtain. I realise that they could not possibly have changed their tactics and gone against the directives from Moscow—and to that extent

I sympathise with them—but, in the interests of the future of all the international organisations, let us bury the proposal of those delegates as expeditiously as possible. May I appeal, through the delegates of Poland and Czechoslovakia, to the common sense of the Soviet bloc and request them not to waste their time and energy, or ours, any more but to change their policy of coercion into one of co-operation? I deeply regret that I had to take time in reply to their unwarranted remarks and to the proposal of the delegates of Poland and Czechoslovakia, but, as you will agree, I would be swerving from my duty to my country and to the International Labour Organisation were I to speak no word.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—In accordance with the provisions of Article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, objections to the credentials of delegates are, in the first place, submitted to the Credentials Committee of the Conference and are considered by the Conference only when the Committee has reported back to it. In accordance with this provision, the observations made will, in the first instance, be referred to the Credentials Committee and will be considered by the Conference only after the Credentials Committee has reported.

APPOINTMENT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now proceed to the appointment of the Selection Committee. The Clerk of the Conference will read the nominations made by the respective groups.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The proposals made by the groups are as follows :

Government members :

Belgium
Brazil
Canada
Chile
China
Finland
France
India
Iran
Italy
Mexico
Pakistan
Portugal
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela

Employers' members :

Mr. Burne (Australia)
Mr. Dündar (Turkey)
Sir John Forbes Watson (United Kingdom)
Mr. Pons (Uruguay)

Mr. Shaw (United States)
Mr. Tata (India)
Mr. Taylor (Canada)
Mr. Waline (France)

Deputy members :

Mr. Bergenström (Sweden)
Mr. Campanella (Italy)
Mr. Fennema (Netherlands)
Mr. Ghayour (Iran)
Mr. Kuntschen (Switzerland)
Mr. Pires (Brazil)
Mr. van der Rest (Belgium)
Mr. Winkler (Federal Republic of Germany)

Workers' members :

Mr. Baeta Neves (Brazil)
Mr. Borstlap (Netherlands)
Mr. Cofiño (Cuba)
Mr. Delaney (United States)
Mr. Jouhaux (France)
Mr. Nielsen (Denmark)
Mr. Roberts (United Kingdom)
Mr. Shastri (India)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there is no opposition the proposals are adopted.

(The proposals are adopted.)

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS OF THE GROUPS

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will announce the Officers of the groups.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The nominations made by the groups are as follows :

Government group :

Chairman : Mr. Pereira Jardim (Portugal)
Secretary : Mr. Sharp (Australia)

Employers' group :

Chairman : Sir John Forbes Watson
(United Kingdom)
Vice-Chairman : Mr. Waline (France)
Secretary : Mr. Emery (General Secretary,
International Organisation of Employers)

Workers' group :

Chairman : Mr. Roberts (United Kingdom)

Members of the Bureau :

Mr. Baeta Neves (Brazil)
Mr. Delaney (United States)
Mr. Jouhaux (France)
Mr. Nielsen (Denmark)
Mr. Shastri (India)
Mr. Vermeulen (Netherlands)

Secretary : Mr. Patteet (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)

(The Conference adjourned at 3.45 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Souza (substitute for Mr. Lescure) Mr. Solari	<i>Denmark :</i> Mrs. Budtz (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Ghayour	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. McKenzie (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Mohamed	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Heinrich (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Stark (substitute for Mr. Boehm)	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Lüdi (substitute for Mr. Kuntschen) Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. Genot (substitute for Mr. de Bock)	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Molins	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Boccardi (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Pastore	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. Pires de Sá (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Dias (substitute for Mr. Pires) Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno Mr. Adachi	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. George
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Burton (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Makris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Kayser (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Hayot (substitute for Mr. Diederich) Mr. Krier	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Martínez (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Ochoa
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle Mr. Magloire Mr. Roy Mr. Lacroix	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. Gómez	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Guðmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrovič Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Cofiño	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Öksnes Mrs. Seweriin Mr. Mentsen	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Helmi (substitute for Mr. Samjono)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamingir Mr. Ali Mr. Bechar (substitute for Mr. Ahmad)	
		<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Licki	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. el Gerbi, Mr. Carter (*Libya*), Mr. Pelt, Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Hoveyda (*Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees*), Mr. Patteet (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*), Mr. Watkins, Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

THIRD SITTING

Thursday, 5 June 1952, 4.15 p.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

FIRST REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda for today is the First Report of the Selection Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—The Selection Committee held its first sitting on 4 June 1952 and appointed the following officers : *Chairman :* Mr. Malik, Government delegate, Pakistan ; *Employers' Vice-Chairman :* Mr. Waline, Employers' delegate, France ; *Workers' Vice-Chairman :* Mr. Roberts, Workers' delegate, United Kingdom.

The Committee considered the composition of the Conference Committees. It proposes that the Credentials Committee should be constituted as follows : *Government member :* Mr. Kaufmann (*Switzerland*) ; *Employers' member :* Mr. Fennema (*Netherlands*) ; *Workers' member :* Mr. Sölvén (*Sweden*).

After having heard the views of the three groups, the Selection Committee submits the following proposals on the composition of the other Conference Committees :

Committee on Standing Orders : 20 members (12 Government members, 4 Employers' members, and 4 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with proposals concerning the Standing Orders of the Conference.

Resolutions Committee : 35 members (21 Government members, 7 Employers' members, and 7 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the resolutions presented in accordance with Article 17 of the Standing Orders.

Finance Committee of Government Representatives : one Government representative of each State Member represented at the Conference. This Committee would deal with the reports prepared in connection with the second item on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations : 40 members (24 Government members, 8 Employers' members, and 8 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the reports prepared in connection with the third item on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

Committee on Agriculture : 60 members (36 Government members, 12 Employers' members, and 12 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the reports prepared in connection with the fourth item on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

Committee on Social Security : 90 members (40 Government members, 20 Employers' members, and 30 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the reports prepared on the fifth item on the agenda of this session of the Conference. It would, in the first place, examine part (a) of this item, *i.e.*, minimum standards of social security, and would keep the Selection Committee informed of the progress of its work. It is understood, however, that this step would in no way prejudice any future decision in respect of the further consideration of part (b) of this item, *i.e.*, objectives and advanced standards of social security.

Committee on Industrial Relations : 94 members (40 Government members, 24 Employers' members, and 30 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the reports prepared in connection with the sixth item on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

Committee on Maternity : 51 members (36 Government members, 6 Employers' members, and 9 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the report prepared on the seventh item on the agenda of this session of the Conference. Since certain aspects of the Maternity Protection Convention fall within the field of social security—in particular those aspects concerning maternity benefits—it is understood

that the Committee on Maternity would keep in touch with the Committee on Social Security in order to avoid any contradictory action. This co-operation between the two Committees could, for example, take the form of joint meetings between their officers and their drafting committee.

Committee on Workers' Health: 63 members (35 Government members, 14 Employers' members, and 14 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the reports prepared in connection with the eighth item on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

Committee on Employment in Mines: 36 members (18 Government members, 9 Employers' members, and 9 Workers' members). This Committee would deal with the reports prepared in connection with the ninth item on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

In all these Committees (except, of course, the Finance Committee of Government Representatives) a system would be used which would achieve equality of votes between the three groups.

As has been indicated above, some of the Committees will not have equal numbers of Employers' members and Workers' members. The reason for this is that States Members have appointed a larger number of Workers' advisers than Employers' advisers, and, in these circumstances, the Employers' group has found it necessary to appoint a smaller number of representatives in the Committees concerned. In order to facilitate the work of the Conference, the Employers' group has, as an exceptional measure, agreed to these arrangements for the present session of the Conference on the understanding that equality of votes between the three groups will be assured and that the Director-General will draw attention to the matter in the letter of convocation for the next session.

Finally, the Selection Committee has before it proposals made by the Governing Body with a view to the simplification of Conference procedure. The Committee considers that these proposals should be referred to the Standing Orders Committee for consideration and report.

The Committee considers, however, that it can recommend the Conference to give immediate effect to two of the Governing Body proposals concerned. First, the Conference might decide that plenary sittings should always open precisely at the hour for which they are announced. Secondly, the Conference could approve the appointments to committees made by the three groups without having the lists of names read out. These lists would be published and distributed without delay.¹

Interpretation: Mr. WALINE (*Employers' delegate, France; Vice-Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I have come to this rostrum not to object to the report of the Selection Committee which has just been laid before you but to put forward some comments on behalf of the Employers' group concerning certain sections of that report. You will have noticed

that, contrary to traditional practice, according to which the Committees of this Conference are tripartite both as regards the votes which each group has and as regards the numerical composition of the groups, this time it is proposed, in the case of certain committees, that you should accept a system implying a disparity of numbers between the Employers' and the Workers' groups. Why? You will remember that Article 65 of the Standing Orders of the Conference provides that, in order to facilitate the representation of the Government group on the Conference Committees, there may be a larger number of Government members than of members of the other two groups. Paragraph 3 of this Article reads as follows: "If the Conference has appointed to a committee twice as many Government members as employers' or workers' members, each Government member shall be entitled to cast one vote and each employers' or workers' member shall be entitled to cast two votes".

This system has been supplemented by a similar system which applies when the Government members are only one-and-a-half times as numerous as the members of the other groups, and has operated quite satisfactorily for a number of years. This year, however, we are asking you to apply a variant of this system in the case of the Employers' and Workers' groups. This is because, as is stated in the report of the Selection Committee, the delegations, as constituted by Governments, contain, on the whole, a smaller number of Employers' advisers than of Workers' advisers. You can verify this situation by turning to the report of the Chairman of the Governing Body.¹ You will see that at the time when the report was drafted there were 90 Employers' advisers and 109 Workers' advisers. According to the more recent figures given to us yesterday in the Selection Committee by the Secretary-General, there are 109 Employers' advisers and 131 Workers' advisers, giving a difference of 22. This is a situation for which neither the Workers nor the Employers are responsible, and our colleagues in the Workers' group recognised this and told us that they were very sorry that the situation had arisen. We also regret it very sincerely. We do not want to open a discussion with the Governments which sent us to this session of the Conference, but we do hope that this situation will not arise again and that, in one way or another, either in the course of the Credentials Committee's work or otherwise, this session of the Conference will have an opportunity of looking into the reasons for the disparity which is perhaps not contrary to the formal text of our Constitution but is certainly contrary to its spirit.

We should like to know whether the Governments have offered the employers' organisations the same opportunities for representation with regard to technical advisers as they have offered to the workers' organisations. I think this question is worthy of the attention of the Conference. To get over this difficulty we have had to satisfy the claims of our Workers' groups by agreeing that there may be 30 representatives of the Workers and only 20 of

¹ For the composition of Committees see Third Part, Appendix II.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix I.

the Employers on committees where there are perhaps 40 Government representatives. We agreed that this could be covered by the spirit of the Standing Orders I have just read to you. It is clear that to maintain the equality of the groups in the course of a committee in which the representation is in the proportion of 40, 30 and 20, every Government delegate would require to have three votes, and Employers and Workers would require to have the necessary number of votes to give them parity.

I do not think it is enough to say, as was said in the Selection Committee, that a system of voting which will ensure parity shall be adopted in every case. In order to prevent any possible confusion in the case of delegates who are not used to our Standing Orders, I think it is essential that the Representative of the Secretary-General in every committee should make the position that I have outlined to you quite clear in the relevant committee at the beginning of its work.

These are the explanations I wanted to give to the Conference. I should like to thank the Workers' group once more for its support in

this matter and I hope that in future we shall not be faced with this disparity, which is certainly not in harmony with the tripartite spirit of our Organisation.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no other speakers, and if there is no objection, I shall consider the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS OF THE GROUPS *(concl.)*

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will make an announcement concerning the nomination of officers of the groups.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Conference is informed that the Workers' group has elected Mr. E. Nielsen, Denmark, as its Vice-Chairman.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Molins	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Barkatt	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Heinrich (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Bergenström Mrs. Ekendahl (substitute for Mr. Sölvén)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Burne	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Pastore	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Saxer (substitute for Mr. Kaufmann) Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Boehm	<i>France :</i> Mr. Toussaint (substitute for Mr. Ramadier) Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Makris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Kayser (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans Mr. Tennant (substitute for Mr. Buckland) Mr. Burton (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle Mr. Magloire Mr. Roy Mr. Lacroix	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Zempel (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. de Ferron (substitute for Mr. Ólafsson) Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Öksnes Mrs. Seweriin Mr. Henriksen (substitute for Mr. Östberg) Mr. Mentsen	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez	<i>India :</i> Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Martínez (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Ochoa
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Helmi (substitute for Mr. Samjono)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafaï Mr. Ghayour	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Wandas	
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen			
<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester			

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. el Gerbi, Mr. Carter (*Libya*), Mr. Urquhart (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Patteet (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*), Mr. Watkins (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

FOURTH SITTING

Monday, 9 June 1952, 10.30 a.m.

*President : Mr. Delaney*REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now proceed to discuss the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation : Mr. GHAYOUR (*Employers' delegate, Iran*)—Last year the Director-General in his Report promised that this year the I.L.O. would be more active than in the preceding year. In studying his very interesting Report this year I see in fact that the activities of the I.L.O. are extending year by year, both in their scope and in their depth, to all nations of the world. The Report of the Director-General deals with the economic and social movements throughout the world and tries to trace the course of those movements in the different countries in all regions.

However, having regard to the fact that the economic and social circumstances of Iran do not hold a very large place in the Director-General's Report, I shall discuss some of the developments in Iran since the war, in order to give you a fuller knowledge of them.

First of all I can tell you that 99 per cent. of the changes, both economic and social, in Iran during the past 25 years, are due to the industrial development of the country. I will not speak of the industrial development of pre-war years but merely of the economic and social conditions of the post-war period.

At the end of hostilities we found ourselves with plants which had worked at full speed for six years without having had any replacements. Our first task was to renew our equipment and to try to find supplies of spare parts, which was not easy because some of the central plants had been bombed and others were not able to provide us with the necessary equipment.

Secondly, the industrialist, who had noted that small factories were not economically practicable, was considering extending his factories, and other capitalists, who had realised

the importance of industry, were attracted by this form of investment and decided to become industrialists themselves. All these people had capital ready to be invested in consumption industries but there was, alas, a dearth of machinery and the manufacturers of machinery could not promise that their orders would be filled before two, three or four years. It was almost impossible to keep capital idle for so long. Meanwhile there was a deepening depression on the consumption goods market, while the price of machinery was rising. As a result of this there was a great loss of capital following the drop in prices, and the prospect of profits in industry disappeared. Consequently those who possessed capital lost the inclination to invest it in industry and sought other outlets.

In spite of this many industries developed very appreciably after the war. For instance, the textile industry extended by 40 per cent. The cement industry, sugar refineries and chemical industries also expanded. This increase and development were due to the tenacity of the older-established industrialists and to the efforts of the Government. Private capital made the maximum effort in industrial development and we received no appreciable assistance from abroad. As an example I might cite the fact that of all the millions of dollars spent by the United States in all quarters of the world only \$23 million was spent in Iran up to July 1952, in the form of agricultural, sanitary and cultural assistance as well as industrial assistance, but there was no assistance to private industry.

Neither the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development nor the Export-Import Bank provided us with any credits.

On page 27 of his Report the Director-General notes that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is not inclined to finance plants unless they are established on a sound basis. On this point I may say that the Iranian Government has drawn up a seven-year plan with the assistance of the best American technicians and of technicians from

the international organisations. The International Bank has nevertheless refused to finance it.

On the same page of his Report the Director-General informs us that "in many under-developed countries . . . many of those citizens who have savings hoard them, export them or invest them in real estate. While this is so, it can hardly be expected that private investors in other countries, or their Governments, will take a more favourable view of the prospects of investing capital in projects for the economic development of the countries concerned".

I have seen such allegations printed in certain newspapers myself, but figures were never quoted to support them.

It may be of interest to tell you of the following facts. Before the war the city of Teheran had only 350,000 inhabitants. Today its population is 1,200,000. Do you know who built the houses for 750,000 inhabitants? They were provided by private savings, which enabled that great task to be carried out.

During the past 10 years, thanks to the improvement of sanitary conditions and medical care provided in various regions, for instance those in which there is malaria, the population has increased by four-and-a-half million, and domestic capital has supplied housing and food for this extra population. All our town building and the electrification and the harnessing of underground waters have been done by domestic capital. You cannot tell us that domestic capital is hanging back. No, indeed, it has made the greatest of efforts and is at the end of its resources. I agree that capital can be channelled into industrial branches which are more capable of development and I should be glad to see the report of the experts who are to meet in November to do this.

Our conclusion is that private savings have made a great effort and have achieved certain results; but to complete this effort we need very large amounts of capital, which must come from abroad because industrial and agricultural equipment must be bought abroad. Foreign capital can find a very wide field of activity in industry and in mining. In the latter domain, in spite of the increasing tendency to exploit our mines, we have an enormous amount of mining wealth, including lead, zinc, manganese, antimony, chrome, iron, sulphur and all sorts of salts, which would transform the economic life of our country if they could be exploited.

In the social field the most important problem of concern to us at present is the question of underemployment and unemployment. Before the war and until the Allied armies came to Iran there was not a single unemployed person in the whole of the country. Everyone was anxious to take employment in free undertakings and very few wanted to go into Government service, because there was so much work in the country. But today everyone is trying to obtain employment in Government service. All the industrialists want to work for the State and there is an enormous amount of unemployment. In Teheran alone there are 50,000 unemployed.

The existence of this unemployment is due to a number of causes.

First, the coming of the Allies to Iran. They had to transport large quantities of war materials towards the U.S.S.R. This exceeded the capacity of our ports, railways and roads, which were provided for the normal life of our country, and as it was absolutely necessary to transport this material as speedily as possible the harbours, roads and railways were quickly developed with the aid of workers who were taken from agriculture. After the war these men did not want to go back to the land and there was nothing left of the harbours, railways and roads, because they had been built for purely temporary use.

Secondly, there is a very great difference in the standard of living of the worker in factories or in the construction industry and that of the agricultural workers, and that is another reason why men are leaving the land.

Thirdly, our export goods are entirely agricultural. Because our agriculture is not modernised, our production costs are often high. When the peasant cannot find anyone to buy his goods he cannot produce them, is unemployed and drifts to the town.

Fourthly, for lack of capital many building undertakings have been suspended and the building contractors cannot pay their workers or take on new ones.

All these things have caused unemployment, which may endanger the economic life of our country. Free enterprise and the State have kept on workers whom they could hardly afford—in some cases twice as many as they really need. In these circumstances you will agree with me that at present it is impossible to consider the question of productivity. So long as the question of unemployment is not solved, no other social problems, however important they may be, can be really settled. The only way to combat unemployment is to develop industry in the consumption branches and to modernise agriculture. For that we need foreign capital, for it is possible that by means of a strictly controlled currency issue, to be used only for the purposes of industrial development, we could obtain credits in our own currency.

Five years ago I made an appeal from this rostrum to the machinery-producing countries to provide us with the necessary equipment for industrial development. At that time we had the necessary capital; but today our need for industrial equipment subsists and we have not the money. I hope that my words will be heard today and that they will produce the desired results before it is too late.

In congratulating the Director-General on his excellent Report and on the characteristically American dynamism which he has infused into the I.L.O., and in paying tribute to him for his technical assistance programme, I hope that the remedies which the I.L.O. is trying to bring to the social evils of under-developed countries will reach those countries before the evil is beyond cure. I hope that the countries of Asia and the East will take their proper place in the I.L.O., in its Governing Body and in the Organisation as a whole.

Interpretation: Fr. STOKMAN (*Government delegate, Netherlands*)—Although it is true that “social problems are now problems of international concern, and concepts of social policy are developing into a social philosophy which is securing world-wide acceptance”—those are the Director-General’s words (page 42 of his Report)—it is equally true that the social philosophy which is held by a given person has a real influence on the practical measures which that person judges advisable. In reading the Report one observes certain divergences of ideas. In one place the Report summarises social aspirations in the single desire for more material comforts of every kind (that is on page 34); in another place the stress is placed on social justice and human problems, the worker no longer being considered as a unit of manpower but as “a human being, a ‘hand’ . . . a partner with his employer in a common enterprise” (p. 37).

Personally, I support a conception of philosophy and social policy the supreme object of which is not merely an improvement in material conditions of life but also the promotion of such moral values as human dignity, cultural levels, a good understanding between employers’ and workers’ organisations and national authorities, etc., and although, as we read at the top of page 42, it is now recognised that each country has the responsibility of promoting the wellbeing of its people, account must be taken at the same time of personal responsibility, of the independence of free organisations and, at the international level, of the sovereign rights of all peoples.

In this connection, may I refer to technical assistance, to which the Director-General has particularly drawn our attention?

Technical assistance has developed considerably during the past year. The number of projects has been increased by several hundreds, and about 1,800 experts are already operating or will soon be appointed.

I am glad that the Government of my country has been able to play an active part in this field. It has established a special office for international technical assistance, with the duty of keeping in contact with the United Nations and the specialised agencies, selecting experts and aiding all those who, holding study fellowships, come to visit our country. In 1951 the Netherlands was able to place at the disposal of the international agencies 57 experts, while 26 experts were appointed under bilateral agreements. During the same year 75 holders of study fellowships, sent by the international organisations, were received in our country.

Why should one be glad to see this extension of technical assistance? Is it because the development of the countries which receive it enables us others to extend our economic or military strength? I do not think that is the case at all. If we were to follow, in the economic or political and military fields, only our own interests, technical assistance would not be worth much and it would not last very long. If that were the case, as soon as our efforts to improve the conditions of life of the less-developed peoples began to turn out less advantageous than at the start, and as soon as the world situation in the political and

military fields underwent a change, the value of technical assistance would disappear.

In my opinion the reason for undertaking technical assistance should be the desire to spread justice and charity, happiness and peace everywhere. The social activity which during the last century developed largely at the national level should now spread internationally, and here the I.L.O. has an active part to play since its function is precisely that of striving tirelessly for the happiness of all human beings.

One of the means of arriving at this goal is to increase material resources with a view to the subsistence and the welfare of the human race. But this is no longer a matter for each country separately; it is a common task for all peoples, owing to the growing interdependence of the various parts of the world. Consequently, it is in the interests of the developed as well as of the less-developed countries to work together by means of technical assistance for the economic development of all countries so as to satisfy the growing needs of all populations.

Nevertheless, material matters are not the only things which count. Quite rightly the Director-General’s Report, on page 44, tells us that “assistance to underdeveloped countries may be expected to result in higher levels of production, but it will only bring about improved standards of living if the development of the social conscience keeps in step”. It is not sufficient to lend capital to those countries and send to them experts in road construction, the establishment of industries, the development of agriculture, etc. It is not sufficient to teach them the civil service methods and production techniques which are practised in the western countries. We must at the same time engage in social and cultural activity related to the conceptions of life and the family and social conditions prevailing in those countries and which differ from one country to another and even from one tribe to another within the same territory.

Sometimes it may happen that a new culture must be introduced little by little among pastoral tribes who have hitherto lived far apart and remote from one another. Here the over-hasty introduction of industry and modern techniques may endanger our objective by exceeding it, for our objective is to increase the happiness of the peoples.

In many other cases it will be necessary to recognise the culture prevailing among the peoples of Asia and Africa. Our concept of labour, wages, family and occupational relations is not always better than that prevailing among peoples who need economic development. In this connection let me call your attention to an article by Professor P. Charles which appeared in April of this year in the *International Labour Review*. This shows clearly how a simple copy of European labour legislation may be in conflict with the conceptions of several African peoples.

I do not say that among the specialised agencies of the United Nations only the I.L.O., or mainly the I.L.O., should undertake a comparative study of civilisations and of cultural activity in connection with technical assistance. But it is important for us to

stimulate this activity in U.N.E.S.C.O. and to take due account of the need for such activity and of its requirements. It is perhaps too limited to say, as the Director-General does on page 70, that "all technical assistance work is ultimately designed to raise standards of living by making possible an increased production of goods and services". After all, technical assistance should really be aimed at the total welfare of the population, including its welfare from the cultural and spiritual points of view, for it is by virtue of moral values that human beings should live in freedom and dignity, as is stated in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

In this connection, may I emphasise particularly the need for thorough training of all those who are to engage in the immense task of the development of countries which are economically backward? First of all, opportunities for study must be given to the officials of these countries themselves, either in centres to be established in their own countries or in the university circles and civil services of Europe and North America.

Then the supplementary training of experts who are to be placed at the disposal of countries requiring technical assistance must be encouraged. The Director-General mentions on page 67 of his Report that the I.L.O. is attempting to see that, when outside experts are recruited, they spend a period at the headquarters of the Office in order that they may become acquainted with the principles, policies and objectives of the Organisation. These periods at Geneva are, no doubt, very useful, but I would like to point out that it is no less necessary to make these experts familiar with the culture, customs and social conditions of the peoples in whose service they will have to perform their task. There is often too little time for this initiation. It is already very difficult to find sufficient experts who have the time to furnish their services under the technical assistance plan, and once they have been found they do not always wish to undergo additional training.

For these reasons it would be advisable, in my opinion, to draw the attention of young students to the possibilities which technical assistance offers them in some countries. We need not only experts of the very first class but also young engineers, economists, jurists, doctors, etc., who are prepared to give the best years of their lives to the economic and social development of the countries which ask us for technical assistance.

In connection with what is said on the need for study and training, I am glad to be able to announce here a step taken by the Netherlands universities, which have just established at the Hague an international academy for the study of the social sciences. This is not a State institution; it is a free foundation administered by the universities themselves. The courses will be given in English, and if necessary in French also, by a body of qualified teachers recruited from among professors of Netherlands and foreign universities. To facilitate study, fellowships will be granted to students. In this institution the East and West will meet in order that, by an exchange of ideas, solutions may be found to the eco-

nomie and social problems which weigh so heavily on the world today.

The aim of this institution is not only scientific research regarding the different civilisations of the world but also the further training both of young students from Asia and Africa and also of future technical assistance officials from European and American countries. In the case of the first group, two-year courses will be given on the science and methods of civil administration, economy, social policy, and public finance; lectures will also be given on the culture of the West and on its conception of society, freedom and democracy. A diploma in social administration will be awarded to those completing the course.

In the case of future technical assistance officials, a study course of six weeks or six months is provided for so that these persons may be initiated into the culture, customs and economic and social conditions of the countries of the East. As far as possible they will, at the same time, be taught the languages of the countries concerned.

In closing, I hope that this bold step will contribute towards solving the problem of training which inevitably arises as soon as there is a desire for the efficient organisation of this assistance, which is called technical but which cannot fail to have an enormous influence on culture in general. May it lead us to a new world based on the principles of justice and equity, charity, and altruism, indeed to a world which will be characterised by good understanding among all those who love liberty and human dignity.

Interpretation: Mr. CAMPANELLA (*Employers' delegate, Italy*)—I think that the task of commenting on such a lengthy document as the Director-General's Report in so short a time is a really difficult one and I consider it would be presumptuous to assume that in a few minutes such complex problems could be dealt with adequately.

First of all I want to apologise beforehand if I make some criticisms in the course of my speech. They are the result of my sincerity and I hope that they will be constructive. It is in that spirit that I think that we should deal with this first item on the agenda of this session of the Conference, since I am sure that each one of us is desirous of seeing our Organisation becoming ever more active and more effective.

Having said this, I note that in his Report the Director-General has dealt with all the problems directly or indirectly affecting labour. Logically, the result is a most interesting and valuable document. Might I say, however, that perhaps from the very desire to be too comprehensive the Report gives the impression that it does not go into any one point thoroughly; but this is an advantage, too, because in confining himself to general considerations he has left us the task of finding solutions. From the point of view of information at any rate the Report is unique of its kind and it thoroughly merits wide dissemination. As I have said at previous sessions of the Conference, it is desirable not only that the Organisation and particularly, the Director-General of the International Labour Office, should

continue the useful task of spreading information on our problems but that each one of us should share that task.

The introduction to the Report refers to international action, and that of the I.L.O. in particular, for the development of a spirit of collaboration and mutual assistance between nations in order to improve their wellbeing. I believe—and I ask your indulgence for again referring to a point which I have dealt with at previous sessions of the Conference—that universal welfare, to which our Organisation aspires, can be attained by promoting exchanges of raw materials, of capital and of the great wealth of manpower. I am therefore glad to see that the Report recognises these fundamental requirements. It says: “It is generally realised that improved standards can only be achieved through greater production and increased international trade”.

The Report does not neglect the need for the maximum encouragement of capital movement, particularly towards underdeveloped countries, and points out the high percentage of foreign capital which would be necessary in underdeveloped countries in order to obtain an increase of only 2 per cent. annually of the average individual output. The securing of a better distribution of manpower is recognised as one of the main tasks of the I.L.O., which is doing everything possible to attain that goal.

By means of greater freedom of movement for these three factors which are fundamental to well-being, it will be easier to attain the equilibrium and the social progress which can be facilitated by legislation only when it is founded on a respect for natural economic laws which lead to free exchange. Economic phenomena are connected with social phenomena and are not limited to problems of national policy but are wider, international matters. As we are supporters of free enterprise, which is at the base of all industrial production, we must recognise the need for sound competition. We support all liberties, including economic liberty, and we think it is not possible to achieve practical results if, in order to avoid the aggravation of phenomena such as price increases and inflation, we try to deal with their effects by adopting too many controls or restrictive measures.

I think that the Report speaks rather too often of controls, measures and other such things. Personally, I have no great confidence in controls. I think they are mere palliatives which, instead of curing our evils, merely temporarily modify their effects, so that very often it would have been better to let the illness follow its own course.

The increase in prices generally results from an increase in demand which is often a result not only of a fall-off in supplies but also of the psychology of the buyer who rushes to buy before the need has made itself felt, because he thinks that goods will be in short supply in future.

If we refrain from placing obstacles in the way of free exchange by means of controls and obstacles, in the way of the natural movement of prices and free competition, if we give free rein to free enterprise, it will naturally guide itself towards the production of the goods that are in the greatest demand, and will act as an

automatic regulator. Let us once more recall that the economy should be able to develop according to natural laws, as a natural phenomenon.

Water can operate an electric generating plant if we let it follow the laws of gravity, but we shall waste energy if we try to make it work by making the water flow upwards. Let us therefore try to promote the free play of our markets and we shall see production increase, a larger supply of goods, and a rise in the standard of living. Italian employers, although they realise the difficulties inherent in a free international market, are favourable to free and fair competition which produces wider advantages and better production at lower prices. Just now a meeting convened by the Confederation of Italian Industry, to which I belong, is being held in Venice to study economic phenomena. The theme of the meeting is European unity. It is a further proof of the desire for international co-operation which animates the employers in my country.

The Report speaks very often of productivity. Ever since this problem first began to be studied, industrialists in Italy have taken the view that efforts to improve productivity are desirable so that cost prices may be reduced, thanks to better output, and standards of living will therefore improve. In accordance with this attitude, Italian employers have enthusiastically participated in all initiatives to consider the various aspects of the problems of productivity. It is natural that they should do so, because of their interest in production and in the effort to produce in the best possible conditions, that is to say, obtaining the best results with the least effort. It would be almost inconceivable that industry should not make an effort to obtain the best possible output by a combination of the various factors in production and should not try to secure the best position for meeting competition.

But of what use are all these efforts to increase productivity if artificial barriers are set up to make the marketing of the larger quantity of goods produced more difficult? I realise certain present necessities, but I am very much concerned by the recurrence of those exchange difficulties which can have the most disastrous effects on economic progress to which, we must always remember, social progress is bound.

Productivity, as the Report very rightly says, is also affected by “psychological climate”, which, if favourable, can help to increase it. We certainly desire good relations between employers and workers and we are certain that it is neither impossible nor difficult to secure a favourable psychological climate if politics are kept out of the workplace. The problem of human and social relations has always been taken into consideration in undertakings and has received attention in various forms in Italian industry. The problems of social assistance have been studied ever since the last decades of the 19th century and various experiments were tried in industrial undertakings with great breadth of view, a wide sense of humanity and a modern conception of social relations. That should be remembered even if the problem of human relations takes

on certain newer and more modern aspects in certain contemporary conditions.

With regard to social policy, I have noted that the Report recognises that the international action of the I.L.O. must take account of the political and economic conditions of the various countries. It emphasises the need for social policy "to take account of the economic limitations and of the habits and institutions of different countries". This should be remembered when there is an inclination to overload the agenda of the Conference and to produce too easily Conventions which will later be difficult to ratify or apply in practice.

It is quite true, as the Report states, that industrial and economic development, while making available a larger supply of goods to the population, also creates greater demands and therefore a greater need for social progress. I consider myself that industrial and economic development strengthens the trade unions and gives them the possibility of establishing their claims more effectively. The countries which have reached a high standard of living through industrialisation are those which have the most advanced and the most strictly applied social legislation.

Let us now look at some of the practical activities of the I.L.O. We have to recognise that they are really surprising. My attention has been drawn particularly to the great activities in the field of manpower. In my double capacity as a member of the Manpower and Employment Committee of the Governing Body and as a representative of the Employers of my country, where manpower surpluses are a most serious problem, I have had many opportunities of observing that the work of the I.L.O. in this field is most active and intelligent. The attention which has always been given to enquiries, publications and news concerning this problem is remarkable.

As the Director-General says, it is too early to judge of the results. We know that so vast a programme has to face obstacles and unexpected situations, including the hostilities in Korea, which have affected so many problems. We know also that some of the initiatives taken by our Organisation have not been lucky. But much has been done already, and if much still remains to be done that is no reason for thinking that the objective cannot be attained. The elimination of unemployment and opportunities for a better use of raw materials would be of great benefit to the whole world.

Social legislation, which we hope will be introduced in every country, cannot be useful so long as there are so many strong, healthy men, full of goodwill, who are refused the fundamental right to obtain a livelihood by their honest work.

Although I am favourable to development and to the expansion of the prestige of our Organisation, I hope that a too great multiplication of its activities will not decrease their value. During the post-war years we have seen a number of Industrial Committees set up and many regional conferences held. A great many documents have been published, many of them very useful. But I think we should not lose our sense of proportion in this matter. I notice, for instance, that the Report deals with

economic subjects to a great extent. While I recognise that labour problems and social problems cannot be regarded in isolation, because they depend on a great many different matters, I believe that the I.L.O. should refrain from dealing with too many fields. Every phenomenon directly or indirectly influences workers' conditions of living, and we shall end up by discussing economics, politics, and even the weather—which certainly influences agricultural production and output.

As I said at the beginning, there are so many things in the Report that it is very difficult to concentrate on concrete points. I realise that I have not been able to deal with any one point in detail. I think, nevertheless, that the very fact that this Report encourages us to discuss social matters and to exchange views as between men of different mentalities, languages and customs, is an important result. I have not always been in agreement with the lines taken by the Office on certain problems, but that does not mean that I am not a sincere admirer of the work of the Organisation and of the Office and, particularly, of the Director-General. All those who work in this great factory in which social progress is built up part by part are associated in my tribute, both on my own behalf and on behalf of Italian employers.

I express my best wishes for the success of this session of the Conference, and my hope that our Organisation may keep the light of its high ideals shining.

Mr. ÖKSNES (*Government delegate, Norway*)
—May I express my appreciation of the Report which the Director-General has submitted to this session of the Conference? In the Report the need for international co-operation and concerted action within the field of I.L.O. activities is strongly emphasised. I am convinced that the Director-General is right in stressing these points, because today, more than ever before, universal co-operation is a necessity for the peoples of the world. We all feel it is a tragedy that we cannot at present use all our resources for the fight against want and for the improvement of standards of living. But developments in recent years have shown us clearly that both for individuals and for nations freedom and economic progress are equally important.

For democratic nations freedom and national independence are just as essential as material progress and wellbeing. As matters stand in the world today, it is necessary for democratic nations to carry heavy burdens for the defence of freedom. But at the same time it is important to bear in mind that defence costs must be distributed as justly as possible. Moreover, they must not be allowed to undermine living standards in a way which may prepare the soil for authoritarian tendencies and threaten the democracies from within.

I should like to stress that our policy, both at home and abroad, must be such as to inspire confidence in democratic principles and the desire for co-operation among the nations of the world, and especially among those nations which are still struggling for freedom and independence.

We greatly appreciate the fact that the Director-General, in his Report, pays special attention to problems of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. For more than 30 years the I.L.O. has worked to promote social progress on an international basis. We are therefore glad to know that the I.L.O. has now come to play a significant part in the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It is important for social development to coincide with economic development, and we feel certain that the I.L.O. will contribute towards emphasising the social aspects of the Programme. In connection with the Director-General's survey of technical assistance I should like to submit certain comments based on our experiences in Norway and on the plans now under consideration in my country.

Since the United Nations and the specialised agencies launched their Expanded Programme, my country has, as far as possible, taken an active part in this field. We have provided study facilities for United Nations fellows and arranged seminars, and a certain number of experts have been recruited in Norway. Close co-operation with the other Northern countries has been of great value in this work. At the meeting of Ministers of Social Affairs of the Northern countries in Helsinki last year, one of the main discussions was aimed at clarifying what our countries could do in the field of technical assistance.

The Director-General describes in his Report the difficulties experienced by States Members when it comes to releasing experts needed for technical assistance assignments. My country has, in many instances, experienced such difficulties. We believe that long-range rather than *ad hoc* planning is of the utmost necessity if a country is to accept its full responsibility in this connection. We shall therefore take all possible measures to overcome our difficulties. One step in the right direction might be the more systematic training of substitutes for potential technical assistance experts. In this way Governments could minimise considerably the problems which might otherwise result from the prolonged absence of highly qualified officials.

Norway will continue to participate actively in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. In addition, however, a plan is now being examined for action along somewhat different, but related, lines. The Norwegian National Assembly, the Storting, decided unanimously last month to request the Government to submit a plan for increased assistance. The Government has already acted on this request and its proposal will be discussed by the Storting in the near future. It is our intention to concentrate increased assistance activities within a limited geographical area of a country. It goes without saying that the details of such assistance will be worked out in co-operation with the Government of the country concerned.

There are three points which I should like to make in connection with this plan. First, my Government attaches particular importance to the basic principle that bilateral assistance programmes for economic and social development should be implemented in co-operation with the United Nations and closely co-ordinated with activities under the Expanded

Programme. Our proposals are drawn up on the basis of this principle. Already, at the initial stages of its new plan, the Norwegian Government has consulted the United Nations. Moreover, the plan will be carried out in consultation with the United Nations and the specialised agencies.

The second point is the problem of economic assistance as opposed to purely technical assistance in the form of experts, fellowships, courses, seminars, demonstration centres and equipment, etc. The Director-General has pointed out that the need for capital is enormous and ways must be found to solve this problem. The Norwegian authorities want to emphasise the necessity for developing this particular aspect of international assistance programmes, and have included in their plan a certain measure of economic assistance; but it is obvious that such assistance on the part of Norway, with a population of slightly over three million, can only be on a modest scale. In its proposal to the Storting, the Norwegian Government has asked this year for a special State grant for financing the new plan. The proposed grant amounts to ten million kroner, or approximately one-and-a-half million dollars.

My third point is that the great objectives of United Nations assistance programmes can be achieved only if they are supported by public opinion in the countries concerned. The people will have to realise that carrying out such programmes means sacrifice on the part of individuals. For this purpose the Norwegian plan includes an appeal to our people, whereby every citizen is encouraged to contribute his share in a nation-wide fund-raising campaign.

I have outlined some of the main principles of the Norwegian plan. We feel certain that assistance to less-developed areas, when really supported by the peoples of all participating countries, will come to be an active force in the struggle for peace.

I shall conclude by quoting what Dr. Ralph Bunche said two years ago when receiving the Nobel Peace Prize: "Peace is no mere matter of men fighting or not fighting. Peace, to have meaning for many who have known only suffering in both peace and war, must be translated into bread or rice, shelter, health and education, as well as freedom and human dignity—a steadily better life."

Interpretation: Mr. JUMELLE (*Government delegate, Haiti*)—May I first of all, in the name of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, warmly greet the International Labour Organisation and the representatives of the various countries who have been sent here by the employers, by the workers and by the Governments, to take part in this important international meeting and to make their contribution to the building up, which has been going on tirelessly for over thirty years, of a new life?

I should like to add my warm congratulations to those who have organised this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference for the skill and devotion with which they have done their work. It is easy to realise that all measures have been taken so that the greatest possible profit may be drawn in a short time from our deliberations and that

they may lead to great results, based on the clear lessons of our experience and on solid documentary information.

Among all the documents of the Conference, the Director-General's fine Report, with its richness of information, is an extremely valuable contribution. Once more it is a noble appeal on behalf of human values and social justice.

The progressive putting into practice in our communities of the principles of justice and social solidarity affirmed by the I.L.O. has happily become an imperative from which no Government can escape. In the eyes of an observer of tomorrow, the essential feature of our age will perhaps appear to have been less the material advances and the undeniable technical progress than the emergence and triumphant progress of a new conception which inspires democratic society in the daily struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of mankind by the introduction of an era of social justice.

It is the great attainment of our century that we have gone beyond the negative liberty of the right to do anything which does not hurt others, and have affirmed positive conditions, foremost among them the essentiality of a decent existence for all, in the peace of home and in security in employment. Never before has the individual claimed his rights with so much chance of success; never before has society so well served the individual nor tried so earnestly to establish his position within a system founded on human dignity and respect for his personality as a human being. At no time in history has there been such perfect agreement between international organisations on the objective of raising the standard of life of the common man and promoting the full development of human freedom. Never have the nations evinced so sincere a desire to share their experiences and their technical achievements. Despite the clouds on the horizon and the unfavourable effects of world economic conditions upon social welfare, the struggle against poverty, sickness and inhuman conditions of work is going on steadily. The ideal of social justice is constantly in the minds of the leaders in all countries, even those where the intensity of political controversy is equalled by that of rearmament.

As the Director-General says, energetic action must be taken to face the difficulties at the moment. The Republic of Haiti, elder daughter of the great French Revolution of 1789, claims the honour of having been one of the first Members of the I.L.O., and can affirm that the sentiments of justice and humanity, which are basic to the action of all the democracies today, are being ever more integrated into the national life of the country.

The man who has the honour of directing the destinies of the Haitian people today has based his philosophy on the rehabilitation of labour and on the raising of it to its true dignity. In fighting unemployment and all the degradation it brings with it, in organising an employment programme, he is of course pursuing material progress; but he strives also, indeed above all, at ensuring for all those who are struggling for a better future free access to all the advantages of civilised life. He has understood that permanent economic pros-

perity requires a parallel transformation among those who take part in it, inspired by the eternal principles which condition the exercise of man's fundamental rights and the satisfaction of his legitimate ambitions.

Immediately it acceded to power, the Government began to reorganise the Labour Department so that it might carry out its delicate task more efficiently and study more deeply the problems of labour and their economic effects, with the object of making clear to those in authority the need for change and improvement in our social legislation. The Government's labour policy has had many concrete results. Our working class have received unprecedented advantages in a very short lapse of time and industrial relations have been conducted in an atmosphere of peace, collaboration, social justice and security.

Dignified conditions for the worker require decent wages, and so we have established a Wages Board, which will investigate the matter and propose the action necessary with a view to fixing satisfactory minimum wages in the various industries.

The housing problem, which is almost worldwide, has placed the working class of Haiti in a difficult situation. The home is still the natural framework for the development of the human personality, and it is from the comfort and conveniences of town life that the worker draws, to a large extent, a feeling of dignity. The Government's large-scale plans for workers' housing are a further proof of its determination to aid the working class to achieve higher standards and to permit future generations to grow up free from the atmosphere of slums and to draw from better surroundings new hope for the future.

A labour policy is inconceivable without a social security programme, and such a programme has become part and parcel of the modern view of law. Our Government is therefore constantly concerned to protect the workers against the risk of accident, sickness and the other contingencies of life. Efforts are being made to establish in the very near future a social insurance institute.

The Act establishing this institute has been drawn up in conformity with the principles recommended by the I.L.O. It provides for compulsory insurance, deduction of contributions from wages, a non-contributory accident compensation scheme, and exemption from sickness and maternity contributions for workers earning less than a specified minimum rate. May I here publicly thank Mr. Bleloch and Mr. Posnanski of the International Labour Office, who first studied the possibility of establishing a social insurance institution in our country and made very valuable recommendations to our Government on the subject?

Our programme of social activity is being carried forward and expanded day by day. Legislation is in course of study on contracts of employment, home work, apprenticeship and pensions for workers in private establishments. There is very great enthusiasm for this humane policy, which aims at placing social peace on a durable basis by raising labour to what has been called "the point of intersection of the individual in the community and in the universe".

To mark the better its adherence to the principles laid down in your Constitution, the Government of Haiti has, for the first time, ratified international labour Conventions. The four Conventions ratified are the Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919; the Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921; the Hours of Work (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1930; and the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947. The Government is studying the possibility of ratifying several others.

The presence at this important meeting of representatives of almost all the democratic countries of the world is the best evidence of the importance attached to labour problems in every continent. It is a fine thing that men and women should come from all parts of the world to pool their knowledge and experience, throw new light on social problems and promote the more effective application of international Conventions so that the working man everywhere may enjoy a proper level of security. May I close by greeting this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference—which, by reason of the subjects on its agenda, will be one of the most important sessions—as an advance in man's irresistible ascent towards real welfare based on peace and on the satisfaction of his noblest aspirations?

Mr. WIJENAIKE (*Government delegate, Ceylon*)—On behalf of the Government of Ceylon, may I express my appreciation of the comprehensive and lucid survey of labour problems contained in the Report of the Director-General? As a delegate from one of the underdeveloped countries, I would like to say further that the Report is particularly satisfying to us in that it reveals a deep understanding of and sympathy with the tremendous difficulties with which we have to contend in our task of economic development and social reconstruction. We have always had the latent fear that, however well-intentioned international bodies are, they cannot avoid the pitfall of being academic in their approach to problems affecting the underdeveloped countries of Asia. I therefore particularly wish to stress on this occasion that the great need of the underdeveloped countries of Asia is not academic studies but immediate practical remedial measures coupled with a sufficient depth of understanding of the human problems peculiar to our parts of the world. This calls not only for the theoretical insight which perhaps the International Labour Organisation possesses in abundance but also for a clear practical grasp of problems.

I would like to comment specifically on two or three points in the Director-General's Report. I note that he has made an exhaustive survey of the rise in the cost of living during the last year and also of the rise in money wages. These are problems of paramount interest to labour all over the world. Mindful of this, my Government has taken every possible precaution to keep the cost of living from rising to the detriment of the conditions of the working classes. The general level of the cost of living in my country, which is fundamentally an export-import economy, is determined primarily by the level of world

prices and only secondarily by an expanded money supply. Various policies were adopted and put into effect by both the Government and the Central Bank, between which there was a relatively high degree of co-ordination. According to the Central Bank, and if international comparison can be used as a measure of achievement, these policies met with success, as Ceylon's cost of living rose less than most of its principal trading partners. I am also happy to say that the average level of money wages in 1951 was much higher than in 1950, and, as the cost of living rose by a smaller proportion, average real wages increased substantially. But there is a more serious aspect of the problem. In our attempt to prevent a rise in the cost of living we have been compelled to subsidise foodstuffs and since the end of last year the subsidy problem has steadily become more difficult. With the price of rice and flour continuing to rise and Government revenue continuing to fall as a result of the drop in the prices of tea, rubber and coconuts, which provide approximately two-thirds of our national income, the mounting subsidy bill is causing an embarrassing deficit. The most evil and pernicious effect of the system of subsidies is that, rather than raise the price of basic foodstuffs, the Government may be forced into the unenviable position of having to decide to forgo much needed development expenditure. The gravity of the problem is brought into even sharper focus when it is realised that already in 1952 the rate of actual spending on rice and flour subsidies has exceeded that on the total of the Government's development projects under the Colombo Plan.

Our difficulties have been made even more grave by the steady rise in the price not only of imported manufactured consumer goods but also of imported capital goods so necessary for our economic development. I have dealt with this point at such length because it is a problem perhaps common to most underdeveloped countries and because I wish to bring before this Conference the supreme necessity of setting up some international machinery (such as that perhaps envisaged by the Director-General on page 7 of his Report) which even if it is unable rigidly to stabilise prices may at least be able to mitigate disproportionate price movements not only of primary commodities but also of manufactured goods. If swift action is not taken along these lines all the plans of the underdeveloped countries for raising their living standards will be in jeopardy.

At the last session of the Asian Advisory Committee the matter of fluctuation in the prices of primary commodities was a subject on the agenda. The consensus of opinion of the Committee appeared to be that this was not a matter correctly within the purview of the I.L.O. and it passed an innocuous resolution asking the Office to continue its study of the social aspects of the problem. No one at this Conference will deny that prices and their effects on living standards, income and employment are of vital interest and importance to the I.L.O. It is therefore unwise for the I.L.O. not to make a more positive move in this direction. It must not seek to avoid this grave problem under the guise of constitutional dif-

difficulties because it feels the problem is one which is difficult to solve or incapable of solution. It also should not strive to evade the issue because it may result in a conflict of interests between Members of this Organisation. It should not easily forget that oft-quoted phrase from the Declaration of Philadelphia that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". All the great benefits that this international labour parliament promises to give the working masses of Asia may prove illusory if the I.L.O. sidetracks this issue. I therefore entreat the Director-General and the Governing Body to go into this matter more deeply and to suggest possible methods of tackling this problem. It is obvious that the I.L.O. alone cannot deal with this problem: concerted action will be necessary by the specialised agencies of the United Nations. It is time, however, that the I.L.O. gave a lead in this matter.

I should also like to touch on the subject of underemployment dealt with on page 89 of the Director-General's Report. This is without doubt the primary problem which the countries of Asia have to face in their efforts to raise the living standards of their peoples. Unemployment in the more highly developed countries can be tackled by monetary and fiscal measures, but the problem of underemployment in Asian countries is much more complicated and will not respond to such measures. During the last few years the cry "raise the living standards of Asia" has become a very popular slogan and the usual method suggested to achieve this is that of economic development. In the pursuit of this aim the problem of underemployment in Asian countries, which deserves special study and special remedies, has to some extent been forgotten. We are therefore grateful to the I.L.O. for having placed the problem of underemployment on the agenda of the last session of the Asian Advisory Committee. I cannot stress too strongly the gravity of this problem. The favourable prices fetched by most primary commodities in the past few years have tended to veil the size and nature of the problem of underemployment. I would reiterate my suggestion to the Governing Body that the I.L.O. should consider setting up a field office in Asia to tackle the problem of underemployment in Asian countries. If the Governing Body is opposed to the establishment of further field offices, I would suggest that it consider setting up a committee like the Plantations Committee for a continuous study of the problem of underemployment in the Asian countries.

Although Ceylon is only in the fourth year of membership of the International Labour Organisation, it may perhaps interest you to hear that we have already ratified eleven Conventions. Before the year is out we expect to inform the Organisation of the ratification of at least six other Conventions. I mention this to indicate my Government's desire to play its part in furthering the objects for which the Organisation was established. I would also like to mention that my Government proposes introducing a scheme of social security which will be one of the most advanced in Asia. Sickness, unemployment, maternity and pro-

vident fund benefits will be available under this scheme, which will cover the great mass of the working people of my country.

Government expenditure on health, education and other social services, which amounted to 257 million rupees in 1949, has increased in the 1951-1952 budget to 536 million rupees, despite the dire need to direct more and more capital towards economic development.

The aims of social policy of more economically developed countries have also become the aims of social policy of underdeveloped countries. The spread of knowledge has made the masses of the underdeveloped countries realise that poverty has been eradicated in other parts of the world. To the more economically developed countries the goals of their social policies are perhaps a few marches ahead. They are also fortunate that, when they were in a state of economic development comparable to ours, social policy did not necessitate the diversion of so much of their resources towards the development of social services as we of the underdeveloped countries have to do today. Our task is therefore one of enormous magnitude and it is not possible to expect spectacular results in a short period. Comparisons with western countries are misleading. The very process of economic development must necessitate a complete change in mental outlook which in itself is a formidable task of social engineering. With the help of the specialised agencies of the United Nations, especially that of the International Labour Organisation, the oldest of them all, we have no doubt that we can tread the hard road ahead with utmost confidence.

SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now pass to the Second Report of the Selection Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally move the adoption of the Second Report of the Selection Committee.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—If there are no objections, I shall consider the Second Report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—The Selection Committee further recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of Committees:

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Government members: Add *Venezuela*.

Committee on Agriculture. Government members: Replace *Peru* by *Ecuador*.

Committee on Workers' Health. Government members: *Pakistan* has asked to relinquish its membership; this would leave one seat vacant.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—If there are no objections, these proposals will be adopted as a supplement to the Second Report of the Selection Committee.

(The proposals are adopted.)

THIRD REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—This

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

report, which has been circulated, deals with co-operation between employers and workers. I formally propose its adoption.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—If there are no objections, I shall consider the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 12 noon.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Helmi (substitute for Mr. Samjono)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Roncarolo (substitute for Mr. Puente) Mr. Lescure Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Ghayour	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Sölvén
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Eichholzer (substitute for Mr. Kaufmann) Mr. Dubois (substitute for Mr. Kuntschen) Mr. Möri
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Elias
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchaups (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Barkatt	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Bolivia :</i> Mr. Pérez Mr. Torres	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes Mr. Molins	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Alam (substitute for Mr. Dündar) Mr. Kirim
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno Mr. Teramoto Mr. Oka	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. George
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Chachuat (substitute for Mr. Ramadier) Mr. Hauck Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. King	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Tennant (substitute for Mr. Buckland) Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Roberts
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substitute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Hayot (substitute for Mr. Diederich) Mr. Krier	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Richardson (substitute for Mr. Delaney)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Desentis	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stenberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Lares (substitute for Mr. Montoya) Mr. Graterol Mr. Garrido (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Hernández (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Tuan	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle Mr. Magloire Mr. Roy Mr. Lacroix	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Öksnes Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mrs. Sewerijn) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño		<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	
		<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez	
		<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajm Mr. Licki	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. el Gerbi, Mr. Carter (*Libya*), Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mr. Tennfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

FIFTH SITTING

Tuesday, 10 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall proceed with the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation : Mr. TRONCOSO (*Government delegate, Dominican Republic*)—The Government delegation of the Dominican Republic has studied with very great satisfaction the comprehensive Report presented to this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference by the eminent Director-General of the International Labour Office, Mr. David A. Morse. For this document, which shows a penetrating grasp of the great social problems of our times, we have nothing but admiration and praise. It reveals the lively and sincere preoccupation of a man concerned with all the basic aspects of community life and with an acute vision of present realities and future prospects and of what must be done, and while remaining perfectly objective it is encouragingly optimistic. It is fortunate indeed that we should have in so important a post, for the consideration of problems which are of interest to the whole world, someone who is so much alive to everything pertaining to labour and who can submit to us so balanced and instructive a synthesis of these problems.

In the world of today the Dominican Republic has its own special place, which may be smaller than that of others but has the same importance as that of any member of the organic whole. Our Government is pursuing a social policy which is consistent with the objectives of the I.L.O. and is thus incorporating itself in the harmonious system promoted by the Organisation, as is proved by what has been accomplished so far.

The Government of the Dominican Republic is always punctual in fulfilling its obligations towards the Organisation and sends full delegations to its meetings, from which it obtains

the greatest benefit. Our adherence to the Conventions and Recommendations which are adopted every year by the Conference is demonstrated by the fact that, pending the receipt from the I.L.O. of the complete Spanish text of these measures for the purpose of formal ratification, and in the hope that some of them will be finally approved, the Dominican Republic already puts some of them into force by means of its national legislation.

Since the last session of the Conference important events have taken place in my country. I refer particularly to the entry into force on 24 October 1951 of a legal instrument of very wide scope, namely the Trujillo Labour Code.

This Code contains a series of general measures under the heads of wages, minimum wages and the National Wage Board; these measures deal, among other things, with minimum wages and wage-fixing machinery in agriculture by provisions which are in accordance with the Convention adopted by the Conference in 1951.

As regards the proposed Convention concerning equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value the Code lays down that an equal wage shall be paid for equal work performed under identical conditions of ability and seniority, irrespective of the person receiving that wage. It also, under section 196, gives legal effect to the Recommendation on the same subject; this section provides that when a worker occupies temporarily or permanently a post higher than his usual post he shall receive the remuneration due for the higher post; this shall not, however, give him the right to any increments or bonuses for special efficiency or long service which may have been granted to the previous holder of the post.

Collective agreements are the subject of Chapter I of Book II of the Code, which lays down the conditions for the conclusion of agreements and their form and is almost entirely in conformity with the relevant Recommendation adopted by the Conference.

With regard to voluntary conciliation and arbitration procedure the Code lays down the following principles: Principle II states that the Code has as its main objective the regulation of the rights and obligations of employers and workers and the provision of machinery for reconciling their respective interests. It makes co-operation between capital and labour the basis of our national economy. Principle VIII affirms that the State assures employers and workers of the setting up and maintenance of special courts for the settlement of their disputes. Preliminary conciliation procedure is made compulsory and may be arranged by the judges at any stage.

Our labour legislation also makes provision for compulsory preliminary conciliation procedure before legal proceedings are instituted and for the setting up of an administrative section within the Ministry of Labour to be responsible for promoting conciliation and agreement between parties who voluntarily have recourse to its services.

The proposed Recommendation concerning holidays with pay in agriculture receives the full approbation of the Government of the Dominican Republic, which must, however, reconcile it with the special circumstances prevailing in the country. It is most important in our country for our agricultural wealth to be developed, and we must avoid anything which might impede that development. The first to suffer the consequences of any slackening in agricultural activity would be the rural workers themselves; on the other hand they would be the first to benefit by a progressive social policy made possible by increased prosperity.

As regards objectives and standards of social security, our country follows the lead of the I.L.O., especially as far as medical care, incapacity for work, old age, industrial accidents, maternity, invalidity and death are concerned, all these matters being regulated in their essentials. As regards the other matters, our intention is to include them gradually in our labour legislation as the need for and the possibility of applying measures to regulate them arises. Our Social Insurance Act is in conformity with Article 66 of the proposed Convention by providing for the financing of the Dominican Social Insurance Fund by contributions from the State, the insured persons and the employers, and with Article 63 by not allowing discrimination between nationals and non-nationals for social security purposes.

The Social Insurance Act also provides for family insurance, which is dealt with in sections 12 and 13 of the Act and for voluntary insurance, covered by sections 8 and 11.

An Act approved in 1951 makes the Secretary of State for Public Health responsible for maternity homes, training centres for orphans, mothers' clubs, children's nurseries and milk centres for mothers and children in the post-natal period. It makes the Secretary of State for Labour and Social Welfare responsible for the protection of the workers against industrial hazards; for the health and diet of workers; for the prevention of industrial accidents and diseases and for special preventive measures, and for everything connected with labour and industrial hygiene; for workers' housing (in

particular houses for agricultural workers and the peasants), for the construction and organisation of homes for retired journalists; for the provision of clothes and beds for indigent persons; for assistance to orphans and abandoned children; for the organisation of social welfare staffs; for financial assistance to indigent persons; for canteens, sewing centres, and young people's centres; and for other social welfare measures. All these benefits have been obtained as a result of the social policy promoted and maintained by the Government of Dr. Rafael Trujillo Molina.

As regards collaboration between the public authorities and employers' and workers' organisations, the Labour Code provides that the Department of Labour shall maintain a free service for consultation by employers and workers in connection with the interpretation of labour laws and regulations. The Government is also proposing to make surveys and collect information which will promote future collaboration.

With regard to maternity protection, the Dominican Republic has taken a great step forward. Our labour legislation includes all the provisions necessary to guarantee full protection to pregnant women and nursing mothers. Our hospital system has been extended by the building of fully equipped maternity homes. Women are also covered for maternity purposes by social insurance benefits.

The protection of the health of workers in places of employment is making constant progress. So that it may be more effective, responsibility for such protection has passed from the Secretary of Public Health to the Secretary of Labour. Existing regulations are adequate for our needs and we provide special protection for women and children.

As regards the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines, this is not of direct interest to our country, but the Dominican Republic would favour a resolution fixing international standards of protection in this matter out of a spirit of humanity and of solidarity. This would be in harmony with the general provisions of our legislation dealing with the protection of young persons against any kind of industrial hazard, provisions which are not behind those of any other country in this matter. We prohibit the employment of young persons under 18 in underground mines of any kind.

I have had great pleasure in giving you this brief survey of our legislation, just as I had in reading the Report of the Director-General, and I would like to express my best wishes for the success of this 35th Session of the Conference. May it contribute to the greater welfare and happiness of mankind!

Mr. PASTORE (*Workers' delegate, Italy*)
speaks in Italian.

Interpretation: Mr. PASTORE (*Workers' delegate, Italy*)—The Report submitted by the Director-General to this 35th Session of the Conference gives us, as usual, a comprehensive review of the problems which the world of labour has to face at the international level

and the contribution which the Office can make to the solution of these problems, or at least to their clarification.

I would like in this brief speech to confine myself to one part of these problems, particularly to the efforts made in many countries to improve the utilisation of manpower and to increase the productivity of labour.

I wish to discuss these problems for three reasons. First of all, because, as the Director-General rightly says, these are some of the most important problems of our time. Secondly, their relative importance becomes notably greater when considered in relation to the particular conditions of my own country. Thirdly, because the diversity with which the problem of the improvement of productivity arises in the various countries offers an opportunity to make certain observations regarding the best way of taking account of different national circumstances and regarding the advisability of asking ourselves whether the work done by the I.L.O. in this field is susceptible of application at the national level.

The importance of the problem of improving productivity at present is evident from the fact that all the international organisations have paid increased attention to this question and have intensified their study, publicity and action in this field. The I.L.O. is a striking example of this fact. The workers of the whole world expect from an increase in productivity at all levels of the economy an increase in their purchasing power and a rise in their standards of life, secured by a reduction in the cost of production, an increase in real income and an improvement in the whole economic system.

It is for this reason—because the purchasing power of wages is closely linked also to the volume and development of income and because the latter is in its turn dependent on the volume of goods available for the production process—that in Italy the workers in all their demands, their unions in their whole policy, should strive to obtain, thanks to an increase in production, an increase in real income. Although it may be that in other countries a policy of demanding wage increases, far from slowing up productivity, stimulates it through the expansion of the market which results, and because of the necessity, in an atmosphere of free competition, of re-establishing equilibrium between the cost of production in different spheres, the particular weakness of the Italian economic system (illustrated especially by the small rate of increase in the national income per head of the population) prevents the problem from being as simple as that for us. In Italy we cannot aim systematically at a fairer distribution of the national income if the result will be a slowing down in the process of capital accumulation, an accumulation which is in its turn an instrument for the expansion of the national income. In their wage policy the Italian workers' organisations must have regard to the need for permitting the introduction, in a given economic system, of the most favourable conditions for the expansion of the national income and then aim at securing for the workers an increasing part in this increased national income. The low rate of capital accumulation and the exceptional rigidity of our market places the equilibrium of our economic system

in constant danger as soon as an attempt is made to modify the distribution of the national income without increasing this income itself.

This is why in Italy the workers must, in their own interests, discipline themselves in their wage increase demands and remain within a margin fixed by the increase in productivity. Otherwise they will place obstacles in the way of capital accumulation and, worse still, risk compromising the stability of prices and indeed of the whole economic system.

That is why, having regard to the characteristics of this problem in Italy, an increase in productivity has become an essential condition if the problem of wages and the problem of the purchasing power of the masses are to be solved at all.

It is with a full realisation of the facts that the Italian workers make their own demands regarding wages and keep them within the limits indicated above. At the same time the workers' organisations have taken a number of steps in order to make the special problems raised by the need to increase productivity better known in their own circles and elsewhere.

Such deliberate action, however, has established a special situation differing from that in other countries. The great understanding shown by the workers' organisations of the problems of increased productivity has given rise, in the relations between employers, public authorities and the labour world, to an atmosphere in which our preoccupations are interpreted as purely trade union claims which it would be wise to restrict within the limits of agreements.

I wished to refer to this situation because I think it should be taken seriously into consideration by a body such as the I.L.O. When I read the part of the Director-General's Report in which he describes the concrete activity of the I.L.O. in this field, I observe that our trade union organisation has, in its publicity work in this connection, made large use of the results of the studies undertaken by the I.L.O. and other international organisations, research which has been objective and not, of course, undertaken from a one-sided or purely trade union point of view. I would remind you, for instance, that when we made certain suggestions regarding improvements in industrial techniques and the spread of information in regard to wage methods, in order to take into account the need for adjusting rates of payment to production levels, we were simply carrying into practice recommendations made by a group of technicians from different countries and from different circles (in particular the employers) which met under the auspices of the I.L.O. in the summer of 1950 and drafted a document dealing with the general principles for the utilisation of systems of payment by results. Thus, when we ask that there be a development in industry of systems for joint consultation and communication of information between managements and workers, we are simply drawing the attention of the economists in our country to the guiding lines regarding collaboration within industry which have been worked out at the international level. In Italy we have been obliged to exercise trade union pressure in order that problems which are of interest to the whole

of our economic system may be properly considered. These are problems which relate not merely to the proper way of protecting the interests of the workers but also to the proper way of dealing with questions of production, which affect the interests of the community in general.

In Italy we speak with the same voice as the most enlightened international circles in this respect, and often as employers in other countries who, in agreement with the public authorities and with the collaboration of the workers' organisations, study and indicate solutions to the problems raised by the need for increasing production methods from the technical and social, as well as the economic, point of view.

Our sense of responsibility has induced us to take extensive action in various fields which do not traditionally belong to workers' organisations. We were the first in Italy to ask for the establishment of a National Productivity Board which would secure a complete study and exchange of experience on the problems in question, whereas in other countries such institutions are not due to initiative by the workers. But we saw, and still see, in this step the chance to give a definite form to a programme of co-operation between the various classes in our economy, at the national level, with regard to production techniques, as suggested at various recent sessions of the Conference and of Industrial Committees. The subject is, indeed, on the agenda of the present session of the Conference.

But we would not like a more thorough execution of a programme of co-operation between the various classes, such as is now achieved in Italy at the national level, to be considered as an exceptional concession to the working-class movement. We would like it to be considered as an essential condition to the success of programmes designed to increase productivity, which are of concern to every branch of the community.

The I.L.O. should have regard to cases where lack of information and insufficient exchange of experience would make it difficult to apply decisions which have been worked out internationally but which are based chiefly on recent experience in the most advanced countries.

This would enable the workers' organisations to restrict themselves to their specific functions, which no one can do for them, and to contribute more efficiently and without fear of their right to act being challenged to the achievement of extensive and durable progress in the application of joint programmes for increasing productivity.

Mr. WUORI (*Government delegate, Finland*)—In the fascinating chapter on social policy in his admirable Report the Director-General writes as follows: "The urge to achieve or strengthen national independence lends force to the demands for social reforms with which it is inextricably connected. The desire for improved conditions of life has often been one of the main causes of the growth of movements for national liberation and Governments of newly independent countries have found social policy to be one of their main concerns." The

Director-General makes this observation having in mind mainly the present non-metropolitan territories. But it could as well be a more general observation.

When my country, Finland, at last became independent in 1917, and when at the beginning of the 1920's the Finnish nation had to develop the young State, it felt very keenly that the most important thing was to strengthen the foundation of society itself. At that time more than now it was an agricultural society. One of the first reforms which had to be carried out was the establishment of the tenant farmers as independent farmers. This was at that time a revolutionary reform; it strengthened the class of independent farmers both socially and politically, making them a class of peasant proprietors. At the same time—during the first years of the 1920's—very active legislation concerning various social reforms was being drawn up. In 1917 the Diet had already adopted a Bill limiting the working day to eight hours; this remained in force even after the political crisis in the life of the nation (1917-1918). This fact reminds me that Finland was represented at the International Labour Conference in Washington in 1919 where the problem of hours of work was discussed. In 1920 an annual paid holiday was guaranteed by law to shop and office workers. In 1922 a new Act of Parliament regulating individual labour contracts—at that time a very modern law indeed—gave a week's paid holiday every year to almost all industrial workers. In 1924 an Act concerning collective agreements came into force. And so on. We tried to regulate by law many things in regard to labour, and to guarantee a certain minimum of social standards and security to the workers. The legislation of that time was in many aspects more advanced in Finland than in many other countries. For example, annual holidays were first regulated by law in the Scandinavian countries in the middle of the 1930's. But in those countries the strong trade union movement had safeguarded by collective agreements the same, and in many cases better, conditions for labour.

The Finnish nation had to rely in many ways upon national unity and common effort during the trying war years, 1939-1944, and after the war the need for the further strengthening of its society by social reforms was again very strongly felt. On the other hand, the trade union movement gained in strength very quickly after the war and was able to press for new reforms. The war itself also left many difficult special problems to be solved, such as social security for war widows, orphans, invalids, the resettlement of displaced persons, etc.

In those circumstances many old regulations were revised. Many new Acts of Parliament were adopted. For example, in the year 1946 alone the following Acts were approved: the revised Act concerning collective agreements; the Act concerning conciliation of industrial disputes; the Act concerning industrial courts; the Act establishing production committees; the Act concerning the establishment of a tripartite labour council to give advice in connection with the application of the various laws concerning labour conditions; and the amended Acts concerning working hours.

The two or three years after the war were years of great activity in this field. Again we see how true the observation of the Director-General is when he points out in his Report the need for social reforms and developments which is so strongly felt by nations achieving their independence or trying to strengthen it after disastrous trials. During that period the relations between employers and workers were regulated by collective agreements on a more extensive basis than ever before in Finland. For the first time the system of collective agreements was really accepted and this opened up new ways and possibilities for the trade unions and employers' organisations in the development of labour relations. I think that my friends, the representatives of Finnish employers and workers, agree with me when I say that, despite much misunderstanding and many conflicts caused by inexperience and lack of tradition and mutual confidence, much has been achieved during recent years in the stabilisation and consolidation of the system of solving labour problems by voluntary collective agreements.

This post-war period of lively activity in the field of social legislation was clouded by a fast-developing inflation. It meant tension and conflicts on the labour markets and control of prices and wages by the State. This system of public control of prices and wages has been possible only by the co-operation of the employers' organisations and the trade unions. The task has not been easy and, as a Government representative and facing this distinguished international gathering, I would like to state that the responsible leaders of the Finnish employers' and workers' organisations have been willing to co-operate with the Government and have played a decisive part as well in the common difficult fight against the worst forms of inflation.

There is no need to explain in detail why we in Finland have had a very bad inflation, but I would like to mention that in the Armistice of 1944 Finland lost approximately 10 per cent. of its territory, which meant about 10 per cent. less productive forests, 12 per cent. less industrial capacity, the closing of the most important inland canal, etc. It meant also that we had to resettle about 10 per cent. of the population: these 400,000 came from the lost territories. The country was also obliged to deliver war reparations in the form of various goods and products of the nominal value of 300 million gold dollars. This sum was later reduced to 226.5 million dollars and the delivery time extended from six to eight years. But, even with this easing of delivery, the war reparations meant a considerable quantity of goods because they were calculated on the basis of the 1938 price level. It has been estimated that during these eight years—the closing day is 19 September this year—Finland has delivered various goods representing a sum of 170,000 million Finnish marks of present value or, according to the prevailing official rate of exchange, 740 million U.S. dollars.

But we have solved the problem of resettlement of our displaced people and we are approaching the day when we will have fulfilled our obligation regarding the war reparations. May I observe that, as far as we know,

Finland is the only country in the world which after the last war has paid the war reparations stipulated by the Armistice and peace treaties?

The general feeling in Finland is that the greatest problem now and in the near future is how to stop definitely the inflationary trend and achieve a solid economic basis for further developments in the nation's economic, social and cultural life. We in Finland have the same important and pressing problem to solve which is mentioned in the Report of the Director-General—how to stop or avoid inflation and fulfil such tasks as rearmament, and at the same time maintain the necessary social progress. We have no armament problem but we have others—problems which are putting the public finances under hard pressure—and we also have already rather ugly inflation, mainly as a result of our heavy commitments during and after the war. We have developed various forms of public assistance and it has become more and more difficult to maintain this kind of social activity when the public finances, because of the diminishing value of money, have come under increasingly heavy stress.

In short we are facing the problem as it is defined by the Director-General: how to maintain the necessary social progress amidst all the economic difficulties caused by inflation and various commitments which are a result of the most unfortunate political tension in the world.

With your permission I will read a few sentences from the Report of the Director-General. On page 33 he says: "For over a generation the minds of men have been pre-occupied and perplexed by wars and threats of war. The dominating characteristic of the modern world is insecurity. The fact that countries do not feel safe in the military sense results in a feeling of insecurity which pervades life in all its aspects. . . . The succession of upheavals caused by preparation for war, the waging of war, the aftermath of war and the organisation of defences against possible future wars has, on the one hand, increased the gravity and urgency of mankind's needs and, on the other hand, made it more difficult to satisfy them." And further, the Director-General says on page 35: "If the risks of another world war are finally overcome it will not be done by military measures alone. Peace must not only be defended in the military field but actively promoted by the positive and creative solution of mankind's problems."

How true these words are. If I may adapt these views to fit the case of my country, which is a small country without the possibility of influencing, not directly anyway, the politics of great powers, I would in the first place emphasise the obvious fact that it is possible for my country to have confidence in the future only if there is reason to believe in a peaceful settlement of world affairs. On that confidence greatly depends the willingness to work efficiently for social betterment. But, on the other hand, we have to keep in our minds the other truth apparent in the quoted words of the Director-General. The peace can be saved only if social progress is not forgotten. In the case of a small nation like Finland, it means, if I understand this rightly, that one and perhaps

the most important indication of the nation's will to live is its determination to try to improve the social conditions of the people as far and as soon as the economic progress allows. As the Director-General says, freedom from want is certainly a necessary prerequisite for real political freedom and for freedom from fear.

A small nation without any other aims except the wish to live in peace with its neighbours and develop its own national life is a very sincere supporter of peaceful methods in world affairs. Now we know that the work for betterment of social standards, which is so ably led by the I.L.O., is of the greatest importance for the saving of mankind from another world catastrophe. It is because of this fact that we wish the I.L.O. would grow stronger and more influential in its own special field of activities.

The I.L.O. has been able to maintain its activities continuously since 1919 because its founders were wise enough to build it as a tripartite organisation and to direct it to work towards universality.

These two principles have no doubt been—as the Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Ramadier, rightly pointed out—two strong pillars of the I.L.O. But during these many years there have happened many changes in our world. For example the economic life in every country is not in the same way tripartite as it was 33 years ago. There have appeared economic systems in which the State owns all means of production and where the State acts as the only employer, and the trade unions have acquired various new functions as a part of the State machinery. Then we see various kinds of mixed systems growing up, systems in which the State owns an important part of the nation's production machinery. Even in those systems the role of the State as employer and the role of the trade union is becoming in many aspects more and more different from what it used to be in the earlier forms of economic organisations.

It would be most unfortunate for the whole of the I.L.O. if these developments were to make it increasingly difficult to maintain the universal character of the I.L.O., because even if the economic systems vary there remains the necessity to maintain co-operation in the field of social policy and, through this co-operation, influence the world for the benefit not only of social progress but of world peace as well. To try to force the nations of the world into the same pattern of organisation would mean disastrous difficulties. If we believe in the possibility of peaceful settlement we must believe in the possibility of co-operation between various systems or, anyway, of their co-existence.

I conclude by thanking the Director-General for his Report, which again gives us a comprehensive picture of the general situation in which the I.L.O. has to work and of the main problems which the Organisation faces in this stage of its work.

Mr. THU (*Employers' delegate, Burma*)—I consider it a proud privilege to represent the Employers of my country at the Conference this year; also to have this fine opportunity of joining in the discussion of the Director-

General's Report. As I went through the Report I found it not only interesting but also packed with factual information round which a variety of ideas is woven into the fabric of valuable suggestions for the raising of the standard of living of workers. I must congratulate the Director-General on so fine a piece of work as his able Report.

The Report reveals that the year 1951 witnessed a rise in the cost of living, as anticipated—a rise that in many countries, according to the Director-General, exceeded the average annual rise since the last war, despite the world-wide effort that has been and is being made to boost production, both industrial and agricultural. I quite agree with the Director-General in attributing this higher cost of living chiefly to the rise in money wages, which is shown in Chart IV to have been faster in many countries than the cost of living, and to the switches from civil to military production that caused a fall in the supply of consumer goods.

The Director-General rightly pointed out that simultaneous efforts to improve the standard of living, to maintain or increase the proportion of resources devoted to investment for economic development and to launch substantial rearmament programmes have not only imposed a strain on the economies of many countries but also competed with one another for scarce materials, labour and capital equipment. I wish to associate myself with the view of the Director-General that, unless there is a great easing of political tension, we cannot look forward to substantial relief from economic strain during the next couple of years. May the hope be realised that 1954 will mark the beginning of a period in which the standard of living will rise more rapidly and assistance for economic development will be afforded to underdeveloped countries on a larger scale than ever since the war.

In the Report before us the Director-General has made emphatic reference to the question of social policy. I for one highly appreciate the peoples' overriding needs and demands for social improvement as examined by the Director-General, who has aptly emphasised the just as urgent need for social policy to take account of the economic limitations and of the habits and institutions of different countries. This sound note struck by the Director-General cannot but reflect credit on his wisdom and breadth of vision.

The Director-General is quite right in saying that it is generally realised that improved standards can only be achieved through greater production and increased international trade. I should like to add "through greater production stimulated by higher productivity of labour". I believe that productivity of workers has to be achieved through the efforts of the workers with the assistance of mechanisation and scientific aid, for unless workers can increase their earnings substantially they cannot hope to live at a higher standard, no matter what reduced working hours or kind of holiday and leave with pay or social amenities they are allowed to enjoy. Unless their earnings are to be doubled, I am afraid that their need for a "reasonable standard" as defined in the Report—which by a revolution

in ideas is considered to imply more food in greater variety, more and better clothing, improved houses with better services, more articles of furniture and household equipment and, in general, more material comforts of every kind—will remain unfilled. Higher wages have, I maintain, their limitations. Wages simply cannot rise without doing damage to the whole economic structure.

The world today, as far as I can see, lives up to the ideal of the Declaration of Philadelphia, which the Director-General (in Chapter II of his Report) mentioned as inspiring all the work of the I.L.O. The ideal that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity" has been given the universal recognition it deserves. It has in fact found a place in our country's Constitution.

As a representative of the employers of my country I am heartened to be told by the Director-General in his Report that the programmes which the I.L.O. is now under a solemn obligation to promote in accordance with the terms of the Declaration of Philadelphia range from "full employment and the raising of standards of living" through the employment of workers in the occupations for which they are best suited, to "the provision of adequate nutrition," etc., and the assurance of "educational and vocational opportunity". I should like to draw the attention of all present here to the hard fact that capital and labour are complementary to each other—a fact from which none of us, neither employer nor worker, can get away. In order, therefore, to enable workers and employers to make their greatest possible contribution to the common wellbeing, both of them should endeavour "to seek to bring about such changes in social attitudes as will release and encourage the productive energy and initiative of people in all avenues of economic activity". Reciprocal help and goodwill should, I consider, be uppermost in the minds of both the employer and the worker. It should be the key, indeed, to our success.

Coming now to the activities of the I.L.O., on behalf of the employers of my country I must express my grateful thanks to the I.L.O. for having rendered to areas like ours such assistance as the critical examination of national schemes, the sending of experts, the organisation of training courses and award of fellowships, the establishment of field offices and missions and the convening of seminars. I should like to lay special stress on the paramount need for training workers in healthy trade unionism and for instilling into them the true spirit of unionism, so that the best possible understanding and most cordial relations between employers and workers may be promoted. Any absence of such most essential elements in any sphere of work would merely hamper the progress not only of economic development but also of the I.L.O.'s mission to raise the standard of living of all workers.

As to employment, the problem that Burma faces today is not so much of unemployment as of underemployment. To my mind, her

need, therefore, is essentially one of intensive technical training for her thousands of idle hands that wait to be turned into skilled workers for such industries as the country can develop. I am glad to note that the I.L.O. has since rendered such precious assistance to my country as well as to others in need. Furthermore, I wish to commend the Director-General particularly for having expressed his outspoken opinion on the methods of raising productivity. It is the simple truth that "one of the most effective ways of raising productivity in individual plants, and thereby making possible increased earnings and improved industrial relations, is the application of modern techniques of work study and work simplification, the proper layout of factories and the organisation of work; where appropriate these techniques may be combined with systems of payment by results". In my opinion it is only equitable to raise the wage level in relation to the level of productivity. To my mind it is unjust to employers in particular and wrong as concerns the world economy in general to think of fixing the wage level without relating it to the level of productivity. Payment by results, wherever possible, would, I believe, be an infallible method of raising the level of productivity, as it is related directly to the effort to increase productivity.

If the lofty ideals for which this great international organisation stands are to be attained, all the manpower and natural resources in the underdeveloped areas must be harnessed to the fullest possible extent in the shortest possible time. To make manpower available to the task ahead, such technical training as the I.L.O. provides must be made available wherever necessary. It is good news, at any rate, that the manpower programme, as revealed in the Report, is coming to grips with specific practical problems.

We realise that the formidable task or mission of this Organisation bristles with difficulties. To me the process of transition from war to peace seems impossibly slow. War clouds rose and melted away. Prospects of peace, however, seem to grow no whit better. The settlement of world-wide disputes hangs fire. All this has added much to the difficulties that beset the path of progress which we in the I.L.O. are trying to follow in the endeavour to raise the standard of living of the workers.

Towards the end of his Report the Director-General reminded us of the proposals for a Convention concerning minimum standards of social security which are due for discussion at the present session. In view of his observation that, while the benefits under existing social security legislation in American countries reach the minimum standard proposed, the proportion of the population covered in the different areas is still relatively small, I think it would pay to take full account of the marked difference in structures—political, social, cultural and traditional—between the States Members, when the subject is discussed. Unless the provisions of the Convention are made sufficiently elastic to meet the case of all Members, it will, I am afraid, not be easy of ratification.

These slight differences of opinion apart, I concur with the Report in general. I am much heartened, indeed, to note that the scope of the

work of the I.L.O. has gradually been widened so that it now covers workers of all conceivable descriptions.

To pursue successfully the social policy laid down by this international organisation would by implication mean to achieve successfully economic development or prosperity—the goal of all human beings. Better working and living conditions, higher wages and fuller social security for all workers would, I am confident, make for higher productivity on the part of spontaneous and contented labour; and this in turn would mean a happier and more prosperous world for all to live in. As sure as day follows night and night follows day, peace and security must come.

Mr. DRAVID (*Government delegate, India*)—Although this is the first occasion on which I have attended a session of the Conference, I do not wish to deal at length with my country's adherence and loyalty to the aims and objects of the International Labour Organisation. Others from my country have done this very well in the past. Ever since its attainment of independence India has been engaged in striving to improve the standard of living of its 400 million inhabitants and, at the same time, in making its own humble contribution towards easing the international situation and the threats to world peace. Our friends in some other countries have, at times, misunderstood our attitude, but, as time goes on, there is a growing appreciation, even among them, of the fact that there is something to be said for our point of view, the essence of which is non-alignment with one or other of the power blocs. We have enough problems of our own to engage our fullest attention and have no ambitions to encroach on what belongs to others. At the same time, we are determined to maintain and preserve our hard-won independence. Thanks to the wisdom of the father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi, we won our freedom without any bloodshed. Today we have as our leader a worthy disciple of his, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

This is not the place for dealing with what might appear to be international politics, and my point in touching on this question is only to show that any method of striving for world peace by means other than a race for armaments will find the greatest support from India. This means that the activities of the I.L.O., which aims at going into the fundamental causes of, and solving, the present-day troubles by waging a war against gross economic maladjustments and by procuring greater contentment and a higher standard of living for all countries in the world, will continue to have our warmest support. I will have to revert to this point later.

I take this opportunity of congratulating the Director-General on his excellent Report. This Report, besides dealing with the aims and ideals of the I.L.O., has pointed out within its limited space and with remarkable clarity the main problems requiring solution in both the highly developed and in the underdeveloped or undeveloped countries. It has also given a clear account of the I.L.O.'s activities in the various fields within its competency and of the programme of action in hand.

Nothing could be more helpful to us in deciding in what directions national efforts should be further intensified and in appreciating the specific role that the I.L.O. can play in all such activities. The Report therefore not only is an excellent résumé of the year's work but forms a good basis for future planning.

I have naturally paid particular attention to Mr. Morse's outline of the problems in the underdeveloped countries and his suggestions regarding their solution. There is no doubt that the problem of an impoverished economy burdened by a rapidly growing population "can be solved only by means of rapid economic development". This is, however, a long-term view, as only in the very long run can economic progress provide an efficient brake to the rate of growth of a population. As an immediate remedy, the suggestion needs to be supplemented. Side by side with any attempts at economic progress, steps should be taken to halt or deter the rate of growth of the population. Rapid industrialisation alone could solve the difficulties of the underdeveloped countries provided equitable distribution of populations could be attained through migration. Unfortunately, the question of migration is mixed up with a variety of sentiments and it is not possible to promote migration on a sufficient scale to relieve immediate pressure on the underdeveloped countries. It is not unusual to find that, in certain areas, human resources are strained by the competitive demands of defence and civilian needs while chronic unemployment or underemployment subsists in other parts of the world. This is an imperfect world and solutions for social problems have to follow social sentiments, which are not necessarily logical.

The question of migration is charged with considerable prejudices and, so far as the underdeveloped countries are concerned, they should make a beginning with population planning, side by side with endeavours towards economic development. This would perhaps be a wise course as a long-term plan, as sooner or later population planning might be attempted on a global scale. As the Director-General has pointed out, food production has not kept pace with industrial production, and I am afraid that the production lag may perpetuate itself. I am glad to say that thinking in India has veered towards population planning, and preliminary steps have been taken to educate the people in the advantages of a limited population. No spectacular success is expected however—in fact, all the goodwill in the world will be needed for the initial attempts to take root. I merely mention this as a beginning in the right direction.

It is refreshing to note the increased awakening of a world conscience in favour of the underdeveloped countries. I have no hesitation in saying that the pioneer burdens in this field fell heavily on the I.L.O. and it has aptly discharged its responsibility in creating an awareness of the common destiny of mankind. So far as my country is concerned, we appreciate the limitations of the I.L.O.'s resources, the difficulties inherent in the present world situation, and the national possibilities of the country. It is agreed that, at the present time, national energy should be directed towards

the fields that will be most productive with the minimum capital outlay. For this and other reasons, considerable attention has been devoted in my country to the improvement of agriculture and food production. Mention may be made here of the opening of the fertiliser factory at Sindri and of the various river valley projects under way. The problem of food production is being tackled on all fronts by the reclamation of land, irrigation, the use of better implements and better seeds. The Central Tractor Organisation is engaged in clearing a species of destructive grass from two million acres of land in Central India. Above all, the rural community is being trained to become self-reliant and to handle by itself the problems of better living. A special development project covering 97 villages with a total population of 79,000 and land area of 90,000 acres has been successfully tried at one centre. The Government of India has been encouraged by the results obtained there and is launching a set of community projects which will cover ten million people in 16,000 villages. Thanks are due to the Government of the United States, whose help has made the programme possible at present.

My country is not unaware of the problems in other fields of production and the pressing need for their solution. For instance, land reform programmes have been implemented in many States. The Constitution was amended for this purpose and for the purpose of dispensing with intermediaries between the State and the actual tillers of the soil. A small savings programme—an effort to mobilise domestic capital—has met with considerable success. The receipts from small savings were of the order of 400 million rupees in 1951-1952 and it is hoped to improve the receipts this year. Employers and employees have responded to the patriotic appeal for greater production. Production in textiles, coal, cement, sugar and steel has shown a distinct improvement. This improvement, however, only touches the fringe of the problem. The problem in India, as perhaps in other underdeveloped countries, is one of employment and production. It is not merely or mainly a question of productivity alone, however important that may be. Millions of people are either unemployed or underemployed; their physical resources go to waste while the bare necessities of life are not available to them. The social objective is moderate, namely, a basic standard of living with provision for food, clothing and shelter. It is not possible to achieve in full even this modest objective with the available domestic resources. We are aware that we must exert ourselves to the full before looking for help from others. A study of the Government of India's five-year plan, which has received very appreciative comments from authorities outside the country, will indicate that we have done our best in utilising all our own resources towards fulfilling a modest plan of development, but, even for this, aid from outside is needed to a certain extent.

It is by now generally recognised that, if the aims and ideals of the Declaration of Philadelphia are to be implemented even to some little extent, countries which are more

happily placed should assist in improving the lot of others which are much less fortunate. The question I would like to ask is whether, even with the greatest goodwill, much effective assistance can be given as long as the bigger countries are engaged in programmes of rearmament. As the Director-General has rightly pointed out, rearmament and economic development towards higher living standards are competitors for scarce supplies of labour, materials and equipment. Even without such competition, the volume of assistance likely to be available for underdeveloped countries would be far short of requirements, but with severe competition it may be so little that the most urgent irreducible requirements in the field of economic development may take a matter of decades to be met. It may be that this is not the forum for discussing the larger issue of ways and means for removing the threat of war, but I do wish to emphasise that, unless this problem of rearmament versus economic development is fully studied and some solution found, a good deal of our objectives for improving the lot of the millions in the underdeveloped countries will remain more in the nature of mere hopes. Let me make it clear, however, that this is not to belittle in any way such assistance as these countries have already received.

The Director-General has rightly given prominence to the problems connected with the administration of technical assistance. These problems are a real challenge to the recipient nations and to the I.L.O., as well as to the other international organisations engaged in operative work connected with technical assistance. I cannot, of course, speak for other countries, but on behalf of my own country I would like to mention that technical assistance unaccompanied by assistance in the form of the necessary resources and equipment will not carry us too far. Where technical assistance by experts with up-to-date knowledge of problems such as productivity or vocational training can serve the purpose of effecting improvements in the existing state of affairs, we are ready to avail ourselves of such assistance and are doing so. But projects coming within this category are not too many. The Director-General has rightly pointed out that technical assistance by experts can be really effective only if the national Government is in a position to follow up the advice received and has the resources for doing so. What I have said is not in any way intended to minimise the importance of technical assistance or the useful work done in this field so far. I am only stating frankly that, in view of the admitted limitations, other forms of assistance should be added in order to make the findings of experts deputed under the technical assistance programme more effective. There is no point in a doctor prescribing an excellent medicine if its cost is beyond the means of the patient. In this context the growing efforts at co-ordination in respect of assistance, technical or economic, rendered by different sources, is a healthy sign and I would like to see still more such co-ordination. The experience of the last few years will doubtless help both the agencies concerned and the recipient countries to consider in what direc-

tions there could be further improvement in the pooling of resources towards one main objective, that of raising the standards of living of the masses in the underdeveloped countries.

In the early years the main activities of the I.L.O. were confined to laying down, in the form of Conventions or Recommendations, certain minimum standards relating to the conditions of work of some typical categories of workers. That was at a time when the I.L.O. was more European in its outlook. Of late, as the Director-General himself mentioned in one of his earlier reports, the I.L.O.'s activities in respect of the underdeveloped countries have considerably expanded and equal or more emphasis is laid, in respect of those countries, on effecting improvements in the standards of living of the masses as a whole and not mainly of certain categories of workers constituting only a fraction of the total population. In my own country we have always recognised that the urban industrial worker does require some measure of protective legislation in view of the nature of his work and surroundings. Such further measures as are found necessary from time to time will continue to receive our attention, but we have realised that the time has come when the question of bettering the living conditions of the majority of the population scattered among the thousands of villages should also receive equal or even greater attention. The present policy of the Government of India is directed along these lines, as is borne out by what I have already briefly indicated. I mention this to show that our inability to adopt some of the past decisions of the I.L.O. should be judged in this context and should not be interpreted in any way as a lack of enthusiasm on our part. Care is taken, however, to ensure that the greater attention given to bettering the conditions of the population in general is not made an excuse for denying workers in organised industries, however small a percentage they may constitute of the total population, a just share of the fruit of their labours.

While I am, naturally, appreciative of the increasing interest taken in problems relating to underdeveloped countries in Asia, I would like to add that there are still practical studies to be made in various fields in relation to these countries. For instance, increased productivity at any cost may be all right in countries which are short of manpower. In countries suffering from chronic unemployment, however, if the introduction of improved methods is accompanied by large-scale retrenchment, thereby increasing unemployment still further, the remedy may well approximate to the original evil. Definite practical ways and means of increasing employment should, therefore, be studied and decided upon simultaneously. Again, in the more advanced countries problems such as workers' housing or welfare may be treated as common problems applicable to the community in general, but in the present conditions in Asian countries such problems require separate study. Similarly, the limitation of hours of work can serve its purpose effectively only if accompanied by appropriate measures for the profitable utilisation of leisure time. Nutrition and the education of the workers are

also matters justifying practical studies, though this may not be quite so necessary in countries where adequate standards already exist.

I have noted with interest the work of the Asian Advisory Committee which, comparatively speaking, is still only a child. I do believe, however, that as time goes on this Committee will have a larger part to play in advising the Governing Body on matters of special interest to Asian countries—of which I have already given a few instances—and this without damaging the cardinal principle of the universality of the I.L.O. Problems requiring priority in Asian countries may be quite different from those of industrially more advanced countries in the West. The discussions in this Committee will also be of considerable value to the Asian Regional Conference, which meets less frequently though, happily, at regular intervals. There is a considerable volume of work to be done in the vast regions of the Asian countries and I am confident that these two bodies can play an effective part in its execution. I have also noticed with satisfaction the useful work done by the Asian Field Office. The number of cases where its assistance is sought by the countries in the region is also a clear indication of its popularity.

Before I sit down I would like to express my grateful thanks to the Director-General not merely for his excellent Report but more for the deep understanding he has displayed in regard to the problems and requirements of the underdeveloped countries, including my own country. For my part, I would assure him that India will play its part in making his efforts productive.

Interpretation: Mr. RECINOS (*Workers' delegate, Guatemala*)—In greeting this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference on behalf of the workers of my country, Guatemala, may I express the hope that its work will be crowned with success for the welfare of humanity? We are met here in response to the call of the peoples, who want justice, freedom and peace. Anyone who, out of selfishness or lack of understanding, does not answer this call will be betraying the essential object of this and all other sessions of the International Labour Conference, and will also be incurring the very great responsibility of impeding the progress and the happiness of mankind.

There can be no justice unless the peoples and their lawful leaders can implement their desire for betterment, because there are negative forces, political and economic, opposing that desire. There can be no freedom so long as the Governments are not the genuine representatives of their peoples and so long as they are not determined to put an end to misery and oppression. The world is not at peace, and, as the Director-General says in his Report, "lasting peace can only be achieved if positive solutions are found to mankind's social and economic problems." Positive solutions—that is what the workers are looking for. Speeches are no use unless they correspond to a sincere desire to implement the principles on which the I.L.O. is founded and in which the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world believe. Resolutions and Conventions

are no use if the Governments and employers who approve them here in this Conference do not do so with full faith in the principles on which they are based. To approve Resolutions and Conventions in order to give the impression of being a progressive Government, and then, with complete irresponsibility, to turn them into mere academic declarations, will not lead to any improvement for the workers and is the worst possible injury that can be done to the I.L.O. That is why many workers are beginning to wonder about the effectiveness of this Organisation. They are losing their faith, and the fault lies primarily with those Governments which come here and make fine speeches on social justice but in their own countries do nothing, or very little, to put an end to the poverty which is harassing and destroying the great majority of their peoples, whose happiness they should watch over. Here they make impassioned declarations on freedom of association, and within their own frontiers any trade union leader who was bold enough to repeat those statements would be condemned to prison or exile. Let the leaders of the I.L.O. who really believe in its principles and respect its Constitution take note that this monstrous insincerity on the part of certain Governments is fatal to the prestige of the Organisation.

There is one problem which is of permanent interest to all the workers of the world, and as it is a fundamental concern of the workers of Latin America I want to emphasise it on this international platform. I refer to the constant violation of trade union rights by certain Governments. In many of our countries there are restrictions, either of law or of fact, on the free development of our trade unions. In many of them there is persecution and repression, violent police measures against the independent organisations of workers and in particular against their leaders. Hundreds of trade unionists are lying in prison or suffering in exile. We want a competent international organisation to back up our workers in defending these rights. That is why, two years ago, we heard with satisfaction and hope the news that the I.L.O. had decided to set up a Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association. We hoped that this announcement marked the beginning of a vigorous policy on the part of the I.L.O. to guarantee the full enjoyment of trade union rights. But many months have passed, and the vigorous policy which we hoped for seems to be more a policy of condonation and tolerance with regard to dictatorial Governments; and, still more serious, those Governments appear to be flouting the moral authority of the I.L.O. and to be openly trampling underfoot the principles of its Constitution. We know of one Government which has been censured in an official report of the I.L.O. for repeated and brutal violations of trade union rights and of human rights in general, yet whose representatives still sit calmly in this Conference while its police agents are imprisoning, torturing and sending into exile the leaders of the trade unions who will not submit to its totalitarian policy. We know of other Governments which are fooling the I.L.O. by doling out freedom of association drop by drop. Freedom of association is indivisible, and its

value and extent cannot be at the mercy of the caprice of Governments. It must be granted absolutely; otherwise the trade unions cannot accomplish their tasks.

We appeal once again to the I.L.O. to fulfil its promise to fight for the defence of freedom of association. Some Governments may find this awkward for them, but it must not be forgotten that such Governments do not legitimately represent their peoples and will sooner or later be replaced by democratic Governments. On the day when the I.L.O. decides to guarantee trade union rights effectively and without delay, it will be able to rely on the full support of the workers for such a policy.

Some of the Latin American Governments represented at this Conference, in order to justify their persecution of and their crimes against trade unionists, have recourse to the old and outworn expedient of accusing them of political activities. No Government has the right to persecute a trade union leader merely because he is also a political leader. The workers and their leaders have the full right to fight for the political convictions of their own choice. In a true democracy this is not only a right but an obligation. I hope that the I.L.O. will not be taken in by these specious arguments, which are really nothing but an excuse to persecute the workers who are not favourable to the Governments of their countries. Independent and free trade unionists are precisely what those Governments do not want. What they do want are docile "trade unionists" and "trade unions" unworthy of the name, to help to satisfy the uncontrolled personal ambitions of their bosses.

I should like now to inform this meeting of some of our aspirations and some of the tasks which are now being carried out by the trade union movement in my country. So far as our resources allow we always try to find positive solutions, such as are referred to by the Director-General in his Report. But unfortunately in our attempts to do so we always meet with the resistance of foreign capital established in Guatemala and in alliance with our own feudally minded capitalists. This coalition, which is hostile to progress and the well-being of our peoples, resorts to every kind of measure to keep down the aspirations of our workers. Organised into powerful trusts, its members bring pressure to bear on our Government and conduct international campaigns to discredit it and the trade union movement of my country. Every time we submit any claim—whether it be a wage claim or a demand for the conclusion of a collective agreement—they start screaming and accusing us of taking instructions from abroad, when really all that we are doing is to express the simplest and most legitimate demands of the working classes of Guatemala. They try to discredit us by accusing us unfairly, although our demands fall far short of those advanced by the workers in the countries from which the managers of these undertakings come.

These concerns are opposed to every effort to liberate my country economically. For instance, our Government, with the complete support of the workers, is building a modern

highway to link up the capital with Puerto Barrios. This highway, besides opening up a very important and rich economic zone, would put an end to the transport monopoly which has been held for many years by the I.R.C.A. Railway Company. It is very curious to note that the Government is having difficulty in obtaining delivery of the necessary supplies in due time and the necessary machinery for building this important road, which would be of undoubted benefit to the country. This highway is, in fact, part of a policy, which is supported by the workers, to break down trade barriers. We support free trade with all countries in the world, in the interests of our own country. It is unjust that countries which buy our exports should themselves fix the prices for them, taking advantage of our economic weakness, and, what is still more serious, should have the right to determine what we shall consume and at what price we shall buy it.

Another important claim of the Latin American workers which we in Guatemala are now in process of achieving, is the agrarian reform. At the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., which was recently held in Petropolis, Brazil, a resolution was adopted concerning agrarian reform. In my country the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers supports the Land Reform Bill which has been submitted by the Executive Power to the Congress of our Republic, and has made known its views in a public document from which I quote the following paragraphs: "... Agrarian reform is a matter of urgency for the following reasons: in this, the 20th century, in a large part of Guatemala there is a semi-feudal régime which keeps our peasants in poverty, sickness and ignorance because of the burdens placed upon it as a result of the feudal production relationships; in a land most of which is held by a few persons, and the population of which is dispossessed of its land, an out-of-date feudal system of cultivation is maintained which keeps down productivity of the land, with the result that agricultural products are scarce and dear, although they are a prime necessity of our people. Unless the peasants are freed from their present medieval servitude and turned into free agricultural workers with a proper purchasing power, there can be no industrial or economic development in my country. Agrarian reform has as its fundamental purpose the broadening of national markets and the creation of new opportunities of employment, so as to make possible higher wages and better living conditions."

The working class of Guatemala will always be ready to give its firm support to those who sincerely desire to fight for social justice, freedom and peace throughout the world.

Mr. TATA (*Employers' delegate, India*)—Once again the Director-General has placed before us a document in which he has, within a few pages, called attention to the most burning problems of the day that affect the activities of the Organisation. Apart from the regular items on the agenda which are before the Conference, some of which by their nature and need are important, by far the

most outstanding item to my mind is the annual Report of the Director-General, which permits us to touch upon topics which are so intimately connected with our problems, and yet, theoretically, are outside the scope of the predetermined agenda. The judicious manner in which the Director-General has introduced such problems in his Report is yet another proof of his keen intellect and shrewd powers of observation. By a frank and unfettered discussion among the delegates from the 65 nations gathered together here, the I.L.O. viewpoint and the future policy of the Organisation can be framed.

One such problem dealt with in the Director-General's Report, and which at the present moment is a challenge to the world, is that of inflation. The Director-General has dwelt on the inflationary trend and its reaction on the cost of living, the prices of goods and wages. This affords us a splendid opportunity, as delegates to this Conference, to bring to the notice of the Organisation the real source of this malady, which has been the most potent cause of strained relations between employer and worker. It is indeed an irony of fate that acute problems arising out of sharp fluctuations in prices, caused by world factors affecting materially the cost of living and the level of prices, should be left to the Employers' and Workers' delegations to solve. After all, these problems owe their origin chiefly to factors beyond the control of employers and workers, and result from high level action and the policies of Governments who do not care to consult our Organisation when formulating their policies.

When considering this as a layman, it is painful to reflect that two world wars and a number of other conflicts have brought about certain definite economic trends which have upset and disorganised the world. If international organisations like the United Nations were to study the question, with the help of world-renowned economists and in collaboration with industrialists, workers and Governments, I feel that a definite economic policy could be evolved with the object of planning a long-term war economy for the world, with different measures to be adopted for various stages of the conflict, namely, the stage before the war, during the war and the post-war stage.

The Director-General has referred to the Korean conflict and its effect on wage levels and prices. He has also given graphs showing the upheaval in the level of prices and wages, and the capricious movement of the cost of living affecting the economy of the world. To illustrate my proposal: supposing the United Nations, after a survey of such noticeable trends, were to formulate for adoption by States Members a blueprint of a policy or plan of essential economic measures to be taken at the first sign of the emergence of a conflict, by declaring a state of emergency under which, let us say, by international co-operation between various nations certain strategic materials could be stockpiled at certain predetermined and internationally agreed levels of prices over a long period—if this could be done, violent fluctuations of the type we have been experiencing could to a large extent be avoided. Again, when a further

stage in the conflict is reached where a war seems imminent, a timely wage-freeze, a timely control of prices, profits and dividends, and a timely denial of certain consumer goods to the population could mitigate, if not avert, the agonies which nations have suffered as a result of international commotions, conflicts and wars.

Similarly, when the third stage, namely the post-war period, is reached certain economic measures taken in time through international co-operation between nations on a universal basis can check and mitigate the suffering of the people by a slow but well-controlled process of transition from a war to a peace economy with the least possible hardship to humanity.

Wars have come and have gone; but it is unfortunate that those responsible for such high level policy have failed to profit by the experience of the economic tragedies that have followed in the wake of the last two world wars. Furthermore, no effort has been made on an international level to convene a conference of economists, workers and employers to watch such trends and formulate a policy in the light of the valuable experience gained during previous war periods. It is all the more painful to see this lack of initiative and effort when international conferences on all kinds of subjects are being held and when the most valuable field in which international co-operation and co-ordination could relieve suffering humanity has not yet been entered. Since this year's Report deals at length with this aspect of the problem, I appeal to the I.L.O. to convey a request through its co-operative machinery to the United Nations to tackle this problem by taking expert advice with a view to formulating some kind of definite policy to help us in evolving an appropriate solution. To thrust these problems upon us after the damage is done is a grave injustice, since no amount of effort on our part can help us to grapple with problems which arise through international complacency over a long period and over which we have no control. Since wars have become an inevitable factor in human history, it would be wrong to presume that there will be no wars in the foreseeable future. Therefore, it would not be a sin to be prepared for a possible war in an effort to prevent one. It would, however, be a travesty of human effort to prepare feverishly for a war in terms of armaments alone and leave it to suffering humanity to solve the economic aspects and concomitants as the inevitable outcome of warmongering.

Apart from the regular items on the agenda, we have to renew our debate, through second discussion, on social security with minimum and maximum standards, with a view to taking a final decision on a subject which, although it brings glory to the name of the I.L.O., has a crop of problems to offer both to Governments who are expected to implement the decisions and to employers who must find the means for affording such security to the workers.

On page 42 of the Report, under the heading "The Possibilities", the Director-General has laid bare the practical difficulties in implementing social security programmes. He says: "It is not possible for all countries to advance

at the same pace. Nor is it desirable that changes be introduced too rapidly or on too wide a scale, for this may result in financial, administrative and other difficulties which endanger the new reforms and retard further development". I compliment the Director-General on this realistic approach to the idealistic pursuit of the planning of social security. Although the I.L.O.'s efforts in this direction might bring forth a lot of applause from theorists who wish to change the face of the world by quick and frequent doses of social reforms, in actual practice this policy will result in a tough problem leading to bitter despair and frustration on the part of workers, causing further deterioration of industrial relations between the worker and the employer. It is one thing to be cured of an ill by a specific remedy, but another thing altogether to tantalise a patient with a promised remedy which is not procurable and to offer him a miserable palliative instead. It is a thousand pities that many well-intentioned warnings by the employers to keep under vigilant control a programme of hasty social reforms to pacify the continuous clamour of the workers have been deliberately misunderstood and misconstrued by those who claim to be concerned with the welfare of workers as a ruse to stave off further concessions to labour. Posterity alone will prove the danger of throwing to the winds such timely words of caution. After all, what matters most is the implementation of a proposal and not its approval on paper.

The Director-General, on page 16 of his Report, has referred to the problems of unemployment and underemployment with reference to underdeveloped countries of the world. He has rightly stated that in many of these countries rapid rates of population growth make the problem all the more intractable. For solving the problem he has suggested a rapid economic development. When this matter pertaining to Asian countries was discussed by the Asian Advisory Committee, of which I am a member, we could not come to a positive and effective decision owing to the complex nature of the issue. It was, however, decided to undertake rapid sample surveys and field enquiries for determining the extent of underemployment and for framing proposals for practical remedial measures. Rapid economic development needs a plethora of capital formation, availability of capital goods and technical know-how. In all these three requirements the underdeveloped countries are poorest. Unless a very bold programme under President Truman's Point Four Plan or the Colombo Plan could completely change the face of the countries in question, I feel that, side by side with the plans of rapid economic development, the problem of migration assumes considerable importance. It is a pity that the various committees under the sponsorship both of the I.L.O. and the United Nations have been tackling the migration problem on a very restricted geographical basis. Today so many of the Asian countries are able to offer masses of workers on a short-term bipartite migration basis to countries which are acutely in need of labour. National prejudices arising from historical reasons come in the way of a bold policy of such exchange of working populations on a short-term basis.

I appeal to the Governments concerned to explore once again the possibilities within the regions of Asia and America. I feel it is possible to evolve a short-term migration movement under which a carefully sponsored I.L.O. migration agreement may be signed by two parties, the emigrating country undertaking to fulfil the conditions laid down by the immigrating country, so that the problem of unemployment may be solved, fulfilling at the same time the needs of countries which are short of labour.

Referring to the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., which says that "conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled", the Director-General has rightly pointed out that this statement applies not only to conditions of labour but to conditions of life in general. The pace of social justice dictated by the I.L.O. must be in keeping with the tempo of the standard of social justice in evidence in the world generally. Is it fair and prudent to clamour for revised formulae on social security when the world is in the grip of a conflict threatening a world war, when defence programmes on a massive scale are causing scarcity in consumer goods and privations of the elementary needs of human life, and when the general economy of nations is completely upset? Psychologically, therefore, this is the moment to pause for a while and watch the world situation before we go precipitately into social security problems which would undoubtedly accelerate the spiral of inflation. If, in adopting a Convention, the intention is simply to put on paper a pious resolution, then we would be merely expanding our list of deferred promises which, in effect, cannot be implemented in the near future. In the long run such a policy is bound to cause greater heartburning than would be the case if no decisions were taken at all on an unduly accelerated programme.

In this connection I wish to reiterate once again my fear of creating a privileged class of industrial workers in underdeveloped and undeveloped countries by concentrating all welfare measures and confining them to the industrial worker alone, who invariably forms a microscopic minority. It is needless to say that the non-industrial worker, who forms the bulk of the population, is still struggling for a mere morsel of social reform which is unable to reach him owing to the non-existence of suitable machinery for enforcing such measures for his benefit.

According to the Director-General the year under review was eventful for the establishment of a Fact-Finding Commission to investigate breaches of the Convention concerning Freedom of Association. As an employer who believes in the continued existence of the I.L.O., I am deeply conscious of the onslaughts against the independence of the worker and the trespass on his birthright. I have full sympathy for his struggle, and I trust that every possible assistance will be given to ensure that his rights are vindicated. When I express such sentiments I do hope and pray that the workers who have developed of late a habit of chuckling and approving of the rapid

strides of nationalisation which have overtaken free enterprise will become equally conscious of the rights of the employer to preserve and maintain his entity as the third estate of this monumental institution, the International Labour Organisation. If the process of State interference were to continue unchecked, depriving free enterprise of its legitimate sphere of activity, it should be a matter of concern for the workers, too. If, in the guise of a Welfare State, by an uninterrupted process of nationalisation free competitive enterprise is eliminated, let the workers beware, for by the same token, in the guise of a totalitarian régime, freedom of association will be eliminated, giving place to conscription. We want neither conscription nor a precipitated form of nationalisation abolishing the employer, and to that extent the rights of the worker and the employer under our Constitution are co-existent. Let us therefore defend each other in order to maintain our sacred rights.

This world parliament of labour laws has tackled at great length the problem of industrial relations and collective bargaining. Many Indian delegates, representing Government, employers and workers, have nodded their heads in consent to pious resolutions approving the principle of collective bargaining. Yet it is a tragedy that a country like India, which can boast of so large a body of workers, has to resort to compulsory arbitration under its present labour laws. While I do not wish to blame the Indian Government which, in its well-intentioned effort to put an end to industrial strife, had to resort to compulsory arbitration to prevent the possible exploitation of the worker by the employer, I cannot refrain from emphatically pointing out that, as long as the bait of compulsory arbitration lures the irresponsible section of the workers to tribunals and awards, no attempt at conciliation by the Government, nor any attempt by the employer at collective bargaining, will ever succeed. It is high time, therefore, that the postulates of collective bargaining so fervently preached by this world assembly of labour should be implemented by a thorough revision of the labour laws pertaining to this aspect of the problem in India with a view to encouraging collective bargaining, now that experience has proved that compulsory arbitration has failed to bring forth the results desired or anticipated.

Collective bargaining presupposes, of course, two established parties with equal bargaining strength and capable of delivering the goods. It may be argued that trade unionism in India has not reached a stage where it can be left to take care of itself. Whilst I appreciate this point of view, I strongly feel that no prolongation of the system of compulsory arbitration would ever give trade unions an opportunity to consolidate their position. I therefore warmly appreciate the efforts made by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to send a goodwill mission to India. I do hope it will be possible to increase the tempo of exchanging such visits and that the Indian Government will give them every opportunity and assistance for undertaking such missions, which, I have no doubt, will prove to be of great assistance in building up our trade union movement. As an employer

wedded to the ideology of collective bargaining, I shall enthusiastically await a greater sense of responsibility and a healthier and rapid growth of free trade unionism in my country. In this connection, I appreciate the efforts made by our present leaders of the Indian National Trade Union Congress to improve this state of affairs.

Finally, while I am proud of the achievements of the I.L.O. and the glorious contribution it has made to the growth of social conscience, I am worried and dismayed at the network of international organisations that are functioning under one pretext or another. There are numerous international organisations and specialised agencies working today for the welfare of the human being. This veritable cobweb spun out of the public exchequer, while it serves a noble cause, intersects and overlaps at various points, causing a great deal of unnecessary duplication, clash and conflict of the objectives in view. Scarcely a year

passes without a further addition to this long list of specialised agencies and organisations. In my humble opinion the time has come when, through the representatives of the I.L.O. on the United Nations, we must convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a request for a high-level investigation of this unceasing growth, to review the activity of the United Nations and, if necessary, to eliminate a number of redundant or overlapping agencies. This timely warning is necessary, particularly in view of the fact that a number of agencies have cropped up in Europe and elsewhere which are today trespassing on the activities which legitimately belong to the I.L.O. I appeal to this Conference to take effective measures to check this intrusion on the rights of an institution which has not only a historical background but also a proud record of valuable contribution to humanity.

(The Conference adjourned at 12 noon.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Ghayour	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Lescure Mr. Espejo	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. Summerfield (substi- tute for Mr. O'Brien) Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukladar Mr. Elias
<i>Bolivia :</i> Mr. Torres	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. Pires de Sá (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Alam (substitute for Mr. Dündar) Mr. Kirin
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substi- tute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. George
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Tennant (substitute for Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans) Mr. Buckland Mr. Mellor (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Delaney
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Magloire) Mr. Lacroix	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. de Ferron (substitute for Mr. Ólafsson) Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substi- tute for Mr. Öksnes) Mrs. Seweriin Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentzen	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Graterol Mr. Martínez (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Ochoa
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño		<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. el Gerbi, Mr. Carter (*Libya*), Mr. Serrarens, Mr. Vanistendael, Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

SIXTH SITTING

Wednesday, 11 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

ELECTION OF MEMBER AND DEPUTY MEMBER
OF THE GOVERNING BODY

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference has an announcement to make.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—I have to inform you that the Employers' Electoral College has elected Mr. Campanella of Italy as a regular member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office in the place of the late Mr. Cornil. It has also elected Mr. Ghayour of Iran as a deputy member of the Governing Body.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now continue the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation : Mr. PERALTA (*Government delegate, Guatemala*)—Once again the Republic of Guatemala has come to make its voice heard at a session of the International Labour Conference where the struggle for better conditions of life and for a peaceful development of the productive forces of the world is carried on so intensively, firmly guided by the goodwill and by the common aims of the various States Members of the I.L.O.

In taking part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report I am glad to express the approval of my Government for the programme which is being developed by the I.L.O. My Government cannot express this approval better than by applying its best efforts to contribute to the implementation of the ideals of this international community.

I should like to take this opportunity to refer to various chapters of the Report which are of particular interest to Guatemala.

The real bases of world peace have been

indicated very clearly by the Director-General in his Report this year. Only by overcoming the obstacles in the way of social policies can we achieve a true and lasting peace. No call could be more effective than the appeal of the I.L.O. for co-operation and mutual assistance between the nations as a means of achieving general welfare. It should be remembered, also, that international co-operation is of basic importance in controlling and finding a solution to the economic problems which are leading to new inflationary spirals, creating difficulties in foreign trade and driving up the cost of living and wages without increasing the real earnings of the population.

These problems, which have been fully dealt with by the Director-General, require immediate action by the I.L.O. in order that they may not prevent, or at least delay, social progress. It is not outside the scope of a specialised agency of the United Nations to concern itself in this way with the maintenance of social peace and economic progress in countries which may be adversely affected economically by the rearmament programmes or other measures introduced in the more developed countries. The struggle against a high cost of living in countries with a dependent economy should be given priority in the work of the I.L.O., since it may mitigate the effects of international situations and thus contribute to the satisfactory solution of serious problems affecting other nations, such as unemployment, migration, a fall in the purchasing power of currencies, an unfavourable balance of payments, etc.

One of the factors which can do most to raise the standard of living is the economic and financial stability of all the countries of the world. To promote these favourable conditions, isolated efforts are not enough and a programme of action must be agreed upon which will attack the roots of the problem and give all nations an opportunity of satisfying their needs for the raw materials and production and capital goods necessary for their industrial and agricultural expansion.

In Guatemala there has been an increase during the past year in the amount of credits made available for productive purposes; this was necessary, but it did not give rise to any trends which made it necessary to adopt the measures indicated by the Director-General to combat inflation. Interest and rediscount rates fixed by the Bank of Guatemala, which is our central bank, remained unchanged throughout 1951 because no change was considered necessary. A few direct taxes were increased, but we have more confidence in progressive taxation and particularly in income tax, concerning which a Bill has been drafted. The price levels of consumer goods have been controlled, although this has not prevented them from rising to some extent. In accordance with our principle of sincerity in all international meetings, we acknowledge that the granting of social benefits has met with some difficulties, but we have nevertheless managed to maintain steady if slow progress. We have extended to various regions of the Republic the protection provided for under the Guatemalan Social Security Institute's general and industrial accident protection programme, and this year we are introducing a new programme which, since it relates to the protection of mothers and children, will be most important for the economic life of the workers and for public health; the programme includes pre-natal benefits and benefits until the child is six years of age. This will involve, of course, an increase in the contributions of employers, the State and the workers, but the results will be of incalculable value. At the same time we intend to extend the scope of the benefits provided under our labour legislation.

The Director-General's statement to the effect that there has been an improvement in foreign trade is confirmed by the state of the balance of trade, which has continued to improve in recent years, and very substantially, in Guatemala. The balance of international payments has also been favourable and has led recently to an important increase in our foreign currency holdings. Foreign trade relations with other countries have developed and Guatemala is continuing its efforts to extend its total production and exports.

The Government of Guatemala has not neglected the importance of economic development plans in maintaining and raising the standard of living of the workers. My Government has drawn up serious programmes directed towards the development of our available resources in order that the economy of our country be transformed into a modern capitalist economy. These programmes have been implemented in two ways: on the one hand by changing the present methods of production and of land ownership and cultivation, and, on the other hand, by availing ourselves of the technical knowledge of officials sent to us by international specialised agencies, as well as by the training of our Guatemalan personnel.

In 1950 a mission from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was sent to us for the purpose of making a study of our national economy. It submitted a full report which was carefully studied and discussed by a committee of our national experts, who in turn submitted a programme of economic

development which has begun to be put into force. The programme covers agricultural and industrial development and the exploitation of our mineral and petroleum resources.

As regards our immediate plans, land reform, which has been carefully studied by the Government, takes first place and a Bill on this subject has been tabled in Congress. This Bill is in conformity with the resolution adopted in January of this year by the General Assembly of the United Nations recommending Governments to draw up suitable plans for land reform in the interests of those farmers who do not own their land and of small-scale and medium-scale farmers. The agrarian reform planned in Guatemala aims at increasing agricultural production and at placing idle land in the hands of contractors and agricultural workers. The Bill respects private property guaranteed by the Constitution, as well as uncultivated smallholdings up to 180 hectares, forest reserves and large undertakings which are in full production.

At the same time, an Act will be promulgated providing for rural credit and for the rehabilitation of the small rural producer so that his productivity may be increased.

The I.L.O. has dealt with the question of land reform on various occasions and most recently at the Conference at Petropolis; and the Government of my country has noticed particularly that there is no reference in this year's Report to the principles of land reform plans, although, as the Conference knows, this problem is one of tremendous importance for underdeveloped countries. The I.L.O. should deal with this question in the near future, and Guatemala would be glad if the Office and the States Members would consider the experience which Guatemala has had in this field and contribute to the practical solution of this problem.

One of the most serious problems of economic development in underdeveloped countries is the lack of confidence shown by domestic capital, which fears the consequences of any innovation that might be necessary within the framework of a large-scale development and production programme. No measure would justify the investment of national and foreign capital if it necessitated the postponement of economic development plans which involve changes in out-of-date methods of production, and this is a question which should also be studied by the I.L.O. and by the various Governments.

As Guatemala is mainly an agricultural country, it has paid attention to the pressing need for increasing agricultural production. This is the aim of the latest plans of my Government, as a first step towards increasing production generally. The abolition of certain systems of individual serfdom and the removal of land from idle hands will be one of the most important means of achieving this aim. The programme for the improvement of the nation's diet, promoted by our President, also implies support for an increase in food production.

Guatemala has noted the importance of the I.L.O.'s efforts to maintain world peace by means of social justice and to bring benefit to the workers of all parts of the world through the International Labour Code. We approve

of the manner in which the present Director-General has directed the activities of the I.L.O. towards developing the wealth of what have been called the underdeveloped countries. My Government not only praises the efforts made in this respect but is interested in receiving as much of the available technical assistance as possible.

Guatemala is in fact one of those countries to which the Director-General refers when he affirms that the most recent political movements have been the result of a popular demand for new social reforms. As the political institutions develop under this influence, a change is also taking place in the state of international trade.

Since 1945, when my country again became a member of the I.L.O. after a period of tyranny during which it was forced to abandon its duties as a founding member of the Organisation, there has been a gradual process of re-integrating my country into the work of the I.L.O.

The new and eminently democratic political situation in Guatemala has also influenced us in undertaking a study of social problems together with countries which think along the same lines as ourselves, and we can thus face up to complicated situations in the knowledge that they will be handled with the same determination to maintain and exalt human dignity and the rights of mankind. We want to secure international collaboration in the struggle for social justice, but only with such States as are not totalitarian, and it is in this hope that we attend the International Labour Conferences.

Guatemala is proud to participate in this work and though we do not feel that we have yet made our full contribution to the I.L.O. we know that we have begun decisively and with enthusiasm to do everything that is in our power.

Our collaboration has taken a practical form recently in the form of the ratification of Conventions, and in the past year we have ratified 14 such instruments. As I said before, the readmission of my country into the I.L.O. and its participation in the I.L.O.'s work were delayed because it was difficult to return to a democratic way of life and particularly to establish a code of labour legislation which is new to our system. It has made it necessary for us to study our circumstances and our resources in order to see how far the solutions of the I.L.O. are adaptable to them. As a result, we have been able, as I have just said, to ratify 14 Conventions.

This ratification of Conventions represents a great step forward for Guatemala, because it means that the country has integrated itself fully in the international legislative process in regard to labour, and that this has been possible thanks to our return to democratic methods, since it is well known that the contribution of totalitarian régimes is neither useful nor effective, but on the contrary harmful for the full achievement of social justice.

The difficulties and problems with which we are meeting in applying labour legislation are great and almost insuperable for a country with scanty economic resources. Our efforts

to raise the standard of living of the working classes come up against many difficulties resulting from the low stage of industrial development of our country. The result is that we must concern ourselves with all those factors which may increase our general economic possibilities, develop new sources of employment and direct productive activity to social ends.

For this reason my Government has followed the technical assistance programme of the I.L.O. and the references to it in the Director-General's Report with great interest. Guatemala wants to take this opportunity of developing its resources for the benefit of the working classes and hopes that the I.L.O. will give it active and effective help in this connection.

Because of the importance of the Technical Assistance Programme it is necessary for us to study without delay a system which will allow us to put into practice as quickly as possible the plans that have been drawn up by the Office and the States Members of the Organisation, and to study the possibility of providing greater economic facilities for the Governments that have need of them.

It is true that large sums have been expended by the I.L.O. under its Technical Assistance Programme and that the contribution required of beneficiary Governments has been reduced, but even with these facilities the underdeveloped countries, which have very limited financial possibilities, are sometimes prevented from developing a co-ordinated programme which would allow them to take the greatest possible advantage of the technical assistance available. This is true of Guatemala, which wants to take advantage of all opportunities of developing its economic capacities.

What I have just said is not to be taken as a criticism of the present basis of the Technical Assistance Programme. On the contrary, my country expresses great satisfaction for this great work, but at the same time I want to explain in all sincerity the difficulties with which my country is contending because it has not yet reached the capitalistic stage and needs help.

The delegation of Guatemala wishes to express its satisfaction at the success of the efforts of the I.L.O. to put into practice the recommendations of the first meeting of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour which was held in Bolivia in 1951. We have a sentiment of pride in this matter because the meeting was held under the chairmanship of a Guatemalan, Dr. Antonio Goubaud Carrera. I refer, in particular, to the joint technical assistance mission to the Andean highlands. Guatemala will follow the efforts of this mission with interest and hopes in due course to benefit by similar measures in favour of its own indigenous population.

Interpretation: Mr. POTRČ (*Government delegate, Yugoslavia*)—The Yugoslav delegation, in defining last year the attitude of the Government of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia towards the work of the I.L.O. in political and social life, expressed the opinion that the I.L.O., and constructive co-operation on an equal footing among all its

Members, could make a great contribution to the maintenance of peace and social progress. I should like to express my appreciation of the Report of the Director-General this year. He describes the grave problems of the hour and recalls certain of the fundamental principles which may help us to solve them. Despite our different views on social and economic progress, the principles which he expresses are perfectly acceptable and can be a good basis for co-operation. Our criterion can only be established on concrete facts which reflect effort made and results achieved. While having no illusions as to the possibility of solving social problems simply by means of an international organisation, and while considering that the words of the Director-General are fully justified when he says that the solution of the problem of the condition of the people must be the principal preoccupation of all countries, we nevertheless wish to pay a tribute to the attention he gives to the important question of assistance to underdeveloped countries and to the scope of a friendly international discussion of these problems for which the I.L.O. provides a platform which can greatly help towards mutual understanding among the peoples.

The Yugoslav delegation is particularly glad to read the words regarding the equality and liberty of States Members, which are entitled to choose in full independence the means by which they will aim at their social objectives. It wishes to stress also the incontestable progressive principle, which might be the touchstone of all Governments and all peoples, that every increase in production should be accompanied by progress in social policy capable of improving the conditions of life of the workers and offering better food, better clothes, better housing, and other necessities to the whole population; otherwise assistance to underdeveloped countries will miss its main objective.

First of all, I would like to express our gratitude to the Director-General for the sympathy and comprehension he has shown towards the efforts for economic and social progress made in our country and also for the technical assistance with which he has provided us. I would also like to express the hope that the experience which will be acquired by the I.L.O. will profit also the other insufficiently developed countries, and I believe that the other States Members of the I.L.O. will greet the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples for their country and political independence and for constructive co-operation on an equal footing as a part of the struggle for peace and social progress. We are sincerely convinced that it is possible to achieve social progress, even great social and economic progress, and that we can build this up with the prospect of a future without a third world war. This is only possible on condition that all the countries loyally make every effort for constructive international co-operation, and each Government and even every conscientious citizen of every country has to bear a great, indeed, a historic responsibility.

Before speaking to you of the efforts of the Government and peoples of Yugoslavia, I would like to refer for a moment to the prin-

ciples mentioned again and again in the Director-General's Report, principles to which our peoples are profoundly attached. The first of these says that peace cannot be defended only at the military level; it must also be defended by the solution of human problems in a positive and creative way. Our peoples, who had to make so many sacrifices, can appreciate work in peace and liberty and the genuine constructive internationalism on which the Constitution of the I.L.O. is based. I would like to tell you, in particular, how our Government is striving, in that spirit, to achieve a proper balance between the requirements of defence, economic development and social justice.

The second important principle is the general tendency towards an economic development in which the worker is no longer considered as a manpower unit but as a human being, as a partner of his employer in the common undertaking.

In Yugoslavia undertakings are genuinely held in common and the workers themselves elect their workers' councils and their managing committees which manage the factory and have the right to insist on the removal of the managing director (who is appointed by the Government) if the results of his work are not favourable to the undertaking. In putting into effect decentralisation, in establishing workers' councils, and by other measures, our Government has enabled the trade unions progressively to promote the education of the working class in our country, which must be included among the insufficiently developed countries, and to undertake a number of very hard tasks, of which the most important of all, and the one with the greatest historic significance, is the one I have just mentioned, the introduction of factory management and direction of economic policy in the interests of the workers, that is to say the whole nation, and also of economic co-operation on an international basis, in peace.

We are particularly glad to read the Director-General's words to the effect that the movement of thought which has led to a new attitude regarding the place of the worker in history has reached different levels in different countries. In its main lines, nevertheless, this tendency has become universal and uncontested.

This means that not only are we Yugoslavs on the right path but we certainly form part of the universal social progress which is to gain the whole world. Our struggle for social progress has taught us to respect the efforts of others, their achievements, their conceptions, and all the nuances of a workers' movement which is striving for the same ideals of social progress, and we are glad to learn from the experience of others as well as from their mistakes. We do not hide from ourselves the fact that our struggle for social and economic progress requires great efforts and heavy sacrifices, and that it is natural that our successes are often accompanied by failures which oblige us to appeal by all available means to our whole people. Therefore, we hope that our successes and the errors which we are ceaselessly attempting to rectify will be interesting to other countries, particularly

as our experience is that of a small country relatively little developed.

A real economic and technical revolution is now going forward in Yugoslavia. Enormous sacrifices are being made for the capital equipment of the country. I will mention here only the fact that 90 per cent. of our importations are means of production. We are struggling against technical backwardness, a struggle which no country can neglect.

But to obtain an idea, even a superficial idea, of what is happening now in Yugoslavia one must realise that there can be no question of social progress today if democracy is not at the same time extended also. We cannot be content with the external forms of democracy only, we must have its real content. We see this tendency outlined in the present programme of action of the I.L.O. and also in the International Labour Code which contemplates the need for a new wage policy, freedom of association, right of collective bargaining, collaboration between workers and employers for the improvement of production, and the undertaking of general economic and social action. I would like to stress that this tendency for development of economic democracy is the most important element in social progress.

We are firmly convinced that there can be no development of cultural and political democracy without economic democracy based on the rights of the direct producers—that is to say, in the developed countries, the enormous majority of the citizens—to a part at least in the management of industry. This will also be the best guarantee against any threat that a bureaucratic class may become despotic and strangle democracy. The terrible example of the Soviet Union has shown us how one must struggle for democratic rights and achievements, and for national liberty. We know that our peoples have in this connection earned the sympathy of all freedom-loving men, and our own efforts have been strengthened in the pursuit of this legitimate objective.

I would like to speak now of social and economic development in Yugoslavia.

Industry and mines, which represent over one-third of the national income, are entirely nationalised. They were directed at the start mainly by the Federal Government and the State Governments, in order to eliminate the grave shortage of equipment and supplies and the grave disproportion in industry, and to permit the pursuit of uniform and harmonious economic development by favouring the constructive development most necessary to industrialisation and electrification. Today industry is decentralised. Management has been transferred from the Federal and State Governments to the workers of the undertakings, who are organised in "collectives". At the same time the basis has been laid down for the management of their own affairs by the direct producers. This is done through producers' councils, which are local branches of the public authorities. These producers' councils will later be established also as part of the State People's Assemblies, and eventually in the Federal Assembly also. The producers will elect their delegates to these councils proportionately to the total output of their undertakings. This measure is intended to guarantee

the influence of the producers on the economic policy of the country. Indeed, it is the producers' councils which will decide in the future all economic problems, and particularly as regards the economic-social plan which is now adopted by the People's Assembly. The social plan of the present year shows great progress over the past, for it has enabled a large proportion of the factory workers' collectives and trade union organisations to participate in its preparation. The social plan is not merely the work of economists or of an administration: it is modified in accordance with the experience gained by factory collectives. The greatest changes are the following. There is no longer an over-all plan for the whole of output and the whole of investment; instead, a compulsory minimum rate of utilisation of productive capacity is established on the basis of the factual elements, such as resources of raw materials, balance of foreign payments and the needs of the home market. The principle of profitability which has been introduced enables healthy competition to go on between undertakings, which serves as a stimulant and gets the worker interested in increasing production and raising productivity and also in economising material, in the rationalisation of work, in the fair distribution of jobs, in the discovery and elimination of political tendencies, etc. The workers have a guaranteed minimum wage which they can themselves improve democratically by judiciously using their productive capacity and reducing as much as possible the costs of the undertaking. The intervention of State organs is reduced to a minimum, for automatic action in the economic field takes place through the Bank, which keeps statistics of the economic status of the undertaking. In this connection I would like to underline the importance of the relation established between two principles—that of free personal initiative given to management committees and workers' councils in undertakings and that of the social plan adopted by all undertakings, which excludes the danger of unemployment, depression and anarchy in production. Among the most favourable effects of the transfer of the management of industry to the producers, mention must be made of the training of the persons concerned, the extension of the initiative to the working class and therefore to each member. This means that the interests of the people are represented, and not merely those of a few families, of the employers or of the bureaucratic class.

There is no doubt that in our country we are establishing new economic relations better than those of the past. I think it unnecessary to stress that these relations are not artificially formed but are dictated by the economic development which has followed our struggle for national liberation.

I will not go into the economic consequences which must follow such a profound democratic movement in the future, when we have made good our economic backwardness and balanced the unequal development of the different States. I shall merely cite a few facts which indicate the social progress which has been achieved.

The fundamental element of social progress is a fairer distribution of the product of labour.

I quote a few characteristic figures, those for the manual workers and the small peasants. In 1937 manual workers and salaried employees received 14.2 per cent. of our national income and medium and small-class peasants 19.12 per cent., making 33.32 per cent. in all. In 1948 the corresponding figures were 25.07 per cent. for manual workers and salaried employees and 23.55 per cent. for medium and small-class peasants, making a total of 48.62 per cent. of the national income going to these two classes of persons.

Progress is rapid, particularly as regards manual workers, the number of whom has increased to a certain extent, it is true, by the inclusion of peasants in industry, but this has not been reflected by a fall in the share of the national income going to the peasants.

I should also mention social insurance, to which the workers make no individual contribution and which is entirely at the expense of the economy. Social insurance represents 45 per cent. of the workers' and salaried employees' wages. One of the chief elements in our system of social security is represented by family allowances, which are paid by the social insurance system and the total of which is more than half of the total fund—i.e., 39,000 million dinars out of a total expenditure of 70,000 million dinars. We do not consider this manner of solving the problem of protecting children as final action: on the contrary it constitutes, in our view, a provisional measure and an elementary duty, in order to facilitate the transition from backward productive conditions to a system of intensive production which will enable children to be protected more completely. The social charges are relatively very high in relation to the development of our industry.

Our social plan enables us to obtain a clear idea of production and of distribution of the national income throughout the country, and particularly for each factory. I would like to indicate the basic proportions in the distribution of this income. The consumption fund of all citizens is equal to 403,000 million dinars, or about 41 per cent. Of this total 125,000 million dinars make up the wage fund for industrial workers. The social fund for education, public health, social assistance, etc., is equal to 122,000 million, social insurance making up 170,000 million of this figure. Intended investments represent an expenditure of 156,000 million, or about 16 per cent. Expenditure on national defence and on the defensive industries makes up 200,000 million dinars, or about 20 per cent.

Of course, all countries aspire to create as rapidly as possible a modern industry, without which it is impossible to conceive a better future for the people. The figures I have given show that our Government is trying to co-ordinate the social needs of the present and of the future, that is to say, social justice and economic development. But there is a third need which does not depend upon our Government: the need for defence. If there is a country in the world which has no need to justify this need and duty, it is our own, for no one is unaware of the attacks with which we are constantly surrounded. Therefore, we shall have to do our duty and accept this

sacrifice. Our people consent to it willingly because they know that it is a vital necessity for them and, secondly, because they hope that the peace-loving forces of the world will succeed in preventing a third war, and that the defensive industries may in the future be converted to civilian uses, for economic and social progress.

The maintenance of peace being our strongest desire and, at the same time, the first of our duties, we believe it necessary to explain our attitude with regard to the constructive and comprehensive proposals made by the Director-General in his Report in connection with safeguarding the peace.

We are entirely in agreement with the principles of the Declaration of Philadelphia, and particularly with the positive and creative principle of economic and social collaboration among nations. We take a lively interest in the concrete prospects and considerable tasks emerging therefrom and we subscribe absolutely to the view that it is to be hoped that important reserves will be freed in 1954, which may be used for economic and social progress, in the first place in respect of the underdeveloped countries. Even in the case of the developed countries, I am of the opinion that no better use can be made of these capacities and accumulated resources than to direct them towards this assistance. I would like to express my hope that the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference will support the United Nations in its struggle to maintain peace by peaceful economic development.

To achieve this object the sincerest collaboration is necessary—not declarations, but acts, are required. We should struggle openly against all tendencies opposed to the objectives to which I have referred, and we should strive particularly for assistance to the insufficiently developed countries. We condemn the policy of pretended peace, the policy of aggression and interference, and are in favour of all exchanges of views and experience and of all steps which will lead to the establishment of better relationships among the peoples. We have never had any desire to impose our methods on other countries, the more so as we are only a small country. But we consider it our duty not to give way in the face of any threat. We undertake to struggle with all our strength and prestige—with the strength of an independent country which fought against Hitler yesterday and is now striving to defend its liberty and to collaborate sincerely within the framework of the I.L.O. and the specialised agencies, above all in regard to financial and technical aid to underdeveloped countries.

Our contribution to peace is constituted in the first place by our democratic socialist movement, which issued from the fierce fight of the bulk of the people against fascism, and from their vital needs; the movement rests today mainly on the working people, on the unions. That is why we welcome the collaboration of the unions in the workers' councils, which are entitled to all democratic rights. Our contribution to peace is a struggle against bureaucracy in our own country. To illustrate this struggle, I will refer to the fact that it has been possible in two years to reduce, in one of our republics, the administrative apparatus

from 12 to 4.7 per thousand of the population without leading to any interference in the normal operation of the civil service. We have done this by transferring economic functions to our workers' councils and by proceeding to parallel democratisation of the public authorities. This is a remarkable success, for all judicious reduction in the unproductive apparatus means an increase in the productive element of the population.

Finally, I consider as social progress the struggle of our Government to realise economies in the various sectors of social life, and not only in industrial undertakings. In this way we are securing profitability and the moral and political effect of these economies lies in the rational use of all the means available to liquidate our country's backward condition.

I hope and think that our struggle for social progress, for the development of democracy, against bureaucratisation and for sincere international collaboration will inspire confidence in a better future among all insufficiently developed peoples, among all peoples who aspire to peace and to progress, and will induce the highly developed countries, which have immense possibilities in their industries and in their trade union movements, to create new forms of production, and new forms of management in their economies, both in their own interest and in that of the less developed countries, in order to prevent an economic crisis, unemployment and war.

Interpretation : Mr. BIEVER (*Government delegate, Luxembourg*)—As the representative of the smallest State Member of the International Labour Organisation, I do not want to make a long speech in this debate, but as all countries are equally respected here I should like to proclaim the firm resolution of my Government to strengthen its co-operation in the great work of social justice by which this Organisation has contributed so effectively to the safeguarding of international peace.

Of all the organisations set up after the first world war, only the International Labour Organisation has survived and has steadily developed for the greater good of all peoples. It owes its vitality to its tripartite constitution, which enables the representatives of Governments, employers and workers to promote social progress by means of conciliatory solutions. But it also owes its success to the untiring activity of its permanent bodies, the Governing Body and the International Labour Office, whose eminent Director-General, Mr. David Morse, has worthily continued the great traditions of his predecessors, and in particular those of the unforgettable first Director, Albert Thomas.

During the second world war the I.L.O. emigrated to protect its freedom against possible attack. Since then it has not only reaffirmed the reasons for its existence but has taken a number of measures which have greatly extended the field of its activities. After adopting the new and generous charter of Philadelphia, it has set up a number of Industrial Committees, which make a useful contribution to the solution of special problems of the principal industries. It has also decided to promote by suitable measures of assistance

the development of new countries and to help them to bring about a general rise in the standard of living of underdeveloped countries.

In his very interesting Report, the Director-General has rightly stressed that only such a policy of generalising social progress can remove the dangers to international peace. Peoples who are living in poverty are only too much inclined to seek an outlet for their dissatisfaction in warlike ventures, which can lead to no good but may give them a transitory illusion which is followed by even greater misery.

In proclaiming that international peace through social justice is its final aim, the International Labour Organisation is therefore championing a truly strong and realistically pacific policy.

In the same spirit the Director-General says that the present rearmament policy must not result in sacrificing social progress but that, on the contrary, it is essential to further new social reforms as a vital factor in lasting peace.

It is also essential, as the Report points out, to anticipate from now on a possible reversal of present economic tendencies. We all hope that the great defence efforts which are being made may succeed in safeguarding peace and that the peoples may gradually free themselves from the crushing burden of rearmament. However, care must be taken that the present boom is not followed by a general depression and by mass unemployment which may lead to new dangers.

It is for these reasons that the Luxembourg Government has concentrated its action on the application of a series of new social reforms aiming, on the one hand, at completing our social security provision on behalf of all classes of the population, and, on the other hand, at building up a new body of labour legislation and promoting a régime of social and economic democracy which is essential to complete the political democracy which our people has enjoyed ever since it recovered its national independence.

In carrying out these reforms the Luxembourg Government has based its decision largely on the action of the International Labour Conference. On certain points it has even gone beyond the minimum standards laid down by the International Labour Code, particularly with regard to two of the most important measures which are to be given final form by the present Conference : the internationalisation of social security standards and the provision for the regulation of co-operation between employers and workers in the undertaking.

The Luxembourg Government continues firm in its determination to make a direct contribution to the putting into effect of the International Labour Code by obtaining the approval of its legislative bodies for all those Conventions which it has not yet ratified and which are of practical interest to our country. These ratifications have been delayed to some extent by the domestic reforms with which we have been steadily proceeding since before the last war, and particularly since the liberation of our territory, but the Bills approving them are now ready and can be dealt with very soon by our legislative bodies.

FOURTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now turn to the fourth report of the Selection Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose the adoption of the fourth report of the Selection Committee. I will begin with the last part of the report—the appointment of the Drafting Committee of the Conference and the changes in the composition of the Committees. I ask the Conference to adopt these proposals.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections I declare these proposals adopted.

(*The proposals are adopted.*)

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—It is now my pleasure to propose to the Conference the application of the United Kingdom of Libya for membership in the International Labour Organisation. In accordance with the Constitution, the Selection Committee considered this application and referred the matter to a Subcommittee presided over by the Government delegate of Finland, Mr. Wuori. I must thank the Subcommittee for its work. After studying the whole question carefully, it has recommended that Libya should be admitted as a Member of this august international body.

I therefore, on behalf of the Selection Committee, propose the adoption of this part of the report of the Selection Committee.

Interpretation : Mr. AZAK (*Government delegate, Turkey*)—The Turkish delegation to this Conference learned with keen interest of the report of the Selection Committee relating to the application for admission submitted by the United Kingdom of Libya.

The Turkish and Libyan peoples have for centuries belonged to the same community, with the same rights and obligations. Age-long links of brotherhood were thus established between them, and these links have not only stood the test of time but have indeed grown closer, and at the present time are stronger than ever.

The Turkish people greeted the independence of Libya with great joy. They are sincerely glad to see established on territories which they love so much a progressive democracy which, under the ægis of a great monarch, His Majesty Seyid Muhammed Idris Ben Senussi, intends to undertake great economic development and to promote in all possible ways social justice, the true basis for peace.

The Turkish delegation firmly believes that the International Labour Organisation will gain much, not only from the point of view of its principle of universality but also in the interest of fruitful international collaboration, if it accedes to the request now made by the United Kingdom of Libya. There is no doubt that, as a Member of a world institution, Libya

will be able to receive valuable aid in the achievement of its plans for economic and social development, but it is also undeniable that it will, on its side, strengthen international action for social progress.

It is for these reasons that the Turkish delegation wishes to indicate its enthusiastic support for the admission of Libya, and to express the hope that by a unanimous vote you will show the value you attach to the participation of this country in the work of this great family of nations.

ISMAIL Bey (*Government delegate, Egypt*)—In the name of the delegations from Iraq and Egypt to this Conference I wish to support the application for the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya as a Member of the International Labour Organisation. I am sure that all the Member countries will unanimously admit the youngest State of the world to this Organisation. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the United Kingdom of Libya on its achievement of independence, and I am sure that the youngest Arabic State through its Islamic ideology and traditions will contribute very highly to the work of this Organisation.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—My Government is very glad that one of the first international acts of the new State of Libya has been to apply for membership of the International Labour Organisation. My Government therefore takes special pleasure in giving this application its warm support.

This is a particularly happy occasion for my country, since the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with France, has had the honour of playing a large part in the emergence as an independent State of this other United Kingdom. I know that this young State will enter our councils with a solemn resolve to honour the obligations which membership will place upon it and that, in doing so, it will make a valuable contribution to our work. At the same time, I am certain that Libya and her people will derive great benefit from her association with this Organisation. It is in this expectation that I hope that the Conference will resolve to admit her to membership by unanimous vote.

Interpretation : Mr. BOUNOUS (*Government adviser, Italy*)—I do not want to take up much of the time of this Conference but I should like to add a few words to what has been said by the Turkish, Egyptian and United Kingdom Government delegates. The Italian delegation would be particularly happy to see the United Kingdom of Libya among the States Members of the International Labour Organisation. That kingdom is only a few months old as an independent State, and it seems to us very important and worthy of emphasis that the Libyan Government has immediately applied for membership of the International Labour Organisation, while giving the undertaking that it will fulfil its duties under the Constitution of the Organisation. There are not only duties, there are also rights under the Constitu-

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

tion. The right which the younger States have in relation to the older States is the right to benefit from the results of the experience of the Organisation and the States Members which has been acquired in labour matters. To this common responsibility of acting as guide and counsellor Italy will contribute in a spirit of great cordiality and international solidarity.

The Italian delegation is happy to welcome the United Kingdom of Libya into the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation : Mr. JOUKHADAR (Government delegate, Syria)—It is with real pleasure that, on behalf of the Syrian Government, I support the request of the United Kingdom of Libya for membership of the International Labour Organisation. I am sure that this young State, which has obtained its independence after a long struggle, will assume all the responsibilities involved in its admission and will effectively contribute to the work of the Organisation.

Interpretation : Mr. LICKI (Government delegate, Poland)—I wish to make the following statement in regard to the resolution submitted by the Selection Committee concerning the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to the International Labour Organisation.

Poland has always supported the efforts towards the realisation of the right of all peoples and nations to determine their own fate, as well as the aspirations of all peoples fighting for their freedom. In the present case we have the request of a State in Africa—a part of the world where the development of the peoples towards an independent life within the framework of their own free and sovereign State is, as the result of the deliberate action of the imperialist States, extremely slow. We cannot ignore the fact that, Libyan independence having been proclaimed on 24 December last year, the administering powers were required to transfer immediately and fully to the Libyan Government all the powers that they held. Actually, however, foreign troops are still occupying the country and are on the way to creating a situation which amounts to a virtual occupation and is aimed at the transformation of the country into a base for aggression. Such a situation is prejudicial to Libyan independence.

However, we firmly believe that the Libyan people will strive to gain their full independence and to assure their full economic, social and political freedom. For these reasons the Polish delegation supports the request of the United Kingdom of Libya for membership of the International Labour Organisation and will vote in favour of its admission.

Mr. ROHÁČ (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia)—On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation I wish to state that we shall vote in favour of the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to the International Labour Organisation. We are compelled, however, to explain that we feel able to do so only with certain qualifications. Our vote does not mean that we approve unreservedly all the formula-

tions in the fourth report of the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee's report states that it appears that the United Kingdom of Libya is a fully self-governing State. It must be observed that this statement can refer only to the formal aspect of the independence of the United Kingdom of Libya, *i.e.*, to the fact that the declaration of the independence of Libya has been recognised as valid from the point of view of international law. In fact, the new Libyan State still remains limited in its sovereignty by the remnants of its previous colonial status.

It will be recalled that, when the question of the independence of the Libyan people was being considered by the United Nations, the delegation of the Soviet Union proposed at the Fourth General Assembly in 1949 that Libya should be granted independence immediately, and pointed out that the prerequisite for the full independence of this new State was that the American, British and French troops should be withdrawn within three months and that all military bases should be abandoned by the foreign powers. For more than two years those foreign powers, instead of fulfilling this fundamental condition for the real independence of a new State, did everything possible towards strengthening their militaristic role in this country and towards establishing conditions such that they could maintain this role even after Libya had gained its formal independence. The régime instituted in Libya by the Anglo-French administration was by no means instrumental in enabling the Libyan people to obtain full self-government and to put into practice all the democratic rights and liberties to which this people was entitled after the nazi-fascist troops were routed from its territory. Even since the declaration of the independence of Libya the militarist powers have shown that they intend to maintain their military bases in the country. In April 1952 it was reported that the United States had forced the Libyan Government to accept an agreement according to which the United States would keep for themselves a certain airfield. The *Daily Telegraph* wrote quite openly that under the terms of the new agreement between Great Britain and Libya British troops would stay in Libya for the next three or five years. At the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations the Soviet Union once more submitted a resolution calling for a stop to be put to the stationing of foreign troops in Libya, declaring the existence of foreign military bases as intolerable, and demanding that foreign troops and military personnel be withdrawn within three months and all foreign military bases liquidated. This proposal, aimed at protecting the vital interests of the Libyan people and at safeguarding the peace and security of the Middle East and North Africa, was rejected by the Anglo-American voting machine in the United Nations although it had gained the support of a number of Member States, including my country.

In view of the actual limitation of the independence and sovereignty of the United Kingdom of Libya, a limitation imposed against the will of the Libyan people, the Libyan Government has a significant task to fulfil—to eman-

cipate itself from its dependence upon and the dictates of the militarist powers—in order not to allow itself to be used as a tool of foreign interests. The struggle of the Libyan people for full economic, social and political emancipation and for rule over the nation by the people themselves has not yet ended.

The vote of the Czechoslovak delegation in favour of the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to the International Labour Organisation is an expression of the recognition of the right of the Libyan people to this independence and of the solidarity of the Czechoslovak people in regard to this just struggle in which we wish the Libyan people every success.

Interpretation : Mr. GHAYOUR (*Employers' delegate, Iran*)—In a few moments we will be voting on the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to the International Labour Organisation. This means the admission of the whole Libyan nation because our Organisation is the only one in the world in which, side by side

with Governments, the main support of each nation, constituted by the employers and workers, is also represented. It is essential that all nations should march together side by side towards greater development and that none should remain behind, because the march of progress is rapid and those who lag behind may get lost.

I congratulate the United Kingdom of Libya on having requested its admission to the I.L.O. and I support it on behalf of the employers of Iran and welcome it to this Organisation.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—In accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution, we will now take a record vote on the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya. A majority of two-thirds of the delegates present at the session of the Conference, including two-thirds of the Government delegates present and voting, is necessary for the admission of a new Member to the International Labour Organisation.

*Record vote on the Resolution concerning the Admission of the United Kingdom of Libya
to Membership of the International Labour Organisation*

For (184)

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi (G)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Guerrero (E) Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi (G) Mr. Ibrahim (G) Mr. Taha (E) Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G) Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G) Mr. Solari (E) Mr. Espejo (W)	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes (G)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. O'Brien (E) Mr. Doyle (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Bergenström (E) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Burne (E) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey (G) Mr. Mazhar (G) Mr. Wahida (E) Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson (G) Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard (G) Mr. Kaufmann (G) Mr. Kuntschen (E) Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Weinberger (E) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar (G) Mr. Funes (G)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Campanella (E) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar (G) Mr. Sioufi (G)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. van der Rest (E) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Karikoski (E) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno (G) Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Adachi (E) Mr. Oka (W)	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh (G)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Waline (E) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G) Mr. King (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak (G) Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Dündar (E) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu (E) Mr. Win (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Winkler (E) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Diederich (E) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin (G) Mr. Myburgh (G) Mr. Brooke (E) Mr. George (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Taylor (E) Mr. Jodoin (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Tsatsos (E) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stenberg (G) Mr. Fennema (E) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G) Sir John Forbes Watson (E) Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Rutnam (E) Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Smith (G) Mr. Anderson (E) Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. McCormick (E) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G) Mr. Roy (E) Mr. Lacroix (W)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Öksnes (G) Mrs. Seweriu (G) Mr. Östberg (E) Mr. Mentsen (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Pons (E)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G) Mr. Thors (E) Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik (G) Mr. Alamgir (G) Mr. Ali (E) Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G) Mr. Velutini (E) Mr. Ochoa (W)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Tata (E) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Bun-Kinh (G) Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G) Mr. Chau (E) Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu (W)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cowley (E) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G) Mr. Tedjasukmana (E)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Fernandez (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar (G) Mr. Kafai (G) Mr. Ghayour (E)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Wandas (W)	
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G) Mr. Larsen (E) Mr. Nielsen (W)			

Against (0)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 184 for, none against and no abstentions. The necessary majority having been obtained, the resolution is adopted, and with it the Fourth Report of the Selection Committee. The United Kingdom of Libya becomes a Member of the International Labour Organisation and I invite its representatives to take their places in the hall.

(The Resolution and the report as a whole are adopted.)

(The delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya take their seats in the Conference Hall.)

Mr. el GERBI (*Government delegate, Libya*)—Since 24 December 1951, as you have heard from the report of the Selection Committee, Libya has been an independent and sovereign State. Having obtained our independence, it is now our desire to be associated with other free peoples and unite with them in the endeavour to establish universal goodwill and lasting peace.

We are proud of our newly acquired freedom ; at the same time we are not unconscious of the responsibilities which, as an independent State, have fallen upon us.

The Constitution of Libya is founded on the principles of true democracy, and it is clearly set out that there shall be no discrimination of race or religion for the peoples living within our borders. The Constitution guarantees freedom of thought, of meeting, of association and of speech. It is the policy of the Government to encourage the formation of workers' and employers' organisations. Their co-operation with other workers' and employers' organisations represented in the International Labour Organisation will likewise be encouraged.

The contribution which my country will make to the work of the I.L.O. will, I fear, not be very extensive, but I venture to hope that it will be found of some value.

We have a large country, covering an area of 1,750,000 square kilometres, but 90 per cent. of this is barren desert. Our population is just over 1,100,000. We depend largely on our agriculture and one of our most urgent needs is to develop our agricultural resources. At present we are largely dependent on the seasonal rains. These sometimes fail us and the country is smitten with drought, even on occasion for two successive years. When the yearly harvest is good the people are happy and there is little unemployment, but in the years of drought there is widespread distress. The fear of drought could be largely overcome by an increase and an improvement in methods of irrigation, using the water which is in abundant supply below the surface. Agricultural experts are at the present time studying the needs of our country in this direction.

I feel it a great honour to be given the privilege of addressing, in the name of my Government, this great assembly, representative of free nations throughout the world, and on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya I wish to express my lively and sincere gratitude to the members of the Conference for their acceptance of my country's

application for admission to the International Labour Organisation.

We shall, I have no doubt, find it necessary from time to time to seek advice and guidance from the I.L.O., and this I know will be fully and freely given.

Under the wise rule of our sovereign, King Idris I, and by the grace of God, we look forward to the development of our resources, to increased prosperity and to the welfare of our people.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL : DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now resume discussion of the Report of the Director-General. I call upon Mr. Garet, Minister of Labour and Social Security of France, who has been good enough to honour this Conference with his presence.

Interpretation : Mr. GARET (*Minister of Labour and Social Security, France*)—The Report submitted this year by our distinguished Director-General gives a frank description of the difficulties met with at the present stage of world economic development by the I.L.O. in its efforts to promote social progress. Face to face with these difficulties, Mr. Morse sets out the ideals of social progress which have been stated in the international charters and particularly in the Declaration of Philadelphia, ideals which are now a common background for us all. These difficulties and these ideals are found throughout the Director-General's Report and stimulate us to seek means of reconciling the maintenance of economic equilibrium with the just demands of the working classes of the world.

Referring to the insufficiently developed countries, Mr. Morse states that the assistance which should be given to them will no doubt enable them to raise their level of production, but it will not enable them to improve their conditions of life unless social conscience develops to an analogous extent. This remark applies to all countries. Its truth is due to the fact that the development of the world depends, after all, as much on spiritual development and the growth of a social conscience as on an increase in productive capacity and improvements in technique. We have therefore to undertake a battle on a double front. On the economic front we have to struggle against the inflationary tendency to prevent a continual rise in prices which constantly reduces the purchasing power of employed persons, and we have to seek an increase in productivity, on which to a large extent improvement in the economic welfare of the world depends.

But we have not only to meet the vital requirements of man in a material sense ; we must also satisfy his profound aspirations for a better life, enable him to take part in the progress of civilisation, associate him more closely in the effort made to carry civilisation forward—in a word, we must integrate him effectively in our community of free men. If the effort to produce is one of the essential elements in the effective organisation of the community, how should we obtain the neces-

sary maximum of efficiency without at the same time calling, not for the labour of an anonymous worker, a simple unit in production, but for the enlightened and considered aid of a human being conscious of the part he has to play in the community, and recognised, as Mr. Morse says, as "a partner with his employer in a common enterprise"?

The traditional part played by the I.L.O. is precisely that of bringing about a synthesis of these economic and social imperatives, which are to some extent mutually contradictory, and of working out concrete rules for action which will stimulate research and our efforts in the new direction of the social integration of the worker, of proceeding to a comparison of the experience already attained and seeking new means of action which may carry still further in the field of psychological and industrial relations the social progress which has been achieved hitherto by means of national or international labour codes.

The measures taken by the French Government find their place in the picture drawn by Mr. Morse for future action. I will, in my turn, try to show briefly both the action taken to stabilise prices and to secure the recovery of our economy, and also the essential aspects of our social policy, its aspirations and its objectives. We make no claim to have found the formula which will make this necessary synthesis of social and economic objectives possible. But still, the social reforms undertaken in France in the last few years place it definitely among those nations which have proved their attachment to the new principles formulated in the Declaration of Philadelphia. Those principles are now established, so that the French Government has been able to devote itself to achieving a new economic equilibrium which may enable the working population to undertake the production effort required of it without fear that the reforms may be endangered by a fall in the value of money or further disequilibrium in our economy.

Immediately he had formed his Government, the present Prime Minister of France undertook to guarantee a real purchasing power by stabilising prices in an atmosphere of financial confidence. This policy has enabled him to satisfy the legitimate requirements of the workers who wished to obtain sufficient resources for their livelihood. The solution adopted by the Government was to attack prices. This action was honest and to the interest of the whole nation, but it also meant choosing the most difficult part of all. The first results of this policy are well known. The retail price index, which was 148.5 on 1 March 1952, has since fallen gradually, to 148.1 on 1 April, 146.6 on 1 May and 144.5 on 1 June. This means a genuine increase in purchasing power. Of course, the result is modest at present, but it is considerable if one has regard to the atmosphere of uncertainty prevailing a few months ago.

The action thus undertaken must, however, be continued with perseverance and the results already obtained must be consolidated and strengthened. For this reason, the French Parliament, which had already begun to study a Bill to make the over-all minimum wage vary with the cost of living, has given the Govern-

ment the time required to enable its price-lowering policy and its profit-lowering policy to be carried on in the most favourable conditions.

The struggle against monetary inflation and rising prices has brought about an improvement in the situation and has enabled us to contemplate the adoption, without serious risks, of measures capable of protecting the workers against a serious reduction in their purchasing power in the event of a further rise in prices in the future. A Bill has been adopted by the National Assembly which provides that any rise in the prices of family goods involving an increase of 5 per cent. or more in the index for the previous four months will involve a proportionate increase in the guaranteed over-all minimum wage. This is the wage situation and this is the outlook of the French Government. Apart from the action taken to stabilise and reduce prices, parallel action must be taken to promote productivity, for it is by increasing productivity that a rise in the standard of life can be obtained.

High productivity makes possible a lasting reduction in cost prices and an increase in the quality and quantity of consumption goods. Employed persons, who constitute the great mass of consumers, should be the first to benefit by an increase in productivity, both as consumers through a reduction in buying prices and as producers by an improvement in wages. However, if the long-term results of the productivity policy must profit the workers, the means of securing such an improvement sometimes worry them. Either they fear a return of what is called "technological unemployment" or they fear that there may be confusion between the complex idea of productivity and the simpler idea of increased output. In their minds this latter idea remains linked with the idea of exaggerated effort, of an over-rapid rhythm of work, and in general with unpleasant conditions of work which have sometimes accompanied this idea of increased output in the past. Consequently, the French National Committee on Productivity has endeavoured to define not only the technical means but also the human factors which must be taken into account in the execution of a productivity policy: on the one hand, better organisation and simplification of work, elimination of loss of time and wasted effort, and, on the other hand, an atmosphere of comprehension and co-operation by the practical training of the supervisory staff and the establishment of permanent contacts between the management and all classes of the personnel.

It is thanks to efforts of this sort and to the facts and conditions noted in the United States by many productivity missions that some encouraging experiments have been able to be made in France. Thus, in the electrical engineering industries various systems designed to interest the personnel in the life of the undertaking have been put into operation, ranging from productivity bonuses through profit sharing or proportionate wages to a system of payment for suggestions. The experiments made in the iron founding industry were preceded by an information stage, when ten pilot undertakings volunteered and secured the agreement of the industry that they should

work out in common a plan for increasing productivity and should share the results of their research in this field with the whole industry. Special study periods were organised in order to explain to heads of undertakings and to supervisors, as well as to the technical workers themselves, the conditions necessary for the success of such experiments. It should be pointed out that the employers who participate in these experiments have agreed to give real safeguards to the trade unions in respect of the risks of dismissal resulting from technical improvements, and also in respect of payment for suggestions made by the workers and the sharing by the personnel in the results achieved. Other examples which might be quoted relate to the textile, men's clothing and boot and shoe industries, where some factories have succeeded in reducing retail prices despite the rise in the price of raw materials and the increase in wages.

From this survey it can be seen that many efforts to increase productivity are being made in France in several fields and by various occupational spheres. They are taking part in the necessary programme of recovery which will enable the French economy to emerge from its difficulties by means of greater output more cheaply obtained and with better paid personnel. That is the essential object of productivity.

It would, however, be vain to promote a policy of productivity if this were not to take its place in the end in a wider policy of full employment. Thus my review of the labour problems of France would not be complete if I did not examine here the principal elements of France's manpower policy.

During recent years—and contrary to the experience of several neighbouring countries—the employment situation in France has remained fairly satisfactory. Nevertheless, for several months now this situation has been worrying us. In several sectors of our industry, particularly in the textile, clothing and boot and shoe trades, the number of unemployed persons has increased, and the number of employees obliged to work short time has increased still more.

The Government, like the preceding Governments, has taken action to relieve all the workers affected by this depression. Each time the Ministry of Labour receives a request for the opening of an unemployment fund by a provincial Government, this is immediately granted. Furthermore, the Government strives, by granting compensation for lost hours, to aid workers whose earnings are reduced on account of having to work short time. The periods compensated have been extended several times and the maximum personal resources taken into account for the granting of such compensation have been raised; the rates of unemployment allowances were increased in November 1951. Several public works have been opened; however, the Government regards these as a palliative and not as a permanent remedy.

By its policy of lowering the cost of living, the Government is trying to attack the fundamental causes of unemployment which are essentially economic in character. By reducing manufacturing costs, by asking the middlemen

to try to reduce their margins, we will manage to contend with competition and to increase our exports. By improving the purchasing power of the French consumer, we will improve sales which have fallen off considerably in some of our industries.

Side by side with this general action, the Government is continuing its efforts to promote the employment of our manpower, to improve the occupational skill of our workers, and to provide the French economy with the necessary extra manpower. One of the essential objectives of our manpower policy has been to make available to the key industries, namely, the metal and building trades, the labour necessary for the economic reconstruction of our country.

The necessity for repairing the ruins caused by the war and for pursuing a housing policy in keeping with the development of our population has given the building industry first place with regard to the vocational training of adults. It accounts for 80 per cent. of the activity of our training centres and, although material difficulties have been encountered, it is cheering to note the progress made and to see that since 1945 the centres have provided or replaced more than one-fifth of the skilled workers in the building trades.

Although less important, the results of the vocational training of adults in the metal trades and in various other occupations have still been very substantial and have made it possible to place in industry several thousands of young persons who previously had no trade. The Ministry of Labour is firmly determined, both for social and for economic reasons, to continue to develop its action in this field in close collaboration with the employers' and workers' organisations. It is satisfying to note that the principles laid down in Recommendation No. 88, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1950, have been translated into facts in France and have led to achievements which, while certainly capable of improvement, testify to the value and the effectiveness of the training methods adopted.

This action has proved its worth in other fields, too, particularly with respect to the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. Here Government action has taken the form primarily of technical guidance and encouragement of the work both of voluntary organisations and, particularly, of the social security institutions.

I must also mention the work undertaken in connection with the training of supervisory staff, which the Ministry of Labour is encouraging in the spirit of the action taken by the I.L.O. No doubt these matters are of common concern to a large number of countries. The execution of the same tasks leads to a permanent exchange of information which becomes more detailed as time goes on and enables the various countries to apply a more effective full employment policy, this being one of the main concerns of the I.L.O.

Thus, taking as a guide the principles adopted by the International Labour Conference, the French Ministry of Labour is taking steps to improve the operation of the employment services by rationalising their methods and techniques and improving the quality of their

staff. Specialised sections have been introduced in various urban centres for the purpose of placing workers belonging to certain trades or certain classes of workers such as young persons or handicapped workers.

Within the framework of its immigration policy, France is making its contribution to the problem of absorbing surplus manpower while taking care to provide protection both for our national manpower and for foreign workers. This contribution has taken the form both of bilateral agreements and of a series of measures based on the recommendations of the I.L.O., and on the need to provide our economy with the manpower it lacks, particularly in the mines, agriculture and the building trades.

In addition to introducing greater flexibility in our existing immigration procedure as regards agriculture and building, I must mention two interesting experiments which were made along the lines of the I.L.O.'s own action. First of all, and this is an entirely new development, 300 Italian workers have received accelerated vocational training in France in training centres for the building trades. The second experiment is the training of Italian workers in Italy under the supervision of French instructors whose task it is to indicate the training methods used in our own country.

Turning now to social security, the past year has been marked, as were previous years, by an increase in the protection afforded to workers and by a sustained effort to maintain the level of benefits. The system of old-age allowances for persons other than wage-earners, introduced by the Act of 17 January 1948, has been supplemented by an Act of 14 April 1952 which set up a special old-age allowances fund for persons who have not got a minimum income and who do not belong to any of the independent funds already in existence. The system of protection against the risk of old age has therefore been improved and is gradually being extended to all classes of the population. Again, the list of occupational diseases against which workers are protected has been extended and provision has also been made for its application to orphans whose education is supervised under the Act of 30 October 1946 respecting industrial accidents.

Side by side with these measures for extending social security legislation to new classes of the population, the public authorities have not neglected the problem of protecting the standard of living of the beneficiaries, despite unfavourable economic conditions. In early autumn many benefit rates were increased; the rate of family allowances for employees, independent workers, employers in occupations other than agriculture, farmers, and rural craftsmen was increased, on the average, by 15 per cent. by an Act of 26 September 1951.

In spite of these measures the French Government has not been able to do all that it would have wished to increase the benefits afforded to workers because it has become evident, during the past year, that the administration of the social security scheme was handicapped by an increasing deficit incurred in the sickness branch. For several years past France has been extending its social system

and, in the light of experience, we now have to make adjustments which are essential to render our system effective before we can make any further progress. I therefore share the view expressed by the Director-General when he says that a steady advance, with each step consolidated and each position secured, is preferable to the introduction of sweeping reforms if such action results in disillusionment.

While, therefore, France is concerned with improving her own social security system, we have not neglected to develop our relations in this field with other countries. During the past year an agreement has been concluded with the Principality of Monaco; two clauses have been added to the agreement with the Saar, and an agreement supplementing the general social security agreement has been concluded with the United Kingdom. In addition, the French Parliament, by an Act of 11 April 1952, has ratified an agreement concluded with Denmark. During the same year a number of agreements have come into force, namely, that between France and the Federal Republic of Germany, that between France and the United Kingdom concerning Northern Ireland, and that between France and the Netherlands. Furthermore, the French Government has made, in agreement with the competent authorities of the countries concerned, all necessary arrangements to implement Conventions previously signed, and a series of administrative arrangements have been made to this end.

France's activities have been no less intensive in regard to multilateral agreements. On 11 April 1952 Parliament ratified a Convention between France, Italy and Belgium, and the agreement concerning social security of Rhine boatmen concluded under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation. In addition, the multilateral Convention of 7 November 1949 having come into force, France has taken the necessary steps to give effect to it.

Within the framework of the Brussels Treaty Organisation action begun at an earlier stage has been extended. Studies have been carried out by the Subcommittee on Social Security concerning social security for students and the necessary protection of migrant workers suffering from occupational diseases. The Franco-British Working Party has worked out a model social security Convention which will be submitted as a model when Conventions have to be drawn up between Members of the Organisation. This will shortly be communicated to the I.L.O. and to the Council of Europe.

Finally, the discussion in the Committee of Experts of the Council of Europe of provisional social security agreements designed to ensure on the territory of each Member State equality of treatment as between its own nationals and nationals of other Members of the Council of Europe has been concluded, and I hope that these Conventions will enter into force very soon.

Thus, in spite of the gravity of its own problems, France remains anxious to perfect and develop the instruments for international co-operation which, by increasing the ties between peoples, are a guarantee of progress for all.

In order to carry its ceaseless efforts for social progress on to the international plane, France has tried to show, by the number of international conventions which it has ratified, the interest it takes in the development of international legislation. This year again the French Parliament has ratified four international labour Conventions and 11 others have been laid before Parliament for ratification.

The total number of international labour Conventions already ratified by France has thus reached 61, and in making these ratifications France believes that she has not only affirmed her agreement with the principles on which the activities of the I.L.O. are based but also has applied them in her national legislation. In this connection I should like to emphasise the special importance in the framework of the international activity of our times of the International Labour Code drawn up by the I.L.O., which has no equivalent in any other field. Even if Conventions are not ratified they nevertheless constitute the standards on which the social policies of each State Member should be based, and they imply for those States which have a high level of economic and social development an obligation to give the benefit of their experience to the less developed countries. That is why France is deeply interested in the work which has been undertaken in the field of technical assistance and is ready to assist, through her experts and her techniques, in the practical action of the International Labour Office.

Among the various forms of technical assistance there is one on which I should like to lay special emphasis by saying how happy we are in France to welcome I.L.O. Fellows from other countries, and thereby to establish cordial and direct relations with the representatives of countries which are often far distant from our own, who perhaps will have the opportunity later of applying at home, having regard to their own traditions and constitutions, the institutions, practices and achievements which they have studied in our country.

This combination of international action with national experience is one of the essential stimuli of social progress. I referred to this fact recently in inaugurating the Institute of Labour Sciences which has been set up in the University of Paris, when I said that it would find new stimulating sources for the study of the human problems of labour not only in contact with the living facts of labour but also in the international charters which have laid down the rights of human beings and in the technical work of your Organisation.

Whether it is in the case of experts or of Fellows under the social assistance scheme—technicians, employers or workers of any given country—it is through human contacts, through comparisons of experience and experiments carried out or attempted, that we can best establish that human and international solidarity which is essential to our common march forward towards social progress and towards a happier humanity.

Mr. BERINSON (*Government delegate, Israel*)—The emphasis laid on the problems of technical assistance in the Report of the Director-General is most timely. I propose

to omit the usual words of praise for the Report, well-deserved thought they are, and to relegate to the close of my remarks a summary of Israel's recent economic and social developments, so that I may concentrate on a discussion of the problems of technical assistance. This I shall do in the spirit suggested by the Director-General, concentrating on problems without using time to express the importance of the assistance itself.

Previous speakers—among them Mr. Öksnes and Father Stokman—have already spoken on the subject mainly from the point of view of the giving countries. I shall discuss mainly the taking—the role of the receiving country. The definition and selection of projects, the approval of experts, the care for and aid to the experts, the follow-up of their work, including the determination of fellowship programmes—each of these functions is of critical importance, each demands energy and attention and, I would add, thinking and experience. I think some of us tended to minimise these matters and to assume that they would more or less work themselves out. They do not.

I would like to suggest that just as the giving of technical assistance is becoming a professional branch of the work of the I.L.O., so must the receiving of technical assistance become a professional branch of the administrative apparatus of the receiving countries. The appointment of representatives of the Technical Assistance Board to reside in receiving countries ought to help to improve our methods. But another important step will be for us to become quite conscious of what our methods are and to think seriously and co-operatively of ways of improving them. It seems to me that there ought to be a forum for periodic international discussion of the problems raised in various receiving countries in which representatives from the main receiving countries would participate. At these meetings not only would there be an exchange of views and experiences but in time there may emerge a crystallisation of standards to be fulfilled by receiving countries.

As the role which must be filled by the receiving country becomes clearer to the receiving countries themselves, it ought to be possible for the I.L.O. and the other members of the Technical Assistance Board to adopt greater flexibility in the forms of assistance extended. I was happy to learn that the T.A.B. has decided to give consideration to requests for equipment which may be less directly related than was formerly required with a project initiated by a visiting expert, and also that there is to be greater flexibility in the granting of Fellowships. There are fields of economic development in which the major need is not for a visiting expert—fields in which the operation is already more or less a going concern on a sound organisational basis, in which the need is mainly for technical advancement of the workers or for key equipment. The technical advancement of the workers may, for example, take the form of sending abroad teams of workers, supervisors or technicians. But it should be obvious that in order effectually to enable such teams to go abroad proper provision must be made by the I.L.O. under the expanded programme

of technical assistance for covering their travelling expenses, their maintenance in the host country and the maintenance of their families at home during the period of their stay abroad. Without such provision the resolution adopted by the last General Assembly of the United Nations at the instance of my Government and the Government of Haiti in favour of such an arrangement can hardly be implemented, for it is obvious that it is beyond the means of the underdeveloped countries to do this at their own expense. Another new form of assistance that may be worth considering is that of correspondence courses.

The above remarks may be applicable to the more developed of the underdeveloped countries. In the case of other underdeveloped countries, it may be that one of the primary tasks of technical assistance is to develop a small corps of Government employees in the receiving country who will be professionally prepared to administer the programme and who will be able to give adequate time to it. Time and energy invested by the I.L.O. and by the receiving country in this project might very greatly enhance the value of all subsequent projects.

The trend of thought which I have tried to suggest is based on the assumption that technical assistance is not only of basic importance in raising the living standards of the poorest of the world but is an established and continuing fact. This is an assumption of peace—of a resolution of the deep conflicts which the world suffers today without recourse to war. It is an assumption of growing international interdependence and co-operation. Planning and acting on these assumptions may help to make the assumptions themselves true.

In closing my remarks on this subject I would like to say just a few words on our own particular use of technical assistance. In the Ministry of Labour we have concentrated on the fields of employment service, vocational and technical training and labour productivity. It is too early to evaluate the actual results of the help which has generously been extended to us, but even our limited experience has convinced us of three things. The first is that it is very important to us that this help be continued; the second is that we must still carefully think and work out the method by which the benefits flowing from the help given may be increased; and the third is that it is not enough to rely solely on visiting experts and Fellows going abroad but that more and more attention has to be given also to the provision of material aid and equipment. I fully endorse the view expressed yesterday by the Government delegate of India that, without help in the form of resources and equipment, technical assistance will not carry us very far.

Turning to the problems and achievements of my own country during the past year, I may say that the dominating circumstance in our economic and social life is the absorption of our mass immigration, or, as we call it, "the ingathering of the exiles", which has more than doubled our population in the few years since the establishment of our State.

We have undertaken not only to receive this unprecedented increment but to help the new immigrants to establish themselves according to plans designed to spread the population throughout the country, in rural as well as in urban areas. Owing to the active role which our Government plays in the employment field, unemployment has remained at no more than 1 to 2 per cent. of the labour force. Of course, we do experience serious difficulties. Housing lags behind our needs, our foreign exchange deficit is grave, we have inflation, and we have great difficulty in maintaining the proper balance among capital investments, raw materials supplies and skilled labour and management.

However, we are committed to the principle expressed by the Director-General that "social progress is no hot-house plant, to be cultivated only by those who can afford luxuries". Despite our great difficulties we are making considerable progress in the social field. During the past year our legislature enacted laws regulating holidays with pay, night work in bakeries and hours of work and rest. We have also in process legislation dealing with the employment of children and women, with apprenticeship, with voluntary conciliation and arbitration, with labour inspection machinery and with employment service organisation.

In the field of social insurance, as in the field of workers' protection, we are generally giving legal sanction and a broader scope to the structure built by the labour movement. The first stage of our long-range programme of social insurance has gone through its first reading in our legislature. This stage includes old-age pensions, survivors' pensions, compensation for work injuries, and maternity benefits.

Meanwhile, we are setting up the nucleus of the machinery which will be used for the administration of the social insurance programme. This is done in connection with the operation of a special fund for reservists' pay during the period of their national service, which is to begin in October of this year. In order to secure proper pay to reservists during their period of national service, ranging from 50 to 80 per cent. of their usual remuneration, and at the same time to avoid unfair discrimination between employers, equal contributions to the fund, based on a prescribed percentage of their payrolls, are required of all employers regardless of whether their own particular employees are liable for reserve service or not. In a way this is similar to the operation of a social insurance scheme. The experience to be gained in this will no doubt be of great value in the future administration of our social insurance services.

The fact that, despite our ardent desire for peaceful and friendly relations with our neighbours, this has not yet been achieved lays, of course, a heavy financial burden on the shoulders of our young State. At the same time we are carrying out very big plans for agricultural and industrial development, so as to create a sound basis of existence for the hundreds of thousands of newcomers to our country. Nevertheless, we do not neglect the need, so much stressed by the Director-General in his Report, to maintain social progress in our country, and this I have indicated by the

brief summary which I have just put before you.

FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS
OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE ¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The next item on today's agenda calls for consideration of the First and Second Reports of the Credentials Committee.

Interpretation : Mr. KAUFMANN (*Government delegate, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee*)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the First and Second Reports of the Credentials Committee.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix I.

The Credentials Committee intends to carry out its duties as diligently as possible and will do its best to continue its work at the same speed as it has shown so far and which has made it possible to present its first two reports to you today. These reports were adopted unanimously by the members of the Committee. I therefore have the honour to recommend to the Conference that it should take note of these reports.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Conference takes note of the first and second reports of the Credentials Committee.

(*The First and Second Reports of the Credentials Committee are noted.*)

(*The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.*)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn ¹ Mr. Licki ¹ Mr. Wandas ¹
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Espejo	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Cahill (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Summerfield (substitute for Mr. O'Brien) Mr. Doyle	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Barkatt	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Bergenström Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes Mr. Molins	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Boumou (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Saxer (substitute for Mr. Rappard) Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntscheu Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Bolivia :</i> Mr. Pérez del Castillo Mr. Torres	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Piérard (substitute for Mr. Hauck) Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Alam (substitute for Mr. Dündar) Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Richter (substitute for Mr. Bühlig)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever Mr. Biwerz Mr. Hayot (substitute for Mr. Diederich) Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Tsatsos Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Alders (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Burton (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Reed (substitute for Mr. Delaney)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Magloire) Mr. Lacroix Mr. Roy	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringebotten (substitute for Mr. Øksnes) Mrs. Sewerini Mr. Østberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Soto Montero (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Brizuela (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafaï Mr. Ghayour Mr. Keyvan		
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč ¹ Mr. Plešek ¹ Mr. Gref ¹ Mr. Kolský ¹			

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Garet, Minister of Labour and Social Security (*France*), Mr. Martin, Mr. Spengler, Mr. Vadlers (*Saar*), Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Tennfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Serrarens, Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

¹ Not present during the discussion of the second report of the Credentials Committee.

SEVENTH SITTING

Thursday, 12 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President : Mr. Dravid*FIFTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—According to the agenda we begin with the consideration of the Fifth Report of the Selection Committee. I would request Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Committee, to place this report before you.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Fifth Report of the Selection Committee be adopted.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there are no observations by any of the delegates may I take it that the report is adopted ?

Since there are no observations, the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now resume the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation : Mr. BALLESTER (Workers' delegate, Dominican Republic)—Once again the workers of the Dominican Republic are participating in this important annual assembly of the International Labour Organisation. Once again we are present in this centre of peace and harmony, desiring to take advantage of the guidance it provides for our universal labour legislation.

I am glad to be able to recall before this Conference that the connection of the Dominican workers with this Organisation dates from 1932, when our national Government ratified certain Conventions concerning the employ-

ment of young persons. Thus there began that real and effective association of our workers with the I.L.O. which has made it possible to model the whole social legislation of my country on the principles laid down by the annual sessions of this Conference.

All our legislation concerning accident prevention, wages, social insurance, hours of work, holidays, etc., introduced by the Government of our President, Dr. Trujillo Molina, is governed by the regulations of the international code. The liberal influence of this Organisation in our country is demonstrated by the progressive observance of a principle which is the object of discussions at this Conference, namely, the application of objectives and minimum standards of social security. This question has occupied the attention of our Government for some years past in its constant efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of the indigent classes.

I take this opportunity of informing you that since 24 October of last year there has been in force in our country a modern Labour Code drafted by a committee which included a representative of the workers' organisations. This Code introduced a number of measures in our favour which, without interfering with the natural rights of the employers, constitute a very important step forward. Among others I would mention the introduction of labour law institutions, such as collective agreements and works rules, which had not previously received any legal sanction in our country. I should also like to mention the extension of various measures, such as provisions concerning economic disputes, strikes, lock-outs and so forth, which, although they were contained in previous legislation, had to be adjusted to our own special circumstances. Other innovations which are just as significant are the methodical organisation of systems of avoiding unemployment and regulations in respect of various special categories such as those for women and young persons, homeworkers and apprentices, these categories having been the principal sources of exploitation of manpower in many

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

countries. The Code also includes one of the most recent standards adopted by this Organisation, *i.e.*, equality of treatment for workers in the same undertaking; any difference in the amount of wages must be justified by a difference in the length of time required for, or the quantity and quality of, the work given to a worker, or by the seniority, greater skill, or specialisation of the worker to whom it is given.

For the past 22 years our country has enjoyed the longest and most profitable period of peace in its history as a sovereign nation and this has encouraged foreign and domestic capital investment. This, in turn, has promoted our progressive conversion into an industrial country, as is demonstrated by the existence of large undertakings manufacturing sugar, cement, textiles, chemical products, alcohol, wood, liqueurs, and cigarettes, which provide gainful employment for thousands of workers who have thus been able to improve considerably their standard of living. The expansion of these new activities, encouraged by the national Government, has enabled that Government to follow its policy of social justice by creating and maintaining a number of public welfare institutions such as the Dominican Social Insurance Fund, training schools for workers, nurseries, retraining centres for young persons of both sexes, hostels for old people and polytechnic institutes.

While we are encouraged by the constructive efforts of President Trujillo in carrying out these plans of industrialisation directed towards securing a better destiny for our people, we are inevitably faced with a number of problems which the Dominican Confederation of Labour is trying to solve within the framework of peaceful negotiation which is the purpose of our organised efforts. But there are some intransigent spirits who want the betterment of the workers to come all at once, and there are also some politicians, hostile to the present régime, who are trying, in various unscrupulous ways, to gain followers from among the organised workers. In this attempt they have been defeated more than once by the moral support which the working classes have given to the progressive social policy introduced and pursued by President Trujillo Molina.

I must state emphatically that the free exercise of our occupational activities under the right of association guaranteed by our political Constitution has greatly strengthened our trade union movement and has increased the number of organisations associated with our national centre. This has made it possible to comply more fully with the law and has given reality to our theoretical rights.

Conscious of the responsibilities implied by these new advances, the Executive Committee of our Confederation has recognised the need for sound qualifications on the part of our leaders and is carrying on a systematic campaign to educate our people by means of elementary courses and popular libraries in the principal cities of the country, and it is thus promoting the workers' culture. I may mention in particular our monthly bulletin, which is well received by all the working population of the Republic.

I should like to take this opportunity of conveying to the International Labour Office

the deep gratitude of the workers of the Dominican Republic for the advantageous agreement on technical assistance which it has recently concluded with our Government.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate Mr. Morse on his excellent Report and to voice the gratitude of our working class towards the Government presided over by Dr. Trujillo Molina for the praiseworthy spirit of cordiality and co-operation in which it participates in the solution of our problems concerning wages, conditions of work and social security.

I should like to express my most fervent hope that the conclusions of this Conference will, as always, promote universal peace and an ever broader application of the principle laid down at Philadelphia, namely, that 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 the 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.

Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*)
speaks in Polish.

Interpretation: Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*)—In our general debate on the Report of the Director-General I would like to define the position of the Government delegation of Poland as to the over-all balance of work of the I.L.O. for the period under review. In this connection we should analyse to what extent the aims and tasks embodied in the Constitution, as well as in the Declaration which was adopted in Philadelphia during the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference, in May 1944, have been fulfilled. The principles underlying these two fundamental documents are to secure universal and lasting peace based upon social justice, the constant care and endeavour to improve the living conditions of the working masses, and the raising of their material and cultural standards.

When we look at the balance of the activities of the I.L.O. we cannot but reach a negative conclusion. The Report of the Director-General clearly shows that the I.L.O. did not know how, and, what is worse, did not even endeavour, to oppose the serious threat to the maintenance of peace, but stood passively in face of the constant and progressive process of the pauperisation of the working masses in the majority of the States Members of this Organisation. The backward trend in the fulfilment of the aims and principles of the I.L.O. does not result from any lack of ability or competence on the part of those in authority in this Organisation. It is rather due to the fact that the I.L.O. does not oppose those tendencies which try to transform it into an instrument in the hands of those who are against the fundamental principles of the Constitution, who are against the preservation of peace and the betterment of the conditions of the working people.

In the period of time discussed in the Report there was growing tension in the international situation, which still continues; it is

caused by the policy of the imperialist powers under the leadership of the United States. We see not only intensive preparations for the unleashing of a new world war by the United States and strong pressure on Western European countries to militarise their economies but also direct acts of brutal aggression.

For two years the United States has been waging an aggressive war against the Korean people, a war which has recently assumed a particularly savage character through the use of bacteriological weapons. It is no secret for whose interests American and British soldiers are dying on the battlefields of Korea. It is no secret that it is the Government of the United States which is sabotaging all efforts towards an armistice and the conclusion of the criminal war which is being waged in Korea, a war opposed and condemned by all progressive and honest people. And all this takes place under the flag of the United Nations, which in the minds of the peoples of the world was to be a symbol of peace and co-operation among all nations.

For six years an imperialist war has been waged against the people of Viet-Minh, who are struggling for their liberation from foreign rule.

In Malaya British imperialism strives by all means in its power to put down the struggle of Malayan patriots fighting for freedom and independence.

Time and again other nations of Africa and Asia arise against the yoke of foreign domination, against national oppression and social exploitation. The imperialist world sees its salvation in unleashing a new world war against those countries, which once and for all did away with exploitation of man by man and the achievements of which are an inspiration to all peoples fighting for a better life.

In its mad plans for world domination, American imperialism has unleashed a wild armaments race and threatens the world with atomic extermination, rejecting all peaceful proposals aiming at the prohibition of atomic weapons and at the reduction of armaments. American imperialists are building aggressive blocs and reviving Japanese and German militarism, which in the past brought two world wars upon mankind.

Last year, under pressure from the United States Government, a farce was staged under the name of the San Francisco Peace Conference, where a separatist peace treaty was signed with Japan, changing that country into an American colony and war base for American aggression in the Far East. At the present moment we are witnessing the rebuilding, under American leadership, of the Hitlerite *Wehrmacht* and the sabotaging by the Government of the United States of all efforts undertaken by the Soviet Union aiming at the unification of Germany as a free, democratic and peace-loving country.

My nation is vitally interested in the peaceful solution of the German problem, because it was subjected to a biological extermination, which cost us over 20 per cent. of our population. We still have before our eyes yesterday's burned towns and villages, today rising afresh, pulsing with new life and peaceful reconstruction.

It is clear that the policy of intensive war preparations in the countries participating in the Atlantic bloc results in a degenerate and one-sided development of the economy, in the militarisation of economic life, which in turn leads to the curtailment of civilian industry, the increase of unemployment, unlimited inflation, the constant rise in prices of basic commodities, excessive increase of taxes, the lowering of real wages, serious cuts in the consumption levels of the masses of the working people, and to the deterioration of housing conditions. These facts cannot be hidden even by the press of the capitalist countries which, under the pressure of anxious public opinion, reluctantly admit more and more frequently that the civilian industry is faced with serious economic difficulties.

The World Economic Survey published recently by the Secretariat of the United Nations admits, although in an elusive manner, that in the capitalist countries the production of basic food commodities has fallen. The *Journal of Commerce* states that demand for commodities has fallen to the lowest level and caused a decrease in production and a rise in unemployment. The Report of the Chairman of the Institute of American Manufacturers of Cotton Goods stresses that at present about one-third of all workers in the American cotton industry are out of work. According to other reports 50 per cent. of all workers who are members of the Men's Garment Workers' Union are unemployed or working two or three days a week only.

According to the official statistics of the British Ministry of Labour, there are now about 468,000 totally unemployed and 276,000 partly unemployed in the United Kingdom. This means an increase of 214,000 in comparison with last year. There are millions of unemployed in Italy, Japan and Western Germany.

The American press states that to cover the war budget expenditure President Truman, during six years and two months of his term of office, collected 277 billions in the form of taxes, thus breaking a record, in view of the fact that all his 31 predecessors collected only 256 billion dollars in 156 years.

As we all know, the war expenditure of the United States amounts to two-thirds of all budgetary expenditure. The United Kingdom will spend in the current fiscal year about £1.5 billion sterling for war purposes. France will spend 3.3 billion dollars, Italy about one billion and Canada about 2.5 billions.

To cover those tremendous military expenditures the imperialist powers make various "savings" in their budgets, and those cuts affect in the first place expenditure for social and cultural purposes. For instance, the President of the United States, in his economic report submitted to Congress at the beginning of this year, admits openly that "new public construction expenditures for development programmes, including education, health and housing, have fallen from about 3 per cent. of the gross national product in 1939 to less than 2 per cent. in 1951" and that "in the future we must continue to hold back on the construction of hospitals. Total construction expenditures for schools . . . must be held below the real need. Low-rent public housing starts in

1952 . . . will be well below the levels contemplated in recent housing legislation."

In the United Kingdom "savings" have been made in the budget by cutting food subsidies, abolishing free medical care and restricting the expenditures on housing. In France the growing war budget expenditures severely affected peaceful investments, housing, and social security. This, by the way, has been demanded of his European partners by the President of the United States, who in the above-mentioned report stated openly that "cuts must be made in domestic consumption, which only recently has been restored to the pre-war levels, and in capital investment, which is needed to build long-run economic strength".

The process of the war preparations and the passing to a one-sided war economy in the capitalist countries goes hand in hand with growing fascism in political and social life, with the frontal assault on the achievements and rights of the working masses. The notorious Defense Act, which was adopted in 1950 and prolonged for 1951, has by now ceased to be an adequate instrument in the hands of the American capitalists. During the debate which took place in the American Congress in May 1952, Congressman Howard W. Smith submitted a new drastic proposal concerning the abolition of the right to strike, which right—as he put it—is detrimental to the well-being and security of the State. We all understand what this means in the language of the common people.

In Western Germany the so-called Adenauer Government, on the basis of the proposed law concerning the structure of factories (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*), strives to deprive works councils of all their importance, submitting them to the wishes and whims of the employers. In France the Government tries to intimidate the working class and the police brutally, under a provocative pretext of alleged espionage, breaks into the headquarters of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, which counts in its ranks the overwhelming majority of the French workers.

These examples, of course, do not exhaust a long list of attempts to rob the workers in the capitalist countries of their achievements and rights. Another example of similar persecution was given by the Workers' delegate of Guatemala in the general debate at this session of the Conference.

In the appraisal of the results of the war preparations, we cannot omit the important fact of the increasing deterioration of international trade, which is aggravating the structural crisis in the balance of payments of the countries of Western Europe. The fluctuations in the prices of raw materials on the capitalist market, difficulties in obtaining investment goods—all this severely affects the economic situation of the underdeveloped countries. The economic blockade directed against the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China and the Peoples' Democracies, which is imposed by the United States, aggravates the economic depression in numerous sectors of the economy of Western European countries.

Although we have carefully studied the Report of the Director-General, we could not find in it the reflection of all those most characteristic

elements of the present political and economic situation. The Report passes over in silence the frenzied war preparations of the Atlantic bloc; it omits the fact of military aggression in the Far East committed by some Members of the I.L.O. The Report cannot leave aside such commonly known facts as the increase in unemployment or the increase in the cost of living; nevertheless it tries to hide or cover up the real cause of this state of affairs.

The Director-General in his Report is not opposed to armaments, nor is he opposed to the anti-social policy of the imperialist powers. He asserts that "the full satisfaction of these needs and aspirations (i.e., aspirations for a better life) may have to be delayed". The proposed remedy for the high cost of living and the shortage of consumer goods is not, according to the Report, the increase of their production, but Utopian dreams that in conditions of capitalism it is possible to achieve a fair distribution of goods left for consumption purposes.

Instead of extending the basis of production through new investments and technical progress the Director-General proposes in his Report the undertaking of action towards increasing the productivity of labour, which under capitalist conditions means the acceleration of the speed of work, and an increase in the rate of accidents and occupational diseases as well as a rise in profits for the industrialists.

As a remedy for unemployment in the consumers' industry the Report proposes not the increased production of consumer goods but the increase of mobility of manpower—in other words, transfer of the workers from the consumer industries to the war industries.

The Report of the Director-General also leaves aside the detrimental effects of the American policy of war preparations on the evolution of international trade. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the International Materials Conference, the entire activity of which is directed towards the supplying of the American war machinery with the necessary raw materials, in conditions profitable for the American monopolies, was appraised in the Report of the Director-General as a sign of constructive economic co-operation.

The Director-General does not see the fatal consequences of the American policy of economic blockade and discrimination against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the Peoples' Democracies on the standard of living and the level of employment of the working masses in the countries of Western Europe.

The Polish Government, the efforts of which are entirely directed towards the development of productive forces, the increase of industrial and agricultural production and the raising of the material and cultural standards of the broad masses of the population, considers that the International Labour Organisation should not remain passive towards the policy of some States Members, which reject the possibility of the harmonious development of international co-operation and social progress. The Polish Government conscientiously fulfils all its obligations under the Constitution of the I.L.O. Poland has ratified 36 Conventions, which

are implemented in practice—this unfortunately cannot be said of many States Members of the I.L.O. Our social and economic policy is the expression of the constant care of the Government for the welfare of the people. Over 25 per cent. of our budgetary expenditure in the year 1951 was devoted to social and cultural services. Poland will spend in the current fiscal year 2.6 billion zloty on education, 3.3 billion zloty on health services and 6 billion zloty on social insurance.

Our economic and social policy is the best expression of the peaceful tendencies of our country. We believe in the possibility of the co-existence of different political systems and of their co-operation for the securing of world peace and social progress in all countries.

We support the aspirations of all oppressed nations for freedom and independence. We support the aspirations of the underdeveloped countries for economic development and social progress. We support also the principle of unrestricted development of economic and trade relations among all countries on the basis of sovereignty, equality of rights and mutual interests.

The Polish Government delegation affirms that up to the present the I.L.O. has not fulfilled its tasks. We consider, however, that this Organisation could and should play an important role in the fulfilment of the tasks for which it was established. In order to do so this Organisation must take a clear and firm stand in regard to the present political and economic problems and the policy of some of its States Members, the activities of which are in flagrant contradiction to their international obligations and contrary to the principle of international co-operation and the ideal of social progress.

For the above reasons the Polish Government delegation decided to submit a draft resolution which corresponds to the fundamental aims and principles of the I.L.O.

To what extent the fulfilment of the aims and tasks of the I.L.O. is the concern of the broad working masses may be proved by the fact that the Czechoslovak delegation introduced a resolution relating to the same subject.

The adoption of our resolutions would constitute a clear manifestation that the I.L.O. has not forsaken its ideals and that it intends to make its constructive contribution to the task of strengthening peace and international co-operation in the interests of the happiness and the well-being of the working masses of the world.

Interpretation : Mr. DEL BO (*Government delegate, Italy*)—It is a great pleasure for me to attend this International Labour Conference, where every year the delegates of Governments, employers and workers of the States Members of the International Labour Organisation are assembled in a common effort to find satisfactory solutions to our problems.

In opening the present session the distinguished Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Paul Ramadier, paid tribute to the long life of our Organisation. No one can deny that this is a sign of the soundness of its structure and of the effectiveness of its work during the past years, and that it is these factors which

have enabled it to survive the catastrophe of the recent hostilities and to take an important place among the international organisations today.

Before commenting briefly on the Report of the Director-General and on the activities of the I.L.O., I should like to say a few words on the principal features of our national activities.

The Italian Government has shown the greatest interest in the problem of productivity in its political, economic and social aspects. As a first step it set up, in October 1951, a national productivity committee. This committee is composed of representatives of industrialists and free workers as well as of representatives of the State, of science, and of technical knowledge, and the heads of undertakings.

Its activities cover the following fields: pilot plants, meetings of heads of undertakings (which will be followed soon by meetings of workers), mutual technical assistance between various undertakings, and the carrying out and publication of the results of studies and experiments. The committee will make technicians available to the pilot plants in order to secure a better use of equipment and better organisation of work. These technicians, together with Belgian, French, Portuguese and German technicians, have already attended an international training course which was held in April and May near Rome. Other meetings for heads of undertakings will be organised by the Italian National Committee in Milan, Turin, Genoa and Naples. Thus the possibility will be provided for heads of undertakings—and particularly the heads of medium-sized and small undertakings—to meet together in the main industrial centres of Italy and to discuss, with the help of American experts appointed by the Mutual Security Agency in collaboration with the National Management Council, the most essential problems such as the question of markets, distribution and sales, social relations, etc.

Among the programmes which the committee intends to carry out, that concerning technical assistance between undertakings deserves special emphasis. The committee also intends, within the limits permitted by the special conditions prevailing in Italy, to give immediate practical effect to the results of the research undertaken and the experience acquired by the Italian technical assistance teams that visited the United States and other countries.

The activity of the Italian Government in the social field is reflected in the various subjects dealt with in the Director-General's Report and in the items on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

It is well known that one of the most serious and difficult problems in my country is that of unemployment. Despite the expansion of production and the increased productivity in some branches of industry unemployment is still a serious problem in Italy. The Government has done everything within its power to reduce its extent and mitigate its effects. Our efforts in this field are unprecedented. Our public works plans absorb a very considerable portion of the resources of my country. More-

over, the first practical result of our policy to combat inflation, adopted especially in the interests of the workers, is that, in our economic and financial budget this year, a large sum is earmarked for the creation of employment opportunities and for assistance to unemployed workers. This assistance is given by means of public works schemes and training courses.

In the field of legislation provisions have been adopted recently affording increased maternity protection for women workers. These provisions in some cases go beyond the recommendations of the World Health Organization.

The Italian Government has under consideration and will shortly table in Parliament a Bill to protect working women and children which will represent a substantial improvement on the present legislation. It also has in preparation Bills dealing with accident prevention and industrial hygiene.

After reviewing these plans of the Italian Government in the fields which are most closely related to the problems dealt with by the I.L.O., I should like to pay tribute to the Director-General for his excellent Report. We have examined it with the greatest satisfaction.

It is particularly pleasant for me to refer to the consideration contained in Chapter I of the Report, regarding the mobility of production factors; these considerations are in conformity with the constant efforts that have been made by my Government to affirm this principle, particularly as regards manpower. The experience of the past few years has shown us that this is a problem of great complexity. The Report points out that it is taking on alarming proportions in certain countries, while in other countries there are a considerable number of workers still unemployed.

The barriers which have been set up throughout the world are increasing and are multiplying the obstacles to emigration. Sometimes we have to make absolutely disproportionate efforts to achieve very moderate results. The pages of the Report devoted to emigration give us a striking example of this unfortunate fact. The problem of emigration has been approached from various angles but the solution still lies in international co-operation. We have concluded a number of emigration agreements and we have associated ourselves with the work of the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, the work of which has already been assisted very generously by countries which have no direct interest in migration. But the experience possessed by the Office and the many services it has rendered in the field of migration lead us to hope that it may still give its support and devote its efforts to developing the activities which have recently been undertaken.

The pages of the Report devoted to the operational activities of the I.L.O. and to technical assistance are among the most striking of all. We find there a complete and detailed survey of the work done by the International Labour Office in the field of technical assistance, and a proof, if proof were needed, of the competence and excellent training of its experts. This new activity has been undertaken during the last two years only and it already forms an important part

of the work of the Office. We congratulate the Director-General for having given the lie by this prompt action to the pessimism of those who, in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, expressed doubts as to whether programmes could be implemented so rapidly.

Before I finish my remarks, I should like to make an observation, or rather to ask a question, about the work of the I.L.O. Committees.

It seems to me that these Committees deal too sketchily with their work for it to be possible to appreciate their contribution to solving the problems with which they deal. The Committees are convened regularly about every two years. This is a practice consecrated by experience before which it is difficult for one not to give way, but I wonder, in view of the fact that new Committees will probably be set up, whether it would not be advisable to consider the desirability of convening them at more frequent intervals for some branches of production where action is urgently needed, so that we may achieve greater concentration of efforts.

The participation in this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference of a country like mine, in which labour problems and problems of industrial relations determine our social prospects, is an event of fundamental importance. I think I have sufficiently demonstrated the desire of my Government to achieve social security for the workers, to encourage individual effort in the field of production and to establish an atmosphere of peace and co-operation in labour circles.

Our attachment to democracy and our sense of the responsibilities which we have undertaken as a Member of the International Labour Organisation are stimulating us to attain these objectives.

In the midst of all the difficulties with which my country has to contend we have confidence in the solidarity and understanding of all. The Italian people, deeply convinced of the need for international co-operation, expect that social and moral counterpart which will strengthen their will to work and will assist in their development.

Mr. BERGENSTRÖM (*Employers' delegate, Sweden*)—First I should like to congratulate the Director-General on his most interesting Report, which has been highly appreciated amongst the employers in the northern countries, that is, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Through this Report runs as a theme the fundamental truth that improved living conditions for a nation as a whole can only be brought about by raising the production per inhabitant. The rapid rise in national income and in *per capita* income shown by the countries which were industrialised earliest is the outcome of modified and improved methods of production. This development could not have taken place unless economic activity had been directed towards supplying the population with the goods they had most need of. The advantages of mass production could not have been utilised to the full unless possibilities for mass marketing had existed. Thus, one condition

for the success of economic activity in its various forms is that it shall result in the satisfaction of human needs to the greatest possible extent. One might, therefore, say that the very success of a method of production or an industry or an enterprise is in itself a criterion that the particular economic activity concerned is socially justified.

A higher standard of living, then, can be achieved primarily by raising productivity in the various countries. When foreign trade relations play a significant role, such as is the case with the northern countries, international division of labour is a factor of great importance for determining the trend of productivity. It is a practical demonstration of one of the thoughts in the Report of the Director-General when I state that the higher the level of international trade the greater are the opportunities for these countries to concentrate their economic efforts in the fields which give the greatest yield. This can be illustrated by a concrete example. In so far as a considerable part of the domestic resources of Finland, Norway and Sweden can be devoted to the processing of the products of the forests, the total output in these countries will attain its maximum. These countries will then be able to supply their other needs in an effective way by means of imports. The same is true of Denmark, if for forest products we substitute agricultural produce. During the last few decades, however, all these countries have been compelled, for security reasons, to maintain an economy sufficiently diversified to enable them to be, as far as possible, self-supporting. The aim of this is, of course, to avoid considerable difficulties which otherwise might easily occur in time of war and under blockade conditions. Thus the unsettled international situation compels these countries to live at a lower standard than would be possible in peaceful conditions, using the real sense of the word "peace". It follows, therefore, that the relaxation of political tension, which it is one of the aims of the International Labour Organisation to bring about, is of direct concern to these countries in their efforts to raise the standard of living of their peoples and to pursue a progressive social policy. This is a fact which cannot be disregarded in any discussion of the standard of living and social policy. It must be mentioned in this connection, although purely political questions fall outside the competence of the Organisation.

Another factor is of great importance in this connection. In countries largely dependent on external trade, business fluctuations often come from different causes from those which apply in the case of the larger countries, which to a considerable extent are self-supporting in all fields. The trade-cycle theory which holds that crises are due to a deficiency of demand is of only limited application in these cases. Depressions mainly arise in these countries not as a result of internal circumstances but as a result of recessions on the international markets. It is, therefore, a matter of urgent concern to these countries that there should be no violent fluctuations in international economic relations.

It is also obvious that the problem of ensuring a satisfactory degree of employment

has special aspects in this case. The demand for export goods cannot be increased by domestic measures. If the sale of these products on the world market becomes impossible or if it declines to a considerable extent, it is, of course, possible to take internal steps to meet the employment problems that will arise. But, as I have pointed out before, this implies a greater degree of self-sufficiency and consequently also a lower standard of living for these countries.

There is another important consideration that must be brought into the picture. In order that the States whose living standards are largely dependent on the extent of their external trade shall be able to utilise their economic resources in the most profitable way they must be in a position to compete effectively on the world market. They must, therefore, constantly be on the watch so that their wage-costs and expenditure for social purposes are not forced up to such an extent that the basis for sound competition disappears. For this reason it is vital for countries with a considerable export trade that the social standard should be approximately uniform in all countries. Therefore, the instruments of international social policy adopted by the International Labour Organisation should be formulated in such a way that competition on equal terms is possible. This is just as important as the possibility for all countries to obtain raw materials at the same price on the international market. It also appears from the Report we are discussing that this viewpoint is accepted in principle by the International Labour Office.

The axiom that an increased supply of goods and services is a prerequisite for an active social policy remains true quite apart from whatever other factors may affect the economic conditions of various countries. In discussions on the form to be taken by social policy, however, there is sometimes a tendency to look upon economic development as something independent of social policy. To put it another way, insufficient attention has sometimes been paid to the way in which measures of social policy will affect economic activity in general. Since the only way of raising the living standard of a nation is to increase its productive power, it is, therefore, a matter of the first importance that both the wage system and the social policy shall be built up in such a manner as to facilitate higher production.

It is quite obvious that the social policy pursued in a number of countries, especially in the post-war years, has affected productivity in those countries in many different ways. Often these measures have resulted in improved health and better nutrition for large sections of the population, increased opportunities for working in a desired sphere of employment and greater opportunities for recreation, and, generally speaking, a richer life altogether. All these things in their turn have resulted in enhanced productive capacity. At the same time one cannot disregard the fact that these measures of social policy may in the long run have a negative effect on the efforts to bring about a continental increase in production.

The aim of social policy, namely to give all citizens protection from want, has as a natural

corollary that the need for the individual to save for "a rainy day" becomes less urgent. This is particularly true of such aspects of social policy as national health insurance, free medical treatment and old-age pensions. Such reforms, therefore, may modify the ratio between total consumption and investments in a community in such a way that investments will not reach the level required for a continuous increase of production. Therefore, when such measures of social policy are being considered, due regard must be had to the question how total savings in the community can be kept at the desired level. Failing this, one of two things may happen. Either the increase in production may cease, or, if investments cannot or should not be cut down, an inflation may arise which will destroy the very social system which it has been attempted to build up. Instances of this kind have not been lacking in the northern countries during the post-war period. Such a development, as the Director-General stresses, can only result in disillusionment. It is, however, not enough to ensure sufficient saving in the aggregate. It is largely incumbent on the private citizens to build up risk-bearing capital and to ensure that economic initiative can continue to be taken in different fields to the necessary extent. In the past such initiative has proved itself especially well adapted to promote the onward march of economic progress.

It is of the utmost importance that as great a part as possible of the capital which is formed in the productive process should be set aside for future needs and be put to work within the system of free enterprise. This is necessary in order to foster a sound economic development and to fulfil requirements for a rational social policy. This term should be interpreted as implying measures that are the natural outcome of this evolution but which cannot constitute the only object of economic activity.

Generally speaking, the question of taxation tends to become more and more vital in today's economy. An active social policy presumes a high level of taxation. This, at any rate, is the case in the northern countries, where the opinion is held that the desirable and requisite minimum standard of existence should not be too far removed from the standard at which the population on the average is living. If the minimum standard is permitted continually to follow the upward trend of the general standard, the high level of taxation will become permanent. With the present taxation system, involving as it does steep progression in direct taxes, even those with medium incomes find themselves paying such high marginal tax rates that a strong disincentive to saving follows. High taxes of other kinds, especially taxes on fortunes and inheritance taxes, work in the same direction. Systems of this kind, as well as rigid State regulations on economic activity, might lead to a flight of capital from countries in urgent need of further investment and might also prevent these countries from getting surplus capital resources from abroad. These phenomena the Director-General warns against as regards underdeveloped countries, but they do apply in the case of other countries as well.

If I may be allowed to sum up by way of conclusion, I would say that the changed methods of production which are available in our own times have led to a standard of living for large sections of the world's population which could not have been dreamt of some hundreds of years ago. The want, the dire need, still to be found in large sections of the world cannot obscure this fact. This improved standard of living has opened the way to a greater security for all and to a richer life. It is important that the measures taken in the field of social policy should not be framed in such a way that the basic prerequisite for further reforms, a continual increase in production, is undermined or destroyed.

Mr. de REGO MONTEIRO (*Government delegate, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation: Mr. de REGO MONTEIRO (*Government delegate, Brazil*)—Seldom in the history of the world has it been as necessary as it is today to combine an understanding of present facts and a forecast of future conditions in an effort to secure that progress without which we must all perish, as is so well said by Euclides da Cunha, in a description of the synthesis from which Brazil has herself arisen.

Progress or perish: this is indeed the dilemma of the peoples of times like ours when, in the tumult of social transition, violent subversive currents or ill-directed cultural energies threaten to break up our society and shake the traditional foundations of our civilisation.

The philosopher Comte, in his natural and noble desire to build a future based on stable order—that is to say, on universal harmony—a future of which man should not be robbed, taught that knowledge and foresight were stages in our progression to welfare and security.

We must, furthermore, conclude that the science of real facts and the philosophy of truths and immortal values determine the destiny of men and of society.

The Director-General deserves our praise for the new standpoint assumed in his brilliant review presented to this session of the Conference, which is one more item in his series of valuable and significant reviews of the social conditions of the world.

After examining the principal events in the economic history of the recent past, Mr. Morse, with flashes of insight which might well form a basis for legislative action, goes on, in his fundamental chapter on social policy, to open up a new perspective with the most profound ideas, abandoning for the moment, under the pressure of circumstances, his usual review of important events in the social life of the different countries.

From his wise analysis of the economic situation we think it fitting to pick out, because of their value as conclusions based on social experience, some concepts which should be set up as true principles of social justice, the formulation of which at the present time would certainly attract universal attention and lead to the rectification of errors which are constantly being repeated.

As regards internal economic conditions, I think one should insist on the truth, which

ought to be made a ruling principle in social justice, that wage restriction will be of no value as an anti-inflation measure unless it goes hand in hand with the limitation of profits, for, as the Director-General says on page 18 of his Report, "Moderation in wage claims can be expected only if workers feel that other sections of the community are being called upon to make comparable sacrifices".

Further, we must remember, on behalf of the working classes, the interdependence of world economy today. As the Director-General says, "Workers' standards of living depend not only on what happens within their country but also upon that country's dealings with the outside world".

This reflection forces us to give immediate consideration to the evidence of the universal progress towards unification at the instance of an imperative feeling of human solidarity. Transport brings the various parts of the world ever closer together. Telecommunications spread instantly and internationally facts which formerly were unknown outside the borders of a given country, intellectual and spiritual aspirations are bringing to men's ears the ever-stronger call to universal brotherhood, despite certain barbarous curtains of isolation.

Space is being conquered by technique, and social regions are becoming ever wider. From the Republics of the Renaissance, through the great powers of the early twentieth century to the continental and even inter-continental groups today (for the Atlantic is becoming a cultural Mediterranean) we move irresistibly along the path to world unity.

One conclusion cannot be escaped. It is that the end of the inequality of countries must come. The concept that some nations can be regarded as inferior to others has been swept away by events and by the triumph of democratic ideals; all must go forward together on the path of social progress.

That is why there is an urgent need for economic development programmes based on international political equality, so that the less developed countries can reduce the gap which separates them from the high level to which they have a right within the framework of international collaboration.

We therefore applaud the chapter of the Report which deals with methods to promote economic development, and fully agree with the principles brought out by Mr. Morse's observations.

We discern in this chapter, in particular, three principles which can constitute a fundamental theory of economic development for the less developed countries: productive investment; social reform; and productivity.

As regards investment—in equipment, whether agricultural, industrial, or for transport—we share the view of the Director-General that the fear of relative inflation brought about by a temporary fall in the supply of consumer goods should not be a reason for abandoning such a good policy as that of productive investment, if there is a real wish for national progress and the raising of the standard of living of the workers.

A defective, outworn social structure can, furthermore, be an obstacle to economic development. Consequently, there is a need

for agrarian reform and for the constructive renewal of out-of-date social concepts. This was proclaimed at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., which met in April last in Petropolis, by the President of my country, Getulio Vargas, who said that the time had come to free the agricultural workers from century-old serfdom and to transform the agricultural working class into agricultural land-holders through the distribution of public lands and the gradual elimination of a backward and harmful form of feudalism based on the large estate, which maintains vast tracts of rich virgin soil unpopulated and unproductive.

Productivity is the third of these means of securing economic development. We understand it in the sense implied by Mr. Morse, as subject to the influence of mechanisation, rationalisation, psychological stimulus and stimulus in the form of wage payments.

As regards vocational training, Brazil has been a leader in this field. Through our National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship (Senai), which is unique in the world, Brazilian employers in industry, transport and communications, have, in a spirit of co-operation, taken upon themselves the duty (confirmed by the law) of employing and training, in excellently equipped schools, a numbers of apprentices equal to not less than five per cent. of the workers of each establishment, in addition to a number fixed by Senai, not exceeding three per cent. of the workers of all categories in each establishment, whose duties call for vocational training.

So successful was this experiment, which was followed up by the establishment of a similar institution (Senac) by commercial employers, that (as mentioned on page 51 of the Report) the I.L.O. has signed an agreement with the Brazilian Government to use Senai as a centre of technical and vocational study for the workers of Latin America.

Our Minister of Labour, who is the President of the Conference this year, is now striving to promote campaigns to guide and stimulate productivity among the workers, and at the same time has organised the training of trade union leaders who may be able to help to raise general levels and also the occupational and living levels of the working class.

The constant improvement of the supervision of the working labour laws throughout our enormous country, undertaken by regional bodies in all States of the Federation, is also being studied by our Ministry of Labour through its present Minister and his worthy assistants, as an essential factor in higher productivity, which will result, as universal experience shows, only from work carried out in conditions of liberty and respect for human dignity.

It is true—and we must all regret it—that, as Mr. Morse says on page 30 of his Report, "Rearmament has inevitably had adverse effects on workers' standards of living".

More than anywhere else it is in the insufficiently developed countries that the rearmament policy has had its gravest effects, in the face of their policy of social and economic progress. First, imports of machinery and equipment are restricted because they cannot

secure from the industrialised nations what they require, owing to the rearmament policy. Investments, furthermore, are diverted to activities producing for military purposes. Neutrality is practically impossible, and the nations, whether strong or weak, have to spend their income on military preparations, in face of the terrible threat of war which is once more blackening the horizons of the present century and which, though we wish it were abolished, may well lead us to another, and even greater, sacrifice of humanity.

It is just the less-industrialised countries which have to face the worst privations. First of all, our military preparations restrict the development of the various sectors of national life. Then during a war there is almost inevitable waste of equipment and means of transport, which cannot be replaced. We suffer during the war from the devastation and loss of life imposed by international solidarity, and then when the war is over and the common effort has been forgotten, the less developed countries do not receive their just recompense; we remain exposed to international and private speculation in regard to our products, which played a substantial part in the winning of victory.

I do not wish, of course, to censure any of those countries which are taking the wise precaution of arming to defend their integrity, their freedom and indeed the moral patrimony of mankind.

As Mr. Morse so eloquently says (page 35 of his Report): "Peace must not only be defended in the military field but actively promoted by the positive and creative solution of mankind's problems".

This is the time to reflect on the brilliant chapter in the Director-General's Report dealing with social policy, in which he gives evidence of the most vivid intelligence. The chapter refers to the philosophical ideas regarding our civilisation and to the perspectives which are, or should be, now open for an escape from the terrible dilemma of humanity today. This Report is to some extent a response to our appeal to the I.L.O. as an institution capable of contributing, ideologically and in practice, to preserving and strengthening peace between the nations.

The Brazilian Government, through myself, wishes to express once more its constant faith in the Organisation, and to renew its support, already so eloquently affirmed by our President, Dr. Getulio Vargas, at the Petropolis Conference.

The ideals of universal and lasting peace based on social justice, which inspire this Organisation, must continue to be the objective of all those who honestly and sincerely believe in the brotherhood of man.

Unfortunately, truths, by force of repetition, tend to lose some of their effect. As soon as a crisis is over, people tend to become tolerant towards the evils which they had forsworn.

Thus, as happened in regard to the ideals of the Treaty of Versailles, the Declaration of Philadelphia, proclaimed in 1944, in the uncertainty of the struggle and perhaps in its most dramatic hour, did not have all the consequences which the magnificent principles which it affirmed might have inspired.

We think that, besides its accessory activities, the I.L.O. should not forget that the great object of this Organisation must always be to maintain the Conference as a world parliament, in its full democratic sense, as a centre of freedom of speech, of universal co-operation, and of the constant development of that new fine branch of law, social law, in the international field.

Only thus, in fact, can we keep alight the flame of the ideals which inspire historic achievements and ensure the evolution of social policy, through the democratic agreement of the nations, whose Governments and peoples are represented here, in this tripartite Conference, in contrast to the old practice of secret diplomacy which left the people in ignorance. This unity between Governments and peoples which will perhaps, as Maritain foretold, give civilisation a last chance of survival, will certainly remain a permanent source of inspiration and will help to dissolve the obscurity of international diplomacy by bringing it from the level of the inhuman super-State to that of unity in the hands of free men and women of all races and of all nations.

At no time is it of more value to remember the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles, who said, in a world also divided between irreconcilable extremes, "There is neither Greek nor Jew, there is neither bond nor free".

The tragedy of the modern world, like that of the pre-Christian world, with its abyss of racial pride and class privilege, is in the ultimate analysis, one of "dehumanisation". Today we have exaggerated opposition between the East and the West, which may be summarised as the opposition between materialism of a Marxist-Leninist character and economic immorality, which has so endangered western society.

Dramatising a well-known sociological fact, on the basis of experience of suffering, one of the characters in that terrible book by Virgil Gheorgiu, *The Twenty-fifth Hour*, proclaimed with pathos: "This war which you call the third world war is not a war of West against East Russia, after the Revolution, became the most advanced branch of western technical civilization It reduced man to zero as it had learned to do from the West." If we reconstruct our western society within the horizons of justice and fraternity in accordance with the purest Christian and human tradition, we shall root out this fanaticism and barbarism which is threatening the peace of mankind, and the ultimate cause of present differences will be eliminated.

If we have the courage to confess, and better still to correct, the errors of western society—characterised by a proletariat without full social justice—that will be the finest and most decisive step towards peace.

We are confident that when the fine principle affirmed in the Declaration of Philadelphia—that "All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity"—has been fulfilled, the clouds that hang over mankind will be swept away.

As regards our final emergence from a war economy, the Director-General tells us in his Report that it is legitimate to hope that 1954 will mark the beginning of a period in which living standards will rise more rapidly. If that hope is realised, we shall be on our way to abolishing the tragic conditions of modern economy, which Christopher Dawson called "an order of production for destruction".

Finally, an appeal to the noblest spiritual forces of mankind will make it possible to establish lasting peace based on social justice, which is the hope of us all. As Bergson says "as the body becomes progressively more powerful by all the means that imperfect science places at the disposal of uncontrolled desires, it becomes more urgent and more evident that the soul has need of more generous energy".

Mr. BURNE (*Employers' delegate, Australia*)—On behalf of the Australian employers I desire to congratulate the Director-General on the comprehensive Report and survey of world industrial and economic affairs submitted to this, the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. No one who takes part in the deliberations of the Conference can fail to be impressed by the enduring quality of the work of the I.L.O., a task which must stimulate our best and most earnest efforts.

It is indeed an honour to be associated with the work of this great international organisation which by its efforts and achievements has contributed so much towards the betterment of working conditions and the evolution and extension of greater measures of social security. Undoubtedly much of its success is due to the tripartite nature of the Organisation, which enables Governments, employers and workers to confer together in an atmosphere of conciliation and goodwill.

The problems that face the world today, and to which the Director-General has referred in his Report, are in many respects a continuation of those that confronted the Conference last year. Unfortunately, as pointed out in the Report, the threat to world peace has not been completely removed and results in many nations being compelled to devote so much of their economic resources to defence and rearmament programmes, but the atmosphere engendered by this and similar international conferences must do much to establish goodwill, trust and understanding between the peoples of all nations.

I do not wish to dwell at great length on the vital necessity for increased production, except to say that I believe it is now universally recognised, even if not accepted in practice, that only by increased productivity can we achieve better standards of living.

In Australia we are facing problems of unprecedented complexity and we endorse the reference in the Report to the necessity for the maximum exploitation of national resources. We are not suffering from the problem of underemployment, although it is true to say that the degree of full employment enjoyed for some years past has diminished appreciably, nor are we affected by the immobility of labour save in a very limited and restricted field,

but our problems are somewhat aggravated by reduced productivity since the universal adoption of the 40-hour week. We believe that our people should enjoy the highest standards of living that the economy can provide. Big improvements in living and social standards and increased wage rates in addition to a defence programme have tended to aggravate our present difficulties. It is essential in these circumstances that greater output per worker be achieved, otherwise the effects of inflation will be reflected on the whole community.

Australia is one of the few countries which have by legislation and industrial arbitration universally adopted the 40-hour week, and, whilst both management and labour have a responsibility to achieve the best results from its introduction, it is to the workers that we must look for the greater contribution of steady conscientious work that will do most to make it a success. Unfortunately the unions have imposed a ban on overtime work in addition to the 40-hour working week. We believe that in all these matters the encouragement of human initiative and incentive and the will to work are the most essential factors. Whatever the Conference can achieve in encouraging optimism and energy in all sections of the community will contribute to world progress.

We would endorse the reference to social problems on page 42 of the Report which reads as follows: "Nor is it desirable that changes be introduced too rapidly or on too wide a scale, for this may result in financial, administrative and other difficulties which endanger the new reforms and retard further development. A steady advance, with each step consolidated and each position secured, is to be preferred to the introduction of sweeping reforms if such action results in disillusionment." We have to our credit the achievement of advanced standards of social security but, in common with other countries, there is a grave danger from the effects of burdensome costs resulting from the implementation of so-called social benefits, which unfortunately have the tendency to depress rather than to stimulate individual initiative and enterprise.

Whilst we approve of the right of all to enjoy material well-being, spiritual development and conditions of economic freedom, security and equality of opportunity, we would emphasise that this Organisation should realise the difficulties inherent in unseemly haste and that the time has come for a stocktaking of past decisions of these Conferences with a sincere desire that we should review these decisions rather than precipitate action towards new and more ambitious development. We must consolidate the situation without undue disturbance to the level of employment and to the standards of living conditions.

All of us, employers and workers alike, share the responsibility for providing service to the community in return for greater measures of social security and better working conditions, and this appreciation should be expressed by giving better service and increased production. It is essential that we should sound a note of warning against a too-rapid expansion and extension of glamorous schemes for undeserved and unearned social security benefits. The obligation to raise funds to finance social

security and to implement improved working conditions is an essential and important factor. High taxation to maintain, direct and service increased social benefits is a danger to any national economy, and there is an obligation on Governments to exert a restraining influence on a too-rapid implementation and expansion.

Much can be and is being achieved by the technical assistance programmes now being provided and planned by the International Labour Office, but the economic position of underdeveloped countries desiring to expand industrially should be carefully surveyed. Workers in some underdeveloped areas note decisions reached at these Conferences and may become impatient and dissatisfied, but productivity must be increased before the fruits of development can be enjoyed.

We agree with and endorse the past expansion in the work of the I.L.O. and the emphasis now placed upon co-operation and technical assistance between nations. Whatever can be achieved here should materially reduce the prospects of armed conflict, and should have general endorsement. For example, the necessity for increasing productivity is of such profound importance that whatever the I.L.O. can do in this field must have far-reaching advantages. We would strongly support the move for greater use of available production statistics and comparable man-hour outputs, and urge that these should be made available regularly to all the countries which are Members of the I.L.O. and are represented at this Conference. Short summaries and factual statements for widespread dissemination should be of incalculable benefit to all nations and especially to underdeveloped countries.

On page 53 of his Report the Director-General has referred to migration as one of the problems facing many countries. In this respect Australia has not ignored its international responsibilities and we have in fact accepted a full quota of immigrants. Our main need is for immigrants with some technical skills, and this has formed the basis of our immigration policy. Nevertheless, the problems of absorption, of housing and of expanding essential services to meet the influx are real and substantial. Increased population has created a greater drain on our natural and national resources.

Australia is a large continent with great areas of very low fertility. Much of its territory is forbidding country incapable of any irrigation or development at all on account of the lack of adequate rainfall. If we should experience a cycle of lean years over big areas of our grazing lands—and this has happened in the past—the whole of our national development could be imperilled. The ravages of droughts, soil erosion by winds and dust storms have been contributory factors to a serious decline in primary production, yet the rate of increase, natural and by immigration, is raising our population so rapidly that we are faced with very grave problems.

Statistically, the output and the export of primary products has declined to an alarming extent and unless corrected will have a most disturbing influence upon the balance of our economy. Should the decline in agricultural production continue, it is most likely that a

substantial cut in the rate and numbers of immigrants will be essential, otherwise it will seriously affect our present living standards. For every new immigrant, whether for land settlement or for occupational classification, a substantial amount of investment expenditure must be provided to supply basic needs. Owing to family considerations, not all immigrants are workers, so that the influx in addition to the normal natural increase in population has outrun our investment expansion. Clearly the stage has been reached when we must pause and review the situation.

We believe in and wholeheartedly support the aspirations of the I.L.O., but we must repeat and emphasise that the Organisation should guard against the impulse to progress too rapidly and build a structure or establish a code which cannot be supported or implemented in the years to come. Rather we urge that it build in such a manner that its great responsibilities and its tremendous tasks are carried forward to fulfilment with the support and approval of all nations, slowly and consistently, not spectacularly but soundly and progressively.

Mr. ALI (*Employers' delegate, Pakistan*)—While discussing the Report of the Director-General, I would like to compliment him and the International Labour Office for having conducted operations so successfully in the fields of social policy in general and technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries in particular.

It is a recognised fact and one which has also been emphasised by the Director-General in his Report that the only way to raise the standard of living is through rapid industrialisation.

The tackling of the problem of manpower and unemployment, as has been rightly stated, depends much upon the economic planning of countries, in the form of control and distribution of their capital equipment, thus raising the standard of living. To achieve this end a flow of capital goods is essential for the prosperity of underdeveloped countries. I would suggest, on behalf of the employers of my country, that the I.L.O. create a development division to obtain priorities and ensure the release of capital goods for the underdeveloped countries. Through the machinery of this division, the I.L.O. would be able to request the international agencies such as the United Nations for the proper implementation of projects in this field. This would play a part in the sphere of effective assistance by the I.L.O. to the underdeveloped countries.

The question also arises of foreign capital for the successful working out of national plans. The underdeveloped countries sometimes complain that foreign capital is not forthcoming but, to my mind, the reason for this is the lack of a soundly conceived development plan, ready for financing. Successful national planning is always essential for inviting foreign capital.

The point raised by the Director-General with regard to the general problem of manpower is worth noting. We have yet to see the I.L.O. solve this problem successfully and meet the difficulties faced by the countries

concerned. Its solution will ultimately lead to an increase in productivity and the creation of circumstances favourable for economic development. It has been rightly stated by the Director-General in his Report that migration has raised a complication in the manpower problem. The circumstances in our country are somewhat different, of course, from those that have been mentioned by him, for example in Italy, in Austria and in the Federal Republic of Germany. So far as Pakistan is concerned, the migration of skilled workers from industrial areas to agricultural areas and of agricultural workers to industrial areas has placed a heavy strain on its employment service.

The economy of Pakistan, which is based on agriculture, including food crops and industrial raw materials, does not stand on the same footing as other highly industrialised countries of the world. As in other agricultural countries, the problem of surplus agricultural labour always exists in Pakistan. In this connection, I should like to mention our appreciation of the Director-General's observations concerning the importance of co-operation in meeting this problem. Co-operative organisation always protects the people against the evils of the competition of large-scale industries. How this system of co-operation has met the problems can be judged by the valuable and efficient work of the co-operative societies of Great Britain, the co-operative industrial societies of France, and the co-operative institutions in Japan. It is gratifying to note that the I.L.O.'s experts on co-operatives are making every effort to develop the system of co-operation in the underdeveloped countries.

I should like to say in closing that the aims of every organisation are kept at the optimum, but for their attainment it is the spirit that counts. In fulfilling our ideals it is always prudent to take a realistic point of view rather than merely to pass Convention after Convention—idealistic in nature, not always ratified by the States Members and, even if ratified, sometimes not implemented.

The solution of the problem of the underdeveloped countries is the pillar on which the structure of social welfare rests and on which the peace and prosperity of mankind depends.

Mr. J. GÜDMUNDSSON (*Government delegate, Iceland*)—In my brief speech here today I do not propose to comment upon any specific section of the excellent Report of the Director-General or on that Report as a whole. The Director-General's Report has now come to be regarded as one of the clearest and best surveys available on international conditions, and it is indeed indispensable to anyone who wishes to have a clear conception of the extensive and varied activities in which the I.L.O. is in one way or another concerned. This year the Report is in many ways more comprehensive and more instructive than the earlier ones have been.

A person of fair intelligence does not need to attend many conferences of this Organisation or to survey the international scene for long in order to realise that the great powers are confronted by many problems with which, in spite of their wealth, their large populations

and their strength, they find great difficulty in contending. In itself, the fact of being a great power is the source of many of these problems, and for that reason the smaller nations either do not experience them at all or else experience them on a scale that makes them much more manageable.

But just as the great powers have their specific problems to contend with, because they are great and accordingly great demands are made upon them, so the very small nations have their own problems arising from their very smallness and due to the fact that as a rule relatively much more is demanded of them if they wish at all to take part in organised international work.

I would like to devote a few minutes to a brief consideration of the exceptional position of such a small country as Iceland, and in that connection to indicate some specific points which are regarded by the Icelandic Government as being important and fully deserving of attention at a conference of the International Labour Organisation.

Iceland, as is well known, is the second largest island in Europe. It has an area much greater than many a country whose population is numbered in millions, while this large island is inhabited by only 150,000 people who, under rather adverse conditions, endeavour to preserve their own national culture, language and industries. Ever since Iceland was first inhabited some eleven hundred years ago the people have lived by farming and fishing, the banks along the coasts of the country being, as everybody knows, among the richest fishing grounds and herring waters in the northern seas.

Human habitation is mainly along the coast. The farmers live with their families on widely separated farms; some also live partly by fishing, which is carried out in the spring and autumn in small boats. Some of the population live in villages or even small towns, which of course have grown up mainly where conditions are favourable for herring fishing. For this it was essential that there should be some sort of natural harbour facilities. Thus, the majority of the Icelandic people depend on farming and fishing for their livelihood although during the last few decades some industry has been growing up, the raw materials being provided in part by agriculture but in a larger measure by the fishing industry. The only notable exception is the capital of the country, where nearly one-third of the entire population now lives.

Practically all of the Icelandic manufacturing industry is still in the embryonic stage. If foreign capital were directed into the country, few things would be easier than to transform this small nation of farmers and fishermen into an industrial one. The population would then be diverted from the sparsely inhabited rural districts and small fishing villages and concentrated in a few centres affording the best conditions for large-scale manufacture, based upon the inexhaustible dynamic power latent in the rivers and waterfalls of the country and upon imported raw materials.

Much that took place in Iceland both during the last world war and in the subsequent years seems to indicate that this change

might be achieved very rapidly. But this would mean the complete destruction of the foundation on which our civilisation has been built from early times. The rural and coastal areas would be deserted. Unfortunately, as things are at present, such a development is not so very remote a possibility. During the last 20 years or so, whole parishes have been abandoned, the inhabitants having migrated to the new centres of industry and communications. One of the causes of this exodus is the excessive exploitation of the fishing grounds by the drastic gear which is now commonly used, by Icelandic and foreign vessels alike, resulting in a constantly growing impoverishment of the grounds.

The Icelandic people have their eyes fully open to the danger of this development, and they see clearly what will happen unless preventive measures are taken. This is the gravest problem with which the Icelandic people and the Icelandic Government are at present confronted, and the future of the country may depend upon its solution. In this respect it is important for Iceland to have the benefit of an understanding sympathy on the part of such international organisations as have the task of assisting and advising nations which experience difficulties in their essential industries; among these I count as first and foremost the International Labour Organisation.

It is more important for the smallest nations than for any others that in the matter of social security they should be well organised and firmly protected against both internal and external dangers. Social security is a subject that has been in the forefront of world discussion since the end of the second world war, and the I.L.O. has been prominently concerned with it.

Since 1935, when the first comprehensive Act on social security was enacted, Iceland has been building up a system of social security by means of public insurance. The whole system was revised in 1946 and may be said to have been vindicated by experience during the six years for which the new system has now been in operation. It may safely be asserted that on no account would the people of Iceland now wish to be without this system and to return to previous conditions. We have combined all the different branches of our insurance in one institution which supervises matters of social security throughout the country. Maintenance of the poor and State maintenance of the sick or crippled have moreover been co-ordinated with the public insurance system so that these two systems interlock, and no Icelandic citizen is now exposed to insecurity in the event of accident, sickness, old age, disablement, destitution or prolonged ill-health, mental or physical.

One part of the social security scheme is the public health service, *i.e.*, the prevention of illness and measures for checking diseases in their initial stages. Some articles of the Act have not yet become operative but work is steadily progressing towards this aim, which we hope to have reached by the end of 1954.

In Iceland we have no unemployment insurance and there is not much public sentiment in favour of its introduction. The

principal reason for this is that during the last ten or twelve years there has been no noteworthy unemployment in the country. However, this situation is now changing. We are now more interested in bringing about co-operation between the State and the organisations of employers and workers which would effectively preclude that there should ever be any unemployment in Iceland than in legislating on unemployment insurance.

The Icelandic Government, the National Federation of Icelandic Trade Unions and the National Federation of Icelandic Employers have recently agreed to the joint creation of a committee to investigate and advise on how to abolish such unemployment as occurs at certain times of the year in specific localities on account of the seasonal nature of both farm work and fishing. We look upon the setting-up of this committee as the first step in a concerted endeavour to end unemployment, from whatever cause it may arise.

Closely related to this is another important problem in the industrial life of Iceland which is at present strongly engaging the attention of the Government, and, I have no hesitation in adding, of the Icelandic people as a whole. This is how strikes and labour disputes may be avoided in the future without impairing the status and freedom of the organisations of workers and employers. The public desire for this has derived much strength from the fact that, except for one prolonged dispute concerning the trawler fleet, there has been practically no labour unrest in Iceland during the last ten or twelve years.

I shall not prolong my speech, but it seemed to me well to bring these matters to your attention, more with a view to calling the notice of this important Conference to some of the problems of the smallest nation represented here than to contributing anything fresh to the discussion of matters to be dealt with by the Conference. The problems of the small nations are to them just as important and just as deeply felt as are the more comprehensive problems of the bigger nations to those nations. It is therefore proper that the viewpoints of the small nations should be stated when matters are broadly discussed by the Conference. Nor must it be overlooked that the roles played by the small nations may be quite important, viewed in a wider light. It is a good deal easier for them than for the larger nations to introduce and carry out various innovations in the sphere of social and cultural matters, for they are in a better position both to obtain a complete view of the system that is being tried out on each occasion and also to ascertain its reaction upon the individual or the group it affects. They may, in fact, become centres of experimentation whose experiences in due course may become fundamental in the social sciences and so ultimately benefit the whole world.

Interpretation : Mr. SALAZAR (Government delegate, El Salvador)—The analysis of the world economic situation contained in the Director-General's Report and the chapter on social policy deserve our approval because of the care and sincerity with which the economic

aspects of the social problems facing the nations of the world have been examined.

I was particularly glad that the Director-General should have recognised that "It is not possible for all countries to advance at the same pace. Nor is it desirable that changes be introduced too rapidly, or on too wide a scale, for this may result in financial, administrative and other difficulties which endanger the new reforms and retard further development."

It is perhaps in the field of comparative labour legislation that we find such great differences of substance and degree, which thirty-three years of effort on the part of the I.L.O. have not succeeded in diminishing sufficiently to satisfy the desire of its Members for universal solutions to the basic problems of mankind.

As a citizen of a State which, in diplomatic language, is described as underdeveloped, and which is struggling fiercely to recover time lost in various social fields, I would like to call the attention of delegates to the arguments of the Director-General which I mentioned above, for, if we bear in mind the various difficulties met with by the different countries in carrying out their social and economic programmes, the decisions of this Conference will have better practical results.

An aspect which, in my view, is important in this regard, is the difference between the international policies of yesterday and today. The international policy of the democratic countries has changed considerably in recent years—fortunately in a direction more favourable to the general interests of mankind. I have left aside certain explicable tendencies towards national egoism and refer to universal co-operation. Nevertheless, the world has to bear the burden of the past and great efforts and extraordinary perseverance are needed in the new line adopted if the new tendencies are to have lasting effect and if the objects of the I.L.O. are to be fulfilled in practice.

Similarly, it will be advisable for the States Members of the I.L.O. to pattern their daily behaviour on the spirit of harmony prevailing in this Organisation, because, unfortunately, there are still cases in which the commercial policy of certain economically powerful undertakings belonging to countries of great political and military strength is aimed at maintaining in their establishments in small countries conditions of work which are an absolute denial of the principles of the I.L.O., and because, to this end, they strive to undermine the good faith of their respective Governments with false alarms in order to obtain undue and illegitimate protection. Action of this sort frequently sows poison in regions of the world which love individual and social freedom, and where this love has been the best antidote to the totalitarianism of left and right.

The democratic nations of the world should not forget for a moment that peoples do not act from purely economic motives but often for complex psychological reasons.

I draw your attention to the above considerations because, from them, concrete problems emerge which should be borne in mind. The countries which have not achieved the high economic and social levels of certain

other nations, and which are striving to do so, have to contend with very serious obstacles in their attempts at social reform, since their task is to do away with out-of-date institutions, to introduce new production techniques, new fiscal legislation, new labour and social welfare regulations and, in particular, to educate the masses in a relatively short time, in order that the reforms may have full effect. Above all, they have to overcome the resistance of powerful vested interests, both national and international, whose mentality has not developed sufficiently for them to understand the importance of the present stage of the development of mankind.

Whereas some countries are faced only with the task of maintaining for their populations a high standard of living and have at their disposal various resources, among the chief of which is a high level of general education, others have to open the paths towards social progress through a human medium in which prejudice and suspicion abound as the result of repeated disappointments at the national and international levels.

It is for this reason that my country (and probably others in the same position) has apparently not complied, to the extent anticipated, with some of the obligations arising out of the Constitution of the I.L.O. in connection with Conventions and Recommendations, despite the intention of the present Government to comply as far as possible with the decisions of the Organisation. Our Government hopes to implement shortly a programme of economic and social development in harmony with the ideals and decisions of this international institution. The efforts we have made in this connection and their comparative success are obvious to any impartial observer, and we shall soon be submitting to our legislature, for ratification, some of the Conventions adopted at previous sessions of the Conference.

Nevertheless—and this may be true of other States Members—new regulations in the economic and labour fields have to be introduced in my country with great caution, not only for the reasons mentioned above but also because of the peculiar resistance of vested interests in the Latin American countries and because this resistance is particularly serious at the present stage, coinciding, as it does, with another sort of resistance of foreign origin, which is encouraged and directed with a view to the destruction of democratic systems in the political, economic and social fields.

Our country is introducing a programme of social revolution of a peaceful, democratic nature, of which the principle of freedom is the guiding light. We consider that only in an atmosphere of freedom is it possible to know, guide and realise the wishes of the people. Our Government uses compulsion as little as possible and only to guarantee the Constitution and the legislative provisions which are introduced in order that justice may be achieved in an orderly fashion. We cannot, should not, and do not wish to force events. In the labour and financial field we are striving to consolidate our progress towards social justice without permitting the changes introduced to weaken our economic strength. We do not wish to rush ahead too quickly lest the desire of

our nation for social justice should be resolved into legal theories which cannot be given practical effect.

This policy of our Government means fighting on two fronts against two extremes. We believe, with the majority of our people, that the middle path is the right one and the only one that will lead us to true social peace, without which the general welfare of all countries in the world cannot be achieved.

I hope that you will bear with the long references that I have made to my own country, but I have found no other means of explaining our position to this Organisation and I believe that our experience may be of value to other States Members which have reached a stage of social development similar to our own.

I would like to express once more the gratitude of my Government to the Director-General for the valuable aid given to us by the Office within the framework of the technical assistance programme, particularly by sending Mrs. Marguerite Thibert to my country. Her interesting survey of labour conditions in El Salvador is proving of great use to us.

Mr. BOCKETT (*Government delegate, New Zealand*)—The Director-General is once again to be congratulated on placing before the Conference a Report which is courageously constructive. He has laid special emphasis on the need for countries to look further ahead than immediate problems; to anticipate the needs of the future; and to prepare themselves to meet practical problems which may arise within a few years if present international tension eases, as well as to meet various problems which are already with us.

While there are many grounds for pessimism in the present world situation we can nevertheless remind ourselves that problems of international peace and well-being are being tackled at a more fundamental level today than ever before. They are being tackled with greater realism and with a much improved knowledge of their dimensions and characteristics. There is a slow but encouraging growth of machinery or organisation capable of effective action.

One of the important, though less tangible, aspects of this growth lies in the widening acceptance of improved patterns of thought and behaviour. I can illustrate this from our own industrial experience in New Zealand. For many years now—since 1894 in fact—we have had a national system of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. This system has grown with our industrial development, reshaping itself in this or that aspect the better to meet the characteristics of our industrial activities and organisations. Certainly we still have industrial disturbances but—and this is the important point—the overwhelming majority of our workers and employers have developed a law-abiding way of industrial life. The very existence of a standard lawful procedure in industrial disputes through several generations has engendered a law-abiding pattern of thought and behaviour when industrial disputes arise. There are still defections from this way of industrial life, but if and when they amount to any significant

challenge to it we find workers and employers rallying strongly in defence of it.

In its first years the system of conciliation and arbitration was criticised and attacked from both sides. There were times when it appeared to be so ineffective in the eyes of one side or both sides as to raise suggestions that it should be abandoned. Despite these recurring discontents the broad principle of following a clearly defined and law-abiding process continued to establish itself in the community as a whole until it became an accepted part of our way of life.

The most encouraging feature of the activities of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the many other international agencies now existing is the evidence of a growing acceptance of their procedures as a fundamental characteristic of an international way of life. Despite criticisms, limitations and occasional failures, their persisting existence is in itself maintaining a pattern of procedure which is slowly becoming integrated into the way of life of people and nations. The peoples of the world are increasingly beginning to think of their problems against an international background. Because of the practical level at which international organisations are working, that background is gaining in reality and in nearness to the ordinary man and woman. The Director-General's Report is a good indication of how this link in human understanding is being forged at the level of the problems directly affecting ordinary people throughout the world.

The Report rightly emphasises the need to achieve increased productivity in underdeveloped countries, and I am pleased to say that under the Colombo Plan New Zealand is giving assistance in a practical form to the nations of South and South-East Asia. We are particularly happy to be assisting a steady stream of students and experts to come to New Zealand for study in fields in which we are particularly advanced; also, to the very limited extent to which we can spare them, we have been pleased to send our own experts in these fields overseas to assist and advise other countries. At the present moment we have eight of our experts absent from New Zealand on such missions and 47 experts and students in New Zealand from other countries in the South and South-East Asian region studying livestock improvement, soil fertility research, civil engineering, health services and other matters of special relevance to the countries of the region.

In New Zealand we are fortunate to have had no unemployment problem since 1939. The considerable seasonal movements of labour, inescapable in a country mainly dependent on farming and related activities, are facilitated by the National Employment Service, administered by the Department of Labour and Employment. The combined result of a general shortage of labour in the construction and manufacturing and servicing industries, the effective placing activities of the Employment Service, and the co-ordination of public works programmes with labour availability, has enabled us each year to avoid any appreciable unemployment even in the areas most affected by seasonal activities.

In common with many other countries, however, we have the problem of attaining increased productivity. Our *per capita* productivity is high (Colin Clark, in his international studies of productivity, places New Zealand very near the top), but this is due largely to the great productivity of our farming and of our food-processing industries. In other industries we have problems which are not unusual in small and geographically remote populations—the problems of preponderantly small and widely scattered industries servicing mainly local communities. We also have a high proportion of hazardous industries in a country which is particularly dependent on sea transport and where such industries as logging, saw-milling, mining and meat works are specially important.

We are expanding and invigorating our accident prevention measures in an effort to reduce industrial accidents and thereby reduce the considerable loss of production arising out of accidents. In particular we are developing programmes of education in safety measures, including a mobile exhibition on industrial health and safety, posters and other propaganda on safety, and increased consultation at management levels. At the same time, through the Industrial Advisory Council (which is representative of employers and workers at the national level), we are exploring possibilities for further improving industrial relations and fostering further improvements in industrial welfare and efficiency.

We have also expanded our immigration programme as much as difficulties of accommodation and transport will permit, and our population is increasing at the present time at the exceptionally high rate of some 2.5 per cent. per annum.

In these and other ways New Zealand is tackling its own problems of labour shortages and the need for increased productivity, while at the same time maintaining the advanced social measures which the country enjoys. Moreover, having regard to its size and resources, New Zealand has accepted significant responsibilities in the absorption of displaced persons, the expansion of immigration policy, and in assistance to the South and South-East Asian region under the Colombo Plan.

The Director-General has once again emphasised in his Report the importance of higher productivity. The General Assembly of the United Nations in January of this year adopted a resolution on methods to increase world productivity. I hope that the I.L.O. will continue to give a lead, in co-operation with other international organisations, in this most important field. Studies have shown that productivity depends very much upon factors which fall within the province of the I.L.O. Maximum productivity can only be achieved if employers and workers are both persuaded of its necessity and of the need for co-operating to bring it about. I believe that the I.L.O., with its tripartite structure, is particularly well fitted for the task of persuading employers and workers that it is in their common interests to go all out for higher productivity, provided that the resulting gains are equitably distributed. I believe, too, that the I.L.O. is particularly well fitted to give technical advice and as-

sistance, especially through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, regarding the actual techniques that can be adopted at the workshop level to raise productivity.

In conclusion I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating the Director-General and his staff for the very efficient arrangements that have been made for the conduct of this Conference.

Mr. LATIFI (*Government delegate, Afghanistan*)—I have the honour today of addressing this distinguished gathering on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan. The great assistance rendered to my country by the International Labour Organisation has proved very useful and the International Labour Conference, through the measures recommended every year, has been of great help to us.

I take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the Director-General for his eloquent and comprehensive Report. On the one hand, it reviews the most striking world events; on the other hand, it analytically covers all the fields of human activities in such a precise and informative manner that it will guide us in our work of social reform.

I am very glad to inform the Conference that, despite the great obstacles resulting from the low standard of living of our population, the dispersal of the people between inaccessible mountains, the vast area of the country and, finally, the dissimilar conditions of life in different regions, my Government has made every possible effort to promote the social welfare of the people.

The Labour and Employment Act, ratified by the Afghan Parliament in January 1945, is considered to be an invaluable document in securing the social security of the workers. This Act embodies rules determining the rights and obligations of employers and employees, working conditions, relations between employers and apprentices, apprenticeship contracts and methods of cancellation, preventive measures against fire, working regulations, the maintenance of good health and proper sanitary measures in places of work, workshops and factories. As a whole these rules are considered adequate under the prevailing economic and social conditions of the country, in so far as they set forth clearly the rights and obligations of the parties concerned and assure the necessary protection to the working classes of the nation.

Afghanistan, like most of the underdeveloped areas, has remained an agricultural country, and modern industries have only recently been set up. The greater part of the population being employed in agriculture, the industries in the present circumstances cannot absorb a large proportion of the workers. A number of industries recently set up in different parts of the country seriously apply the provisions of the Labour and Employment Act. At the beginning the factories were owned and managed by the Government, because private persons could not risk their capital in the early stages of industrial development. The Government, being the *entrepreneur* and the inspector at the same time, earnestly applied the regulations of the Labour and Employment Act to the relevant cases. When private

enterprises began to pay attention to industry and to invest capital in the factories, they began to prosper and, observing the provisions of the Labour and Employment Act, are growing in scope and productivity.

The companies and corporations, in establishing co-operatives and hospitals and in building houses for the families of the workers, have made every effort necessary to secure the social welfare of this class of the population. Moreover, the free institutions established by the Government everywhere for the use of every person, such as primary schools and hospitals, render valuable services in the assurance of better health and education of the families of the working classes.

In order to carry out labour inspection and obtain information concerning the application of the provisions of the Labour and Employment Act an authorised mission, consisting of officials of the Labour Department and the Department of Industries of the Ministry of National Economy, visits every manufacturer and factory annually, investigating the conditions of the workers and the relations between employers and employees and reporting the results to the authorities.

Similarly, employees who complain to the Department of Labour of the non-application by the employers of the provisions of the Labour and Employment Act are welcomed and earnest efforts are made to give them satisfaction.

The other important step taken by my Government for the social welfare of the workers is the payment of compensation for workers who suffer a loss of working hours. Taking into account the underdeveloped condition of my country, the application of this principle faces certain difficulties, which are, however, experienced in the earlier stages of industrial development in every country.

At any rate, I am very glad to have been of some use to the workers of my country and to assure you that I have discharged my duty—relatively, of course—under the general guidance of the International Labour Organisation. What has been done so far, however, cannot be compared with what we shall do in the future, and this will be achieved under the guidance of the I.L.O.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Haarløv (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Solari Mr. Espejo	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Bergenström Mr. Sölvén
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes Mr. Molins	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Canini (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substi- tute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kameh	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substi- tute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen Mr. Alam (substitute for Mr. Dündar) Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Goulet Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Richter (substitute for Mr. Bührig)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Krier	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans Mr. Tennant (substitute for Mr. Buckland) Mr. Graham-Kerr (substi- tute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassilion Mr. Tsatsos Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stenberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Rovira (substitute for Mr. Troitiño)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substi- tute for Mr. Øksnes) Mr. Østberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Lares (substitute for Mr. Montoya) Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Ochoa
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Shastri	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Chan
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. del Pino (substitute for Mr. Cowley) Mr. Coñño	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Ghayour Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting	
		<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajm Mr. Licki	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Spengler, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Serrarens, Mr. Vanistendael, Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*), Mr. Santi (*World Federation of Trade Unions*).

EIGHTH SITTING

Friday, 13 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President: Mr. de Segadas Vianna*THIRD REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I call on Mr. Kaufmann, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the Third Report of the Credentials Committee, which is the first item on our agenda for today.

Interpretation: Mr. KAUFMANN (*Government delegate, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee*)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the Third Report of the Credentials Committee.

This report, like the previous two reports, was adopted unanimously by the members of the Committee. Accordingly, I have the honour to ask the Conference to take note of this report.

Interpretation: Mr. QUATREPOINT (*Workers' adviser, France*)—As representative of an organisation affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, to which "Sobsi" also belongs, I should like to give some information to the Conference on the protest of this organisation against the appointment of the Indonesian Workers' delegate. We regret profoundly that the Indonesian Government should have neglected to apply the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution, which are clear enough. It would have been interesting, moreover, for us to have had additional information on the relations between the various trade unions in Indonesia. It is common knowledge—and the Indonesian Government itself has recognised the fact—that not only is the "Sobsi" the most representative trade union organisation but it is the only representative trade union organisation in Indonesia.

Furthermore, we must draw the Conference's attention to the fact that throughout the month of May governmental consultations

made it appear probable that a representative of "Sobsi" would be appointed as the Workers' delegate to the Conference. It was only during the last days of May that the unexpected and surprising decision that you know of was taken. We therefore wish to draw the attention of the Conference and of the Indonesian Government to the need for respecting the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and for taking the measures necessary to allow the only representative trade union organisation of Indonesia to take its rightful place in this Conference.

In conclusion, I should be very grateful to the Government delegate of Indonesia if he would be good enough to give us some information on the case which we have before us.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—There are no other speakers, and the Conference will take note of the Third Report of the Credentials Committee. I thank Mr. Kaufmann for presenting his report.

(The Third Report of the Credentials Committee is noted.)

SIXTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We shall now consider the Sixth Report of the Selection Committee. I would request Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Committee, to place this report before you.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Sixth Report of the Selection Committee be adopted.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, the Sixth Report of the Selection Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

¹ See Third Part, Appendix I.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now resume the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. MACLEAN (*Government delegate, Canada*)—The receipt of the Director-General's Report serves each year as an occasion for re-examining events within our own country in terms of his broad international perspective. As we turn the pages we are able to judge our progress in comparison with the international advance towards the goals we set for ourselves at earlier sessions of the Conference.

Such examination brings home the point, which the Director-General himself makes in this year's Report, that the means by which social betterment is sought will vary in the different countries. There are variations in philosophy—for example, as to the degree of activity in social and economic affairs that is proper for Government authorities—and also, of course, variations in the techniques to be employed for reaching particular objectives.

Whatever our philosophies or methods, there is encouraging truth in the Director-General's observation that most countries have, in recent years, made greater efforts towards social improvement than ever before in their histories.

Since there was never a greater need for mutual understanding among the nations of the world, it is well to recognise the extent to which the principal social objectives are shared.

The role of the I.L.O. in furthering understanding of these common objectives, as well as helping in their attainment, is widely recognised, and interest in its activities is being increasingly displayed in my own country.

I should like to review briefly some of the events of the past few years in Canada, which reflect, I believe, some fairly substantial progress towards the attainment of economic and social goals, following which I should like to comment on some factors in industrial relations which are shaping our attitude towards our industrial future and our international responsibilities.

In Canada, as in most countries, the post-war economic let-down anticipated by some did not materialise; instead we have had a period of continuous industrial expansion. Such a period has been favourable for the improvement of labour-management relations and for the improvement of labour standards.

While Canada has not escaped the inflationary pressures of the post-war years, it would appear that labour's earnings have more than kept pace with the rise in prices. Certainly the general standard of living has risen. Labour has also, in most industries, enjoyed a gradual reduction in weekly hours of work. Workers have also gained more leisure time through an increase in the number of paid statutory holidays, and longer annual vacations with pay.

Nevertheless, over this same period, production has increased substantially. We believe this combination of higher labour standards and higher production is significant.

There has been increasing recognition that pursuit of either one does not rule out achievement of the other. Labour has become more aware of the importance of high productivity as the essential source of labour gains; on the other hand, employers have become more ready to emphasise such benefits as an objective of industrial policy.

The general improvement in working conditions is a source of satisfaction not only to labour but to employers as well. It is natural that labour gives considerable credit for its improved standards to the efforts of trade unions, whose widespread acceptance by Canadian industrial workers has been a comparatively recent development, dating largely from the war and early post-war years. Through the development of seniority systems and grievance procedures, they have helped to give their members a feeling of collective security in their relations with their employer. This security, combined with the continuity of employment that has resulted from the favourable conditions of the post-war years, has given many workers a stronger feeling of confidence in their economic future, and in the systems and procedures which maintain their economy. This feeling is fostered by Government services providing educational and training opportunities, a national employment service, unemployment insurance, old-age and other social security benefits.

Employers also have contributed to this feeling of confidence by their general support of the principle of employment stability and the business initiative which contributes to its achievement, by their support of collective bargaining principles and generally in their attitude of meeting labour fairly in their contract negotiations.

The years to come will show us how justified this confidence may be. The future is not without its hazards. The Director General has warned us, for example, of the imminent possibility of economic danger resulting from a deficiency of demand. It is conceivable that Governments may shortly be faced with more imposing problems than have arisen so far in the post-war years in fulfilling the employment pledges they have made in this and other international bodies. Like other countries, Canada has developed techniques that we believe have strengthened our ability to cope with the dislocations that periodically arise.

A second hazard that must be considered is the danger that potential economic gains may be dissipated in industrial strife. With this in mind, it is worth while examining the trend of labour-management relations over the past few years. In my own country I believe that such an examination leads to conclusions that are encouraging.

There is evidence that many employers and unions are improving their ability to work together. This does not mean, I suppose, an end to industrial conflict in Canada. Differences of opinion will inevitably continue and will be thrashed out in collective bargaining, conciliation procedures and sometimes strikes. But what it does mean is that industrial relations are taking on a more orderly pattern. The fact that labour has established a firmer place in the community helps to foster the

sense of responsibility that is a prerequisite of good industrial relations. Both management and labour are growing in their ability to see one another's point of view. Their relations are increasingly based on confidence in one another's good faith. While bargaining shrewdly they are finding it possible to work out arrangements that are in the interests of both sides, with due regard to the interests of the community.

The subject of labour-management co-operation is on the agenda of the present Conference. There is an increasing interest in this question in Canada, as regards the conditions that make for harmonious and good productivity within the enterprise. It is becoming more widely recognised that economic incentives are only part of the answer, that there is a rich field of research into problems of motivation and morale. Without anything in the nature of legislative coercion my Government has for several years been sponsoring labour-management production committees, which have had some considerable success in establishments where the employer and union have given them full support.

There is an idea here, I believe, that offers hope to all of us, and perhaps particularly to the workers in underdeveloped countries—that is, that where labour is secure in its relationship with management, and where both sides make a wholehearted effort to co-operate in matters in which they have a common interest in co-operating, namely, in the welfare and efficiency of the industrial undertaking, a situation may develop in which human dignity is enhanced, and the individual worker finds an outlet for the resourcefulness and creative spirit which man has used through the centuries in his conquest of the elements. Recognition of the validity of this idea does not diminish the number, the intensity or the complexity of our labour and industrial problems. But it supplies the atmosphere in which the answers to these problems may be most effectively sought.

The technical achievements and skills that result are what the I.L.O., through its assistance programme, is seeking to disseminate, to be adapted as appropriate to the particular needs of the recipient countries. I am sure that equal attention will be paid to the development of good industrial relations.

I referred earlier to the varying means by which different countries approach desirable social objectives. In the field of industrial relations these differences are perhaps particularly conspicuous. That this should be so is natural, partly as a result of economic differences, partly as a result of differences in the respective strengths of labour and management, and partly as a result of cultural or philosophical differences. A Government's attitude to industrial relations may also change to meet a changing situation.

So far as Canada is concerned, our present position is based on the premise that the best answers to labour-management problems can be worked out by the parties themselves, and that by and large the solutions they find are likely to match the broader needs of the community. With this in mind, it has been our objective to establish conditions favourable to the

development, by the parties themselves, of a sound working relationship.

Our policy is not to over-regulate but to establish the basic conditions of freedom of association and the obligation to bargain collectively. But the essence of our labour relations legislation is that it seeks to avoid imposing solutions on the parties. Its purpose is to help the parties to come together and to work out their own solutions—in other words, to make collective bargaining work. While this means that, for the most part, the Government stays out of such matters as wage determination, nevertheless it has an important role to play in the setting of minimum standards. The actual conditions of most of our workers are well above the minimum set by legislation. They are set by labour and management themselves, through collective bargaining.

This does not mean that constant attention is not being paid to legislation. Each year brings some advances in the standards set by labour legislation, and the past year has been no exception. The recent sessions of the provincial legislatures were particularly noteworthy for the enactment of measures providing for increased compensation to injured workmen and their dependants and for financial assistance to other groups in the community with limited financial resources and little or no means of earning a livelihood.

All these legislative and administrative developments are in accord with the objectives of the I.L.O.

We appreciate the work the I.L.O. has done over past decades in developing international standards for labour legislation. But we welcome all the more the new role of the I.L.O.—that of fostering the productive efficiency of underdeveloped countries. This is one of the great tasks of our time. The Director-General in his Report has wisely stressed the difficulties as well as the accomplishments. We all knew that there would be difficulties, that there would be frustrations. There have been many sceptics, but the important thing is that even on a small scale the programme is beginning to show good results. I agree entirely with the Director-General's contention that the success of the technical assistance projects, with their strong human element, cannot be measured in statistical terms. Maintaining the cautious yet positive attitude reflected in his Report, and advancing no faster than is warranted by the conditions applying to each particular project, let the Director-General proceed.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Mr. Cassimatis, Minister of Labour of Greece, who is honouring this Conference with his presence.

Interpretation: Mr. CASSIMATIS (*Minister of Labour, Greece*)—I confess that I feel some emotion in coming to this rostrum. Sixteen years ago, as a young university professor and Secretary of State for Labour, I came to Geneva to take part in the work of the 20th Session of the Conference, with all the enthusiasm of my 30 years, with full faith in the future of the world and confidence in the wisdom of man. At that time I was very

exacting, both for myself and for others. I said during that session of the Conference, which at that time met on the left bank of the lake : " Social progress is not an empty expression ; thanks to the action of the international organisations and particularly of the International Labour Office, it is taking on from day to day a more rapid rhythm and a broader meaning.

" What was regarded yesterday as Utopian has now become a reality, without giving rise to the dangers which may attend any bold reform. Social progress introduces into the realm of social law social phenomena which previously belonged only to the realm of facts.

" The facts upset the principles and invade the domains which were forbidden to them. First of all, one seeks solutions enabling the new forms to be adapted to the mould of the old system ; then these subtle compromises develop, and form the basis of modern construction."

Since 1936 many things have changed ; it is rather difficult now to have the same hopes as we had then. A cataclysm has passed over the world and the buildings of progress have served meanwhile as concentration camps where we have had some time to reflect on our illusions of yesterday. Peace is becoming more and more a distant ideal, and the wisdom of men—well, it is better not to mention that.

Nevertheless, the history of the world is a continual march towards liberty—human liberty, political liberty, racial liberty, liberty of faith and social liberty. These are just so many stages towards the complete freedom of man from prejudices, and if we have not succeeded completely in establishing the various forms of liberty, that is because it is very much easier to revolt against the obstacles to liberty than to organise liberty itself. Liberty is not negative. The negation of servitude by the violent reactions to which it leads is easy. But liberty is more than that : it is a way of life, and that way of life is difficult to organise, to infuse into the soul of peoples and to protect against the dangers which threaten its every step.

Social justice is the modern form of liberty. I should like to pay tribute to the Director-General of the I.L.O. for having in his excellent Report this year drawn attention, by the penetrating analysis of economic and social facts, to the need to pursue and intensify the I.L.O.'s work of organising social justice in the world. Because although there are countless reasons for being sceptical about the future of our civilisation there is at least one form of progress which I think is essential to the building of a better world, and that is that the religion of social justice no longer belongs to a particular régime but is the common basis of our civilisation. The fact that even those who in their hearts feel that the world got on very well under the régimes of economic and social exploitation of man by the privileged no longer dare to proclaim publicly that fact ; the fact that social justice has been on many occasions a theme of propaganda for great empires which are by their nature imperialistic—these facts are striking proof that the universal conscience no longer tolerates the exploitation of man by man and aspires to progress and justice.

These aspirations, which imply a fight against inequality, which are the denial of that cruel law, are, in positive terms, translated into the following principles : equality of opportunity for all to obtain a better life through technical education of peoples and of persons who are capable of progress ; protection of the health of the workers ; freedom to claim, and if necessary, to receive assistance in obtaining, a right to a better distribution of the social income ; social security for individuals ; and economic solidarity between peoples, guaranteeing to the poorer countries their existence and opportunities for competing with the others on an equal footing. So many tasks for the I.L.O. ; so many tasks for men of goodwill throughout the world !

For men of goodwill now realise that the world has passed beyond the mystical stage, whether it was theocratic or individualist, into the social era. This is no time to proclaim with Péguy that poverty is a form of grandeur so great that other human grandeurs are small in comparison. Poverty is a social enemy and the struggle against poverty, the freeing of the peoples from the fear of poverty, is the first of our tasks. It can be carried out by organising the economy and by developing social progress.

The present economic situation of the world presents symptoms which we must examine carefully. The fate of the workers depends on this very largely. Since the second world war, many things, even principles, have changed. Between the two wars we thought that economic ideologies could be divided into two groups : those which proclaimed freedom of economic action for the individual and those which believed in the intervention of the State to regulate the economic activity of the nation. Since the second world war this distinction has lost almost all its substance and has remained a slogan which some political parties adopt as a remembrance of the past. The same country under the same Government is obliged sometimes to follow the one policy and sometimes the other. The country most typical of free enterprise, the United States of America, for instance, is now regulating prices, freezing wages and requisitioning factories, and while this provokes some reaction on the part of the men of law, who are strong in the force of their tradition, it nevertheless transforms the ways of thought of the whole people and establishes more firmly the principle, the only one that can be held by a modern State, that State intervention and freedom are only methods, and not ideologies, the one as good as the other when they serve the interests of the people and of social progress.

This truth has appeared particularly clearly in France lately, when the Government, after trying to apply a policy which it considered would benefit the country, based on the free consent of the persons concerned, has now threatened to take coercive measures against producers who will not of their own accord give up some of their margin of profit, which is in fact a guarantee against the revaluation of the currency which the owning classes apprehend—if at times, indeed, they do not hope for it, as a means of getting quit of their debts.

The economic drama of Europe is illustrated by what is happening in France and it is fortunate that by chance the acute phase through which that country is passing has coincided with the 35th Session of this Conference. The fate of the workers is not only a function of the relations which they have been able to establish with the employers, or of the guarantees which international and domestic legislation has established for their protection. In periods of economic stability that may be so, but who can hope for economic stability in these troubled times of the cold war? It is great progress even that the cyclical movement of the economic system has been to some extent controlled and depressions avoided by our great capacity for readjustment, which has been shown by the United States in particular. I think that one of the most important features of our time is that spirit of understanding, that agreement between economic and social factors that employers and workers have, with few exceptions, shown in the United States, demonstrating that the welfare of the workers is the first factor not only in social stability but also in economic development.

The evil is primarily psychological. We have seen a serious fall in the prices of raw materials. After a steep rise following on the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, people are becoming accustomed to permanent tension and economic conditions are becoming more normal. The fall in prices of raw materials, however, has not affected retail prices, and the workers are showing themselves more and more hostile to an analogous restriction of wages. In Belgium the workers have successfully resisted this tendency; and the discussions that have taken place in France concerning the sliding scale confirm this observation. The phenomenon appears also in countries where unemployment is rife and threatens to spread further.

The economic laws preached by economists have been overthrown by the force of facts, because the state of anxiety has not been dissipated and the various social classes have refused to give up their acquired rights in order to be the first to pay for an operation of which the success is not yet certain.

But there are times when some factor must intervene to regulate economic and social life, and that factor is the State. It is not only capital and labour that have interests in economic life; the interests of the community as a whole must be protected. This third force of social life is nearer to the workers than to capital, but it is also wider than both and includes various classes of the population who cannot be classified in one or the other category. Between capital and labour a struggle is permissible; what is not allowed is an alliance of capital and labour against society.

Every advantage gained by labour from capital makes for peace and social progress; but if the advantage is at the expense not of capital but of the community as a whole, the result will be not progress but poverty.

The resistance to wage reductions is, therefore, comprehensible. There is no limit to the possibilities of betterment of the working class. What is more difficult to explain is the

resistance of capital, whether it be of wholesalers or of retailers, to the fall in prices of raw materials and manufactured goods. Resistance to the fall in prices will lead to inflation, which has never been profitable to capitalists on a medium scale, who are not burdened with large debts. In a period when free competition is checked by trade barriers, exchange restrictions and military preparations, the function of regulating prices and of restricting excessive profits—normally performed by free competition, which protects the community—must be assumed by the State. The doctrine of the improvement of purchasing power consists in this function on the part of competition, but it must be taken on if necessary by the State. We hear too often the argument for the justification of the maintenance of high prices—that goods are scarce and that demand is increasing. This is in most cases incorrect. Never has the purchasing power of the masses fallen so low, never has the pressure of demand been so weak.

The Greek Parliament has recently adopted a new law based on these principles. At the 20th Session of the International Labour Conference the then Minister of Labour announced that he had introduced into the national legislation a system of collective agreements and the arbitration of labour disputes. This task has just been completed by the Greek Parliament promulgating the Act No. 2053, which organises a tripartite commission to examine workers' claims not from the standpoint of social justice alone but also from the economic standpoint. Justice requires the establishment of minimum wages, but economic conditions must also be considered so that there shall not be unfortunate effects on consumption. Control of costs and of profits is therefore necessary. Wages must not be frozen. The State has not the right to fix wages itself; its only right is to prevent wages from having an adverse effect on consumption, and to control the situation in order to ensure justice and social peace.

I think that this Act will enable us to improve the lot of the workers and to institute a real control of prices. I do not know if the world, and particularly Europe, will manage to overcome, by means of the lowering of prices, that psychosis which today is preventing economic conditions from becoming normal. The eyes of the world are directed towards the economies which are going through a period of great experiment. I refer particularly to the United Kingdom, which has carried out a structural revolution of historical importance by peaceful means and is making a great effort to take its place as the pathfinder in world economy; the next few months will be decisive. But I am sure that it is by means of measures such as those which have been taken in Greece and to which I have referred that wages, prices and the interests of the community can best be consolidated on a durable basis.

Contemporary social policy must be built on two main foundations; the one human and humanitarian, the other economic. The first lays down minimum standards for the conditions of work of the workers, and the other optimum standards—the rules that must be

applied so that the worker shall not stick selfishly to his personal interests or class aspirations but become an essential and responsible factor in the economic system of his country. The exclusively humanitarian aspect of social policy is now a thing of the past. The class struggle cannot proceed on peaceful lines unless economic life is so organised as to enable the workers to assume their proper responsibility towards the nation as a whole.

This is a new task for the I.L.O. The Organisation can be proud that it has managed to lay down the standards for an international labour code. Nobody appreciates this work more than I myself, and the proof is that, on my recommendation, the Parliament of my country has just ratified six Conventions and is in process of ratifying 19 more. My country also showed its ideological attachment to the work of the I.L.O. by ratifying, in the first years of the life of the Organisation, Conventions which had very serious effects on its economy and which many other richer and stronger countries ratified only with reservations which, even today, make it possible for them to apply the Conventions only partially. One example is the 1919 Convention concerning hours of work. The Conventions which Greece has ratified have really been applied. The very last part of the Convention concerning hours of work, that relating to railwaymen, is now in process of being applied, on the proposal of the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Communications. The Council of Ministers has approved the necessary Decree and the Chief Executive has signed it, and very soon it will be published in the Official Journal. The difficulties which arose were due to the fact that this Decree places new charges of 600,000 dollars a year on the budget of the State, that is to say of the community, because railways are State undertakings.

Greece and its Ministry of Labour, therefore, are not last in appreciating the work which the I.L.O. has carried out so far. But, as Mr. Ramadier said in his speech, the stream is flowing on, the stream of social progress which sometimes advances outside the International Labour Organisation but which, in the interest of the peoples and of the peace of the world, should proceed from the I.L.O. Social progress, when it goes beyond the humanitarian stage, becomes international by its very nature. Economic balance is achieved between the countries today not by uniformity but by differentiation in the various economies. For instance, raw materials which are found in one country and not in another favour the development of certain industries which cannot survive elsewhere. Nobody has ever thought that all industries should be established everywhere without taking account of special conditions. Similarly the various economies cannot be burdened with social charges—called social charges but in reality purely economic—which would condemn them to extermination, to the profit of other competitive economies. It is in fact inadmissible that through the medium of international labour Conventions the rich and well-organised countries should economically dominate the poor and underdeveloped countries. To prevent any misunderstanding, I would like to emphasise again that this is

true when the humanitarian stage has passed, when minimum standards of security and welfare have been applied and when a minimum standard exists without which no economy can claim the right to exist. When the humanitarian phase is reached unity is achieved through uniformity; when one passes to the economic phase unity imposes differentiation. I pointed this out to my British and Scandinavian colleagues at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg two years ago, when I saw that they were afraid of the Union of Europe because they thought that their fine social achievements would be endangered by uniformity imposed in a united Europe. But, on the contrary, it is the differentiation of economies that guarantees progress, because that needs a greater effort which ultimately will raise the standard of living of the masses.

The modern world has understood this truth and the fact that productivity is the key to the economic philosophy of our time. It is for the I.L.O. now to deal with the question more thoroughly. Its enquiry into methods of remuneration based on productivity is the first step in this direction. Having established the principle of a minimum wage internationally by international labour Conventions—due, it must be recognised and proclaimed, to the strength of the workers' movement and its organisation—we must now obtain the greatest possible productivity to enable living conditions to be improved, having regard to the fact that there is no limit to the progress of the masses towards a better future. To this end we must also develop the technical education of the workers. Questions of climate, training, management staff and economic development particular to each country must also be taken into account. Obviously it is impossible to apply the same standards to highly industrialised countries and to underdeveloped countries, and I am glad to find this idea stressed in the resolution presented by the Yugoslav Government, which I support.

These are new tasks which lie before the Conference, tasks which it must face if it does not want the stream of progress to be muddied, as Mr. Ramadier said, and, if it is not to waste the opportunity offered by these annual meetings, allowing them to become as alike as two drops of water and to lose almost all significance.

These are not the only tasks of the I.L.O. Another draft resolution, which has been submitted by Messrs. Jouhaux, Delaney and other of their worker colleagues, raises the question of freedom of association. I have never concealed the fact that I believe in the redemptive action of the trade unions; I will even dare to say, in their revolutionary function. I think that it is because trade unionism began on the lines laid down by Sorel that it has established its rights to exist in the contemporary world. It has even, in the same way, transformed the notion of social revolution. It is no longer by revolutions but by agreements that the rights of the workers are established. Tripartite negotiations have replaced revolts, as strikes should be replaced by arbitration. In order to preserve its freedom and its character, it would be better for trade unions to be independent of all political parties,

to represent all tendencies and to be guided only by the interest and sense of responsibility of the workers as factors in social life today. This would mean returning to an idea which was put forward half a century ago by Paul-Boncour, but which has, unfortunately, been profaned by fascism and has therefore become suspect: the idea of the obligatory trade union free to make its own decisions and democratic in its constitution. The citizen is not asked whether he wants to become part of the political community and the worker should not be asked whether he wishes to become part of the trade union community. Trade union unity based on the quality of worker would solve many questions and particularly the great legal question of the strike, which would become the result of a democratic vote of the majority of workers concerned in a trade and not a matter of tactics on the part of the leaders. When the majority in an occupation is sunk in bitterness, there is no room for discussion. As Mirabeau said, "When everyone is wrong, everyone is right". That is not the case with scattered trade unionism.

But as trade unionism has followed another path and in many countries it has allied itself with political forces, all measures must be taken to preserve trade union freedom from any interference on the part of the Government of its own or of another country. I therefore support the draft resolution to which I have referred and the Greek Government delegation will vote for it. It is in the same order of ideas that in my own country, ever since I have been Minister of Labour, I have clearly defined the Government's policy, that is to say, no interference in the trade union movement, no attack on freedom of association, and no preference to any persons or associations. The direct consequence of this policy is that we have introduced a law to ratify Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, concerning freedom of association and collective bargaining, and Parliament will, no doubt, ratify these Conventions very soon.

I do not want to take up too much of your time on other aspects of the new tasks with which the I.L.O. is faced. I am sure that the excellent team which directs the work of the Office has already studied and prepared its plans. Difficult tasks such as the methodical organisation of social progress require constant renewal. You know the anecdote about the American trade unionist who, having received a wage increase, was asked what else he wanted: he replied "More". Social progress is just like that American trade unionist. The end is never reached.

Perhaps in this way we shall some day be able to answer in the affirmative Tennyson's query:

"After all the stormy changes
shall we see a changeless May?
After madness, after massacre,
Jacobinism and *jacquerie*...
Earth at last a warless world,
a single race, a single tongue..."

Mr. OKA (*Workers' delegate, Japan*) speaks in Japanese.

Interpretation: Mr. OKA (*Workers' delegate, Japan*)—On behalf of all the workers of

Japan, I wish to express my deepest gratitude for the understanding and co-operation shown by people all over the world in allowing Japan to send her official delegates to this International Labour Conference.

Before and during the Pacific War the workers of Japan were regarded as nothing but a war potential, or manpower which constituted that war potential. As a result of the defeat and the subsequent occupation of Japan by the Allied Powers, the workers came to know that manpower has basic human and democratic rights. Until that time the Labour movement in Japan had constantly been suppressed, workers' organisations had been weakened, and, as the war continued, unions were placed under Government control; all unions became Government-controlled and no autonomous trade union organisations existed.

Japanese capitalists conspired with the army to promote long hours, overwork and low pay; thus they accumulated capital. This resulted in social dumping, and cheap Japanese goods threw the world market into the depths of terror and opened the way for the war. It is still fresh in the memory of many of you who are here today. As a result of its defeat, Japan was placed under the control of the occupying powers. Naturally we felt humiliated. What made us forget that humiliation, however, was the occupation policy which broke down the feudalistic practices then in existence and liberated the workers and the farmers.

Early in the occupation, Japanese workers were rapidly organised into trade unions, new leaders were elected, and those leaders fought bravely against the capitalists. The extreme inflation policy adopted by the Government at that time caused workers incomparable hardship and social justice fell to the ground.

The loss of 45 per cent. of its territory and 70 per cent. of its living facilities as a result of its defeat, and the sudden increase in its population, which now exceeds 80 million, caused unprecedented confusion in Japan. The loss of self-confidence by the politicians added to this confusion. The liberated communist party members took advantage of the turmoil and their agitation of the workers led eventually to the planned general strike of 1 February 1947.

General MacArthur issued an order banning the general strike and nothing serious happened. By this time, however, the democratisation tendency which had already existed in the Japanese labour movement began to gain strength, and one after another the trade unions overthrew the influence of the communists and the time was ripe for the democratic and free trade union movement to take the lead.

The Japanese Government, on the other hand, took advantage of the strike-banning order, and developed an extremely suppressive labour policy under the pretext of controlling the communists. As a first step the Government deprived national Government workers of the right to strike or conduct collective bargaining, and restricted their political rights by enacting the National Public Service Law; the Local Public Service Law for local government employees, adopted in 1950, is no less restrictive. We especially, as teachers, cannot understand such measures on the part of the

Government, which includes teachers in the category of national or local public employees and thus deprives them of the right to strike and to bargain collectively.

Furthermore, the Japanese Government has restricted almost entirely the political activities of those democratic unions which believe in social democracy and advocate the parliamentary system. Democratic unions which have fought to democratise and establish the autonomy of trade unions feel great indignation against this retrogressive Government policy based only on consideration for the benefits that will accrue to their particular political party.

Since the outbreak of the Korean war we have gradually noticed a change in the policy of the occupying powers. The necessity to control communist activities during this period led to many restrictive regulations which have also affected non-communists and, as a result, invited crisis in the democratic labour movement, the motivating power of democracy, and weakened the position of the workers.

Although the democratic trade unions, which have succeeded in taking away leadership from the communists, have united themselves in the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the living standards of the workers are still below those of pre-war years because of continuing inflation.

This year, 1952, the national budget has been increased by 280 billion yen (approximately \$700 million) for rearmament. Workers are paying 12,000 yen (approximately \$33) in taxes. This means that they are paying in taxes one-third of their annual income. Furthermore, price increases of about 55 per cent. since the outbreak of the Korean war on 25 June 1950 caused a decrease in wages of about 6 per cent. and especially in those of Government workers who, deprived of various union rights, were made to suffer wages lower by about 5 per cent. than those of workers in private industry.

In addition, the Government conducted a mass dismissal of personnel under the guise of enterprise rationalisation or administrative rationalisation. This created a vast group of unemployed workers. At the present time there are about eight million unemployed, or 9.4 per cent. of the total population, including latent unemployed. The Government has not introduced any positive counter-measure against unemployment or to alleviate the hard living conditions of most workers. Such a state of affairs should be improved rapidly, but there is no immediate prospect of any action in this connection. The recent depression in foreign trade, obstacles caused by customs duties in each country, stoppage of trade with China, and delay in developing the underdeveloped countries of South-East Asia are causing an overall depression. Therefore, Japanese capitalists are trying to find their way out of this depression by making use of the international movement towards expansion of armaments and are demanding more sacrifices from the workers.

The reason why Japanese workers are united in opposition to rearmament is because they want to protect their own livelihood. They also fear Japan's reverting to its fascist pre-war status and the resultant denial of democracy in the tide of rearmament.

The Japanese Government answers the workers' efforts to improve their economic conditions and their opposition to rearmament with further suppression. It has approved the Anti-Subversive Activities Bill, and this Bill is now before the Japanese Diet. In addition, amendments to make retrogressive revisions of the Trade Union Law, the Labour Relations Adjustment Law, the Labour Standards Law and the Public Corporation Labour Relations Law have been drafted and submitted to the Diet. The Government has also proposed an Anti-General-Strike Bill, not yet submitted.

According to the Government, the purpose of the Anti-Subversive Activities Bill is to control destructive subversive activities; thus the Government hopes to cloak its real intentions. There is definitely another reason for enacting such a law. It is to deprive the workers of freedom of thought, speech and assembly. This is what the people of Japan feel instinctively, because we all know that the existing laws are sufficient to control any destructive subversive activities. We regard this Bill as nothing but a law which "makes away with anybody who opposes the Government". Already more than 400 Japanese scholars, intellectuals and trade union organisers have indicated their opposition to this Bill. All the workers of Japan are now determined to prevent by every means the passage of the Bill. Two protest general strikes have already taken place and the Japanese workers are determined to resort, if necessary, to a third general strike. The proposed revision of the labour laws is aimed at weakening the labour movement. The main point at issue at the present time is the proposed emergency adjustment of labour disputes by the Government. Under this proposal, where the Minister of Labour deems it necessary to effect the emergency adjustment, none of the parties concerned can conduct strike action for 50 days thereafter. Suspension of strike action for 50 days means no strike. Furthermore, the provision which gives the Labour Minister authority to determine when the emergency adjustment will be undertaken in a labour dispute, gives him the right of suspending the dispute. If a labour law which respects the public interest and guarantees equal benefits to both parties is used to suppress workers it cannot be the law of a democratic country. In addition, the Anti-General-Strike Bill which is being prepared by the Government would deprive the workers of their rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

The Japanese press is not supporting such proposals on the part of the Government. A certain Japanese newspaper has attacked the Government by saying that "unemployment and poverty can only be solved by bread, and not by pistols or clubs".

The May Day riot should not be treated just as a simple riot. The Government had rejected without reason the unions' request to use the Imperial Plaza for their May Day celebration, despite the fact that the grounds had been used for May Day celebrations many times in the past. Despite a court decision to the contrary, the Government maintained its original position and refused use of the grounds.

The May Day riot arose, in one way, because of this obstinate attitude on the part of the Government. It gave a golden opportunity to the communists, who profited by it. As the Government continues its suppressive policy, the strength of the communists will be increased. However, with the recovery of Japan's sovereignty the working class of Japan has adopted a new way of thinking according to which freedom is not something that is given but something to fight for. The occupation, in its original stage, gave us many forms of freedom most of which, however, we have already lost or will shortly be deprived of. We know, however, that we should fight against these losses. At present most of the Japanese workers are united in the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo). Sohyo is now determined to conduct a third wave of general strikes on a larger scale against the reactionary proposals made by the Japanese Government and now being considered by the Japanese Diet.

Furthermore, Japanese workers wish strongly to promote peacetime industry and to promote and engage in free trade. Japan suffered a substantial loss of land and natural resources as a result of the war. The population, which, as has been said, is rapidly increasing and now numbers about 84 million is suffering from a standard of living lower than that prevailing in pre-war Japan. We expect much from the economic development plans of the United Nations and the I.L.O. At the same time we hope for the promotion of free and autonomous trade, based on economic co-operation among various countries.

It is a great honour for me to talk about the labour movement of Japan today before distinguished delegates from all over the world, and I sincerely request the support of all people who love freedom and democracy for the Japanese workers.

We Japanese workers are ready to fight with our own strength, but, at the same time, we realise that there is a limit to our ability. Not only will the weakening of the Japanese labour movement lead to unhappiness for the Japanese workers and to a setback for democracy but our sacrifice will be reflected in cheap labour and social dumping.

In closing, I hope again that wide-range international co-operation will be given to the labour movement of Japan.

Mr. KAISER (*Government delegate, United States*)—Before proceeding to my text I know you will indulge my mentioning the fact that we are greatly pleased to have with us this year Miss Frances Perkins. All of us here have had the privilege of knowing her personally, or knowing of her reputation. She is a great lady. I am sure that history will recall that she is one of the outstanding individuals of our generation. She has made great contributions in the field of labour and social progress. Many of us have already been inspired by her work, and I am sure that future generations will likewise be inspired. We do not forget that she was primarily responsible for the United States joining the International Labour Organisation. I know that you will

all share the pride of the American delegation in having her with us here this year.

I wish to compliment the Director-General upon the splendid Report that he has prepared for our study.

The Governing Body has wisely suggested, and the Director-General ably presented, a review of the operational programme of the I.L.O. There is no more important subject than this for the consideration of this Conference. The United States supports without qualification the emphasis that the I.L.O. is placing on operational activities.

All of us here—employers, workers and Governments—have a tremendous share in this programme. The opportunities and responsibilities that we share come into focus when we consider what technical assistance, a vital phase of our operational activities, means—its promise, its limitations, its concepts and its spirit.

What is the heart of technical assistance? It is co-operation—co-operation freely sought and freely given. Its aim is to help those who want to help themselves. Therein lies its strength. It rests on a base of goodwill, on an appreciation of the achievements, as well as the problems, of others, and on a recognition that each country has achievements that others can benefit from in the context of their own ideals, traditions and institutions.

No one country has a monopoly on achievement. We all have much to learn from each other. If we have the desire and the freedom to implement it—if we have political and economic institutions that permit growth and adaptation—we can apply what we learn to our own needs and circumstances. In so doing we not only strengthen our economic and social well-being and provide for more opportunity and a better life but we also enrich our culture and traditions and root more firmly and enduringly the democratic way of life.

My own country has been particularly conscious of the debt it owes to other lands. As Secretary Tobin said on this rostrum last year: "... the peoples of all nations represented at this Conference have contributed to every aspect of the development of our country. You have brought us the wealth of your culture and your traditions." It is in this spirit that technical assistance can be sought today throughout the world.

Technical assistance rests on a basis of mutual respect. It is to be used by those freely seeking help. As the Director-General has said, "... it presupposes the national effort which it seeks to aid." Technical assistance helps the free peoples of the world to help themselves to produce more, to raise their standards of living and to enjoy satisfying lives. It enables them to exchange this help in a way that permits each country to make use of the best experience of others while retaining the best of its own traditions and cultures. As such, it strengthens the foundations of democracy and buttresses the free world through social and economic progress affecting all people.

This is an aim that is set forth in the I.L.O. Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia. It recognises that the foundations of

world peace are rooted in economic and social justice.

Technical assistance through the I.L.O. is not just the concern of Governments. It is a programme of people, as well as for people. The employers and workers at this Conference will take home to the millions of people they represent all over the world the results of these I.L.O. discussions. It is these millions who will ultimately determine the part their countries can play in seeking technical assistance or making it available to others.

The voluntary nature of the programme increases the responsibilities of all the groups concerned. In countries desiring help the Government and private groups must determine the types of assistance most urgently needed and must organise to make the most effective use of the aid made available in response. Technical skills will have to be drawn in large measure from employers and workers. If the programme is to succeed employers and workers must be equally conscious with Governments of their responsibility to co-operate in providing the assistance desired.

It is necessary to recognise the limitations of technical assistance as well as its promise. It is no substitute for hard work, energy, careful planning and vision on the part of the nation that receives it. We must not hope that it will do more than we are willing to do for ourselves.

The Technical Assistance Programme is not a panacea for all our social ills. It does not promise sudden or spectacular results. And in the field of labour the results it does promise may often seem less tangible and slower in realisation than in some others.

The importance of domestic planning, organisation and action underscores a point the Director-General has made in his Report. He said: "The effective utilisation of technical assistance requires an efficient and progressive public service in the recipient country". It is in this connection that we may expect the discussion of the organisation of labour departments, which is on next year's agenda, to be most profitable and constructive. We are looking forward with great interest to that discussion. We believe that all of us can profit from it.

We believe one of the most vital aspects of technical assistance is the improvement of productivity. No nation, however prosperous or however extensive its industry, can appreciably improve the living standards of its working people without an increase in production. While equitable distribution of the product is, of course, essential, food, clothing, housing, fuel and other necessities must be produced before they can be distributed. The benefits of increased productivity should be reflected not only in the share accruing to management and labour but also to the consumer through lower prices and better quality of goods.

Productivity and the equitable distribution of the product are closely related. Unless workers and employers receive a fair share of what they produce, the incentives for further effort may be dulled and workers and employers may lack the impetus to intensify their common efforts.

As we consider all that needs to be done, we must see to it that the limited resources of the I.L.O. are used to carry on those activities which hold the greatest promise for achievement. On the part of recipient countries, this means adequate planning and preparation to make the most efficient use of the technical assistance that is available. And on the part of those offering technical assistance it means a careful selection of individuals most suited to provide technical guidance in the spirit of this whole programme.

My Government, which helped to initiate the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in the United Nations, is fully aware of the urgency and of the value of this effort as a means of strengthening the foundations of peace.

President Truman, in April of this year, had this to say about the importance of Point Four: "Mass suffering has been used by every dictatorship of our times as a stepping stone to power. To have peace we must strike at the conditions of misery that envelop half the people of the earth. That is the purpose and the meaning of Point Four."

The carrying out of Point Four, as President Truman has defined it, is thus consistent with the basic purpose of the I.L.O. Point Four is one of the many ways in which my country participates in the struggle for a better life for men and women all over the world and for the establishment of a durable peace.

I want to emphasise the diversity of techniques employed by the United States in its approach to the problem of human betterment. We do not believe that either our national or international objectives can best be advanced by following any single formula.

The United States has pioneered in the development of the techniques of mass production, but we do not believe that we can mass produce the techniques of social progress. These techniques do not come from a common mould. They are a reflection of the freedom and resourcefulness of people in devising different solutions for their problems.

Let me illustrate what I mean. The United States has made great progress in providing help and security for its aged citizens. One of the reasons why this progress has been possible is that we have not relied exclusively on any single solution to the old-age problem.

Working within the framework of our private enterprise economy, we have developed at least seven different ways in which to provide for the aged. One is through our federal system of old-age insurance. Another is through our co-operative federal-State system of old-age assistance. A third is through private insurance, which many of our workers purchase early in life and use as a supplement to Government old-age insurance. A fourth is through our growing number of labour-management pension plans, arising from free collective bargaining, and financed entirely by employers, or by workers and employers jointly.

Still another form of protection for the aged is through pensions established voluntarily by employers, who frequently pay the total cost. Also, there are the pension and old-age insurance systems established independently by the trade unions. Finally, many American workers

have prepared for old age through the accumulation of personal savings and through home ownership.

All of these things contribute to the security of Americans as they reach their declining years.

If some choose to accuse us of inconsistency in handling a problem in so many different ways, we are prepared to accept the accusation without any great displeasure. A great American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote that "consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds".

Our institutions arose from the needs and problems of our people and their willingness to improvise and undertake experimentation to find solutions. Some problems we have found can be handled best by employers, some by labour, some by labour and management together, some by Government, and some by all of them.

We prefer, however, to place primary reliance on the resourcefulness and voluntary co-operation of our people. We believe that men do things more effectively when they do them of their own volition and when they understand why they must be done, instead of doing them out of compulsion.

I do not mean to imply that voluntary action alone has solved or can solve all our problems. We use our Government, as necessary, to buttress and sustain and promote the growth of our voluntary systems. Our Government is working steadily to help to improve the standard of living of our people, and it will continue to do so, but Government action is only one of the ways in which we approach our problems. We do not rely on government alone.

We believe that those who insist on a single, exclusive formula or panacea for social progress are moving down the road to disillusionment and disaster. We have beheld the sad plight of those who have sought the answer in absolutism and have found that their "one, true way" is the way to human misery and oppression.

We do not intend to take that way, nor do we proclaim that there is any "one, true way", unless it be the way that recognises the dignity of man and that has confidence in his power to solve his own problems in a variety of ways, as long as he is left free to work out his own destiny.

We must continue to resist any effort to impose an exclusive and doctrinaire solution on the problems of human betterment. On the other hand, we will continue to support with full vigour those programmes for human betterment which allow for the disparity and diversity of technique with which such problems are necessarily approached in a democratic society.

It is one of the great accomplishments of the I.L.O. that it has not been lured down the path of doctrinaire exclusiveness. It has recognised, and we are confident that it will continue to recognise, that the goal of human betterment can be approached by many routes. It must never cease to encourage progress along all of them. It must preserve that flexibility of approach which is indispensable to the co-operative efforts of free nations to solve their problems.

The technical assistance programme is an example of the flexible approach of the I.L.O. The technical assistance which is made available through the I.L.O. is not for Governments alone. It is technical assistance for the benefit of private employers. It is technical assistance for trade unions and for employers and unions working together. It is technical assistance for all the people.

The I.L.O. does not confine technical assistance to any one group. It recognises that the origins of progress can come from many of the forces in society, not necessarily from the Government alone. Each people works out for itself its own instrument of progress. The I.L.O. does not attempt to make the choice.

Through this Organisation we can all move forward together, each nation taking the path which suits its own character, but all moving in the same direction. In this way our struggle for a better life for all men in a world at peace can achieve its greatest possible success.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—We have studied the Report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office with the interest and attention it deserves, for what it says and also for what it fails to say. We have noted with anxiety that once again the Report evades the basic issues involved in the question of armaments, which strain the economies of the capitalist world and put such a heavy burden on the working people of those countries which the United States of America has dragged into the preparations for a new war.

It is true that the Report points out some of the consequences of armaments, but it avoids any examination of the actual cause itself. Moreover, it regards the militarisation of the economy of the United States and its satellites as a quite natural phenomenon. The only thing the I.L.O. can do is to accommodate itself "in the world as it is". By so doing the Report avoids those conclusions which would expose the aggressive nature of the armaments policy of the United States.

The reasons can be easily discovered—it would be uncomfortable to mention them on this platform as they are an open indictment of the policy of the United States as the cause of the present disruption of economic life in the capitalist countries and of the deterioration of international relations.

Thus, already the manner in which the Report considers the question of armaments shows that the I.L.O. continues to follow the path of its gradual transformation into another instrument of the policy of the imperialist powers, grouped in the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organisation under the domination of the United States. Along this line last year's Conference, under the direct dictate of the United States, admitted to membership in our Organisation the so-called "Federal Republic of Germany" and Japan, which the United States has made into the principal bases of its aggressive plans. We consider the admission of these two countries, with their present status, as a gross violation of the Constitution of the I.L.O. Neither of these two new Members fulfils the conditions for membership. Their so-called sovereignty is a mere

camouflage, as the signing of the General Agreement in Bonn has proved most recently.

When the Director-General of the International Labour Office declared at the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations that the I.L.O. is not and must never become the instrument of the policy of a certain State or a group of States, it should have been expected that the I.L.O. would relinquish the erroneous path it had followed until now and that it would strive to become a truly universal and non-partisan organisation. Instead of that we have witnessed events like, for instance, the agreement on co-operation between the I.L.O. and the Council of Europe, which was approved by the Governing Body at its 117th Session. The closest relations have thus been established between the I.L.O. and another instrument of the aggressive policy of the United States.

In view of this development it is on the whole not surprising that the Report does not mention those facts that bear witness to the aggressive nature of American policy. For instance, the Report keeps completely silent concerning the replacement of the Economic Co-operation Administration by the Mutual Security Agency, as if the authors of the Report were not aware of the true nature of the Mutual Security Act—a law which undoubtedly is unprecedented in the history of international relations. The Report does admit that “the continued fall in economic aid more than offsets the rise in military assistance”, but the meaning of this fact obviously does not interest the authors of the Report.

The period that has elapsed since the 34th Session of the International Labour Conference has disproved and refuted all theories contending that armaments and frenzied militarisation of the economic life would result in an improvement of the economic situation, in the elimination of unemployment and a rise in the real value of wages. Those who still defend such theories, those who attempt to give them a scientific appearance, those who try to make them acceptable to the working class, themselves know best that this is a fraud the only purpose of which is to confuse the workers and to make them interested in the armaments race and preparations for war. It is therefore very much to be regretted that the Report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office has also lent itself to defending theories of this kind when speaking of the need for “serious thought in order to prevent a cruel return of mass unemployment when expenditure on rearmament is reduced”. The Report obviously takes at their face value the fraudulent contentions of the American and other monopolies, which make unheard-of profits from armaments. We had rather expected that the Report would point to the pernicious influence of these monopolies on the conduct of State affairs and on economic life. It should have shown how senseless is the wastage of billions which are being poured into non-productive industries, turning out means of destruction and death. On the other hand, one would expect the Report to describe ways and means by which it would be possible to eliminate this influence and redirect those

tremendous sums of money to peaceful development, so as to satisfy the numerous unfulfilled basic needs of mankind and eliminate hunger and misery, which the Report itself brands as the principal enemies of mankind. Alas, it keeps silent as to how a real and effective struggle against these enemies of mankind should be organised.

In fact, the militarisation of the economies of the capitalist countries has manifested its adverse effect particularly in the industrially advanced countries of Western Europe. The production of consumer goods has been hard hit by the switch over to war production. More and more branches of industries working for civilian consumption are doomed to undergo the “process of retraction”. At the same time large sections of the workers are being declared redundant. The threat of growing unemployment is being used to intimidate them in their struggle for higher wages and decent standards of living, while their purchasing power is being reduced from day to day.

Nor have the hopes of the underdeveloped countries survived the impact of the American policy. The Report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office to the Fifth Conference of American States Members notes that international events have obliged the more developed countries of the American continent “to adopt new economic policies, which . . . will have a profound effect on the economy of the entire hemisphere”. The meaning of this carefully phrased sentence is that the economies of the countries of Latin America will have to submit absolutely to the needs of the militarised economies of the United States and of Canada.

The Report which we are discussing today speaks just as carefully about the fact that “economic and political conditions during the past year . . . have not on the whole favoured the rapid implementation of development plans”.

Haunted by the ghosts of the requirements of their armaments policy, the more highly developed countries met with difficulties in providing the underdeveloped countries with the capital goods they need. There is no sense in the Report's attempts to make excuses for the consequences of this disastrous war policy by speaking about the “deterioration in social and political morale” in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and to discredit the struggle of the peoples of these countries for their independence and against colonial exploitation by phrases about “an atmosphere unfavourable to successful economic development”.

One wonders what the Report would say—if it had the courage to do so—about the deterioration of the social and economic morale in the United States, against the background of the fact that the armaments programme which its rulers have dictated to other countries is keeping in existence the army of millions of unemployed and semi-unemployed, and results in the reduction of budget allocations for social purposes and in the curtailment of the rights of the working people in the United States itself.

A thorough analysis of the facts, which the Report circumvents, and the increasing economic difficulties in the countries of the

American war alliance shows quite clearly that the preparations for a new war, which have now reached the stage of the testing of germ warfare by the American troops in Korea, the setting up of aggressive military blocs and the folly of the economic blockade against the countries with a planned economy, can only result in economic chaos and in political bankruptcy of those States which have allowed themselves to become satellites of the war policy of the unholy trinity of Wall Street, the White House and the Pentagon, and which can only bring untold suffering to millions of simple and innocent people.

The prospect would be very grim indeed and the exhortations to optimism in the Report would remain hollow were it not for powerful forces in the world which are determined to defend and are capable of defending the peace and of preventing a world catastrophe. The countries which, under the leadership of the U.S.S.R. and with its sincere and effective assistance, are advancing towards socialism, continue to build up their peaceful economies by peaceful means. The Soviet Union and these countries lead a consistent struggle against the frenzy of the armaments race. From day to day also the peoples of the capitalist countries understand and appreciate more fully how true and justified is the idea of the peaceful co-existence of States with different economic and political systems, as it was expressed by Joseph Stalin. In all countries of the world the determination to defend peace grows ever stronger as ever greater groups of people understand that it is possible and necessary to work and fight to save world peace.

The harmful effects and the menaces of the American war policy, as well as the way in which the I.L.O. could contribute to checking its dangerous trend, are clearly set out in the resolution submitted by the Polish delegation to this Conference. I wish to declare that this resolution has the full support of the Czechoslovak delegation.

Czechoslovakia, in solidarity with the powerful camp of peace, has in past years achieved great successes in its peaceful development. We have increased and accelerated the pace of our industrialisation. We are building the great constructions of socialism, new metallurgical combines, and we are transforming our agriculture according to the socialist principles. In spite of the effort of the imperialist States to hinder our construction programme by trade discrimination and by an attempted economic blockade, Czechoslovak industry is growing and developing at a speed unheard of at the time of capitalism. Simultaneously with the increase in production, the living standards of the working people also constantly improve, as does the social security of the entire population. Our peaceful construction and care for the working people are reflected in our State budget for the year 1952. Out of the entire budget, 67.2 per cent. is allocated to the maintenance and development of our production capacity and 18.2 per cent. to cultural and social purposes. Of course, our budget provides for the needs of defence by an allocation of 6.9 per cent. of the total budget. These percentages prove eloquently

that the socialist system can increase the allocations for social security simultaneously with the development of its economy. They prove also that because Czechoslovakia is threatening no one and has no aggressive intentions it can ensure its defence in a way which does not endanger either its industrial or its social and cultural advance.

As a result of the steady growth of our economic co-operation with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the other Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, we realise day by day the importance of extending economic and trade relations with the other countries of the peace camp for our own progress. We also realise what a significant contribution an increased exchange of goods and services is to the maintenance of world peace. That is why Czechoslovakia was and is willing to maintain and extend its economic and trade relations with all countries, provided that these relations are based on the principle of mutual equality, non-discrimination and non-interference in the internal affairs of trading States.

The I.L.O., which so often refers to the principles of the Declaration of Philadelphia, has a fundamental role to play in the fight against unemployment, in the endeavour to improve the living standards of the working people and in the struggle against the threat of a new war. The Czechoslovak delegation, conscious of the need for eliminating the present international tension, and having regard to the tasks of the I.L.O., has submitted to this Conference a proposed resolution calling on all countries, irrespective of their economic and social structure and political systems, to promote peaceful co-operation and to extend mutual economic and trade relations. At the International Economic Conference held in Moscow in April of this year, all the participants from 49 countries—industrialists, businessmen, economists and trade unionists, of different economic opinions and political creeds—unanimously agreed that the extension of economic and trade relations throughout the world was necessary and possible, and pointed out the concrete means for such an extension. The Moscow Conference reflected in particular the special interest of the representatives of the underdeveloped countries for supplies of capital goods which they need for their economic and social development. It also showed that great trading possibilities were open to the industrially more developed countries.

By economic and trade co-operation with all countries, based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, even the capitalist countries could solve those of their difficulties which not only cannot be solved but necessarily must be aggravated by armaments and the policy of war preparation.

This International Labour Conference is facing grave problems and very important tasks. The manner in which it solves them will show whether the I.L.O. will continue in its present policy, which serves the interests of a small group, or whether it will rediscover its true mission and contribute to the fulfilment of the basic needs and desires of mankind, to the realisation of the right of all peoples to a better life in peaceful co-operation.

Interpretation : Mr. WALINE (Employers' delegate, France)—I know that we should not overdo the celebration of anniversaries, but there are some dates that we cannot allow to pass without a pious tribute. Twenty years ago we lost the man who was the creator of the International Labour Office—Albert Thomas. His death had been preceded a few months earlier by that of another great Frenchman who was, from 1919 to 1931, Chairman of our Governing Body. I refer to Arthur Fontaine. I hope you will allow one of those who had the privilege to know these two men to speak to you for a few minutes about them.

I can still see that room—quite near here—in the Pension Thudichum, now the home of the Red Cross, where in 1922, in a very modest capacity, I attended the 11th Session of the Governing Body. There were only about 30 persons present, seated round a square table, without any garnishing of tapestry, paintings, or carved woodwork, but I was very greatly impressed—and not only by the vigour of the speeches made by Mr. Léon Jouhaux ! I was no less impressed a few months later when, from the balcony of the Kursaal, I looked down on the delegations who were seated in the stalls beneath the stage, which had been turned into a platform. But there were two men in particular who attracted attention—my two compatriots, the Chairman of the Governing Body and the Director of the International Labour Office.

Today it is very difficult to realise the problems which in that heroic age faced an organisation the creation of which had been a sort of revolution. It had to live, and therefore to improvise its services ; it had to define its living space, and therefore to proclaim and mark out the limits of its jurisdiction ; it had to justify its existence, and therefore to secure the drawing up of Conventions and their ratification. It also had to prove that the tripartite system was practicable. As President Ramadier told us the other day, with his usual subtlety and perspicacity, for the occupational organisations that tripartite system meant abandoning partly their isolation which, in some cases, they guarded jealously ; but it also meant for some people a very serious dislocation of Government authority, as was pointed out by Robert Pinot in 1921 in the *Revue de Paris*, when he indicated that the employers' organisations of France supported the Organisation, but with some reservations.

These troubled but very lively years were dominated by the action of Albert Thomas and Arthur Fontaine, who enabled the Organisation to grow in such vigour and authority that it has survived all the crises.

We still remember Albert Thomas as a man of exceptional intelligence, with a mind open to all ideas. But he was the very opposite of those intellectuals who shut themselves up in an ivory tower. He was interested in everything, as his culture and reading showed, and he greeted all ideas with an ardent desire to find in them whatever might be useful. He had none of that opportunism into which many men whose task it is to conciliate opposed views may slide almost unconsciously. To use a word that he was particularly fond of, he was "passionately" interested in philosophic or religious

convictions and beliefs, in social doctrines and political systems, in industrial experiments and in the experience of labour. "Passionately" he sought in them the elements from which to build a better society.

His greatest passion was that of the good of the people. He was a convinced democrat who loved and trusted the people. In his earnest desire to instruct them he was attacked in campaigns which tried to represent him to the people as a traitor to its interests or as a dull bourgeois. Learning a lesson from his responsibilities in France for the manufacture of munitions needed for the war and from the difficulties he met with in his new task, he always understood, and had no fear in saying, that the collaboration of the heads of undertakings was as essential to him as that of the labour unions for the work of social progress to which he had dedicated himself.

He was not only a man of ideas and action ; he was also very warmhearted. He liked to recall his political convictions, which he never renounced, and to tell stories of his years of apprenticeship as a journalist and in Parliament. But he was never a partisan in the narrow sense of the word, nor was he a sectarian. Faithful to all his friendships, constant and courageous even at the risk of being misunderstood—as on that day in February 1926, when I recall seeing him, in a little town in the Charente, accompanying his friend Robert Pinot to his last resting place, although Pinot had at times made things difficult for him at meetings in Geneva.

After all the events that France and the world have seen since the death of Albert Thomas, we can better measure the great loss which our Organisation suffered in 1932 by his death. May I express a wish ? There is still just time to write a book devoted to the life of Albert Thomas, which would be at once a tribute to his memory and a valuable contribution to the history of the first world war and contemporary social policy ; it could take its place among the biographies which are worth more than any number of stone monuments. This work would complement Edward Phelan's excellent book. The materials still exist, here, in Paris and elsewhere. But nothing can replace the personal testimony of those who knew the man at the various moments of his very varied career. Let us not delay any longer in doing this, because even the memory of this great personality is gradually becoming dimmer.

If this book is ever written, the name of Arthur Fontaine will recur in it constantly, for he was so closely associated with Albert Thomas from 1919 to 1931. Their previous careers, however, had been very different. Arthur Fontaine was a student of the Polytechnic school of Paris. A mining engineer, he had organised the Labour Department which he headed for 20 years, and he was, in Albert Thomas' own words, one of those great "commis de la nation" who would honour any Government. A French writer who knew him well, Daniel Halévy, said—(I hope that President Ramadier will forgive me)—that the sound parts of our Labour Code were the work of an office of technicians directed by an official, while the less sound

parts were the work of political parties and politicians.

Another French writer, Paul Valéry, described Fontaine as a "complete man". "Letters, art, philosophy", he said, "have lost an intimate friend". It is true, in fact, that amidst all his professional duties and amidst all the honours which were heaped upon this man he was something better than a scholar and an art lover, he was one of those complete men who remain simple and modest, and who are rare in this era of specialisation and publicity.

But Arthur Fontaine was familiar with industry by other means than books and official meetings. He was Chairman of the French State Railways and of the Mines of the Saar, and he liked to say that he was one of the biggest employers in Europe.

These qualities and experience were rare in an official and they counted for a great deal in the skill with which he carried out his duties as chairman of the Governing Body. He knew, as his principal collaborator, Charles Picquenard, said, how much could be accomplished in the present state of industry and of customs without the danger of provoking one of those tidal waves that bring sweeping reforms which are too ambitious or too hasty.

My predecessor, Mr. Lambert-Ribot, congratulating Arthur Fontaine when our Governing Body celebrated the 70th birthday of its Chairman, could with reason thank him for having, in his campaign for social justice, taken into account the realities of industry.

Mr. Ramadier and Mr. Morse will perhaps forgive me if I say, after referring to their predecessors, how happy we are to see them today in the places which were occupied by Arthur Fontaine and Albert Thomas. I should like to say that if they no longer know the fights their predecessors knew, their task is even more delicate in some respects.

Our Organisation is going through grave dangers which did not exist 20 years ago.

Our greatest enemy, I think, lies in our numbers. Every year we congratulate ourselves on the increase in the number of new States Members and of delegates to the Conference, and on the expansion of our activities. The Organisation must, of course, aim at achieving universality. Nevertheless, we must guard against falling into excess. Even now we often have to set up working parties as the only way of doing certain useful work, while most members of a committee only have to endorse the proposals of their colleagues. The size of our agenda means that this Conference, like our Governing Body, becomes a clumsy and costly instrument, and the question arises whether the results are really worthwhile.

I know we have tried to reconcile the needs of universality and the requirements of effective progress by a policy of decentralisation, which is demonstrated by our regional conferences and Industrial Committees. But that decentralisation is in itself dangerous—dangerous to the unity of our policy, particularly if, following a tendency which I myself regard as regrettable, we eventually come to attach as much importance to the resolutions of regional conferences and Industrial Committees as we do to decisions of our Conference. There

is also a danger to the scientific work of the Office, which is too much taken up with preparing and holding these meetings to make serious studies of the main social problems such as those which it published 30 years ago, and which I preserve very much more carefully than most of those which are now being drawn up for the Industrial Committees.

The third enemy is the hydra-headed monster of co-ordination. As a result of the multiplication of the international organisations, all of which show immediately a fierce instinct of self-preservation and ambition, a question of jurisdiction, which could have been settled—stormily perhaps, but quite simply—by a chat between Albert Thomas and Sir Eric Drummond, now requires committees, sub-committees, long journeys and complicated reports for its solution. I do not dare to ask the Director-General how many working hours are wasted annually in this petty bureaucratic warfare or the armistice negotiations. I am afraid that we may gradually sink into a state of over-elaboration and become ridiculous.

Perhaps you will find me rather less than polite now, after having been somewhat solemn, but I assure you that I am equally sincere in recalling memories of those who made the I.L.O. great and in pointing out the dangers of decadence which I see in some of its present features.

But I do not want to leave you on a note of pessimism. I am convinced of the greatness of the role which our Organisation must continue to fulfil, and I remember a phrase which Arthur Fontaine used in his last speech to the Conference: "We must look upon human activities with more goodwill and indulgence than bitterness".

Interpretation: Mr. PÉREZ (*Workers' adviser, Cuba*)—It is for me an extraordinary privilege to be able to comment on the Director-General's Report, since this is the first time that I have attended an international meeting of the present character.

If I had not recently been present at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O. I should perhaps have been overwhelmed by the solemnity of the occasion and unable to speak with the necessary confidence on behalf of the workers of my country.

We have studied carefully the Director-General's Report and, as in previous years, have found in it a clear and precise account of the efforts of the I.L.O. to ensure the success of our attempts to raise the standard of living of the workers, to promote the peace of humanity and to strengthen the democratic régimes.

Nevertheless, before commenting on the Report, I would like to consider certain problems of great importance to the Latin American countries, problems which have recently been abandoned by the I.L.O.

It is absolutely essential that the less developed countries should prepare and introduce accident prevention programmes suited to their immediate needs. The Office has an Industrial Safety Division and an Industrial Hygiene Division and it is therefore equipped to guide us in this regard. It could prepare special programmes for our countries and

inform us of the improvements in the field of accident prevention which have been introduced in other countries. We think there is need for the Office to make known to us the experiences of other countries, and to inform us, by means of monographs, of any developments in safety measures in the various industries. It should do so, however, in simple language so that these documents may go direct to foremen and workers and so that the objectives pursued in the field of industrial safety are brought home to those who work in the industrial centres.

Our country has made great efforts to achieve a leading position with regard to industrial safety and now that it is represented for the first time on the Correspondence Committee on Occupational Safety and Health I would like to call the attention of the Director-General to the need to stimulate our countries so that they do not lose their enthusiasm at this important stage in the development of social security, which not only can bring us better conditions of work because of safer conditions but also can ensure that the worker will be able to continue to work in safety and health. The Cuban Workers' delegation hopes that the Director-General will pay attention to this request, for he can influence the enthusiasm for and the continuation of the efforts made in this regard in our country.

I also wish to refer to one of the most important activities of the I.L.O. in Latin America. I mean the application of the programme adopted at the first meeting of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour which met at La Paz in January 1951. Cuba has no indigenous population, but the workers' movement of my country is nevertheless interested in the efforts which are being made to raise the standard of life and conditions of work of the millions of indigenous workers in the American continent. Indeed, we identify ourselves with the labour organisations of our sister Republics in the work they are doing to improve the conditions of this enormous mass of population, to incorporate it in the economic and social life of the respective countries and to transform it into a factor of production and consumption.

The Cuban Workers' delegates therefore applaud the work of the I.L.O. in this field and congratulate the Director-General on the speed with which the La Paz programme is being carried out. We welcome particularly the I.L.O.'s decision to organise—in collaboration with the United Nations, U.N.E.S.C.O., F.A.O. and W.H.O.—a joint technical assistance mission on behalf of the indigenous populations of the Andean countries. On the eve of this mission's departure I would like to express our sincere wish for its success and our hope that the results of its work will serve as a basis for further fruitful collaboration in this field between the I.L.O. and other international organisations.

The general economic situation, so very well analysed by the Director-General as regards the rise in the cost of living and its influence over supply and demand and increases in nominal wages, enables us to appreciate clearly what must be done to secure a fairer treatment for working men in all parts of the world,

especially now that the studies made by the Office indicate the extent of the efforts required in the future.

We Cuban workers have often said what we think of the selfishness of those who trade in human labour and those whose economic policy, both national and international, has prevented fairer compensation for labour and consequently a more secure life for the workers. We therefore greet warmly the studies contained in the Report. The incipient economic development of our countries and their generally poor resources mean that they have little economic ability to find solutions to these problems to which the Director-General refers. The Director-General has rightly said that the standard of living of the workers does not depend only on the economic situation within their own country but also on the commercial relations of their country with foreign countries. This gives us food for thought, for it means that the less a country can satisfy its own needs, the more will the cost of living and wage levels be influenced by international trade. This forces our countries to look abroad in an attempt to find, through the conclusion of agreements, a satisfactory means of eliminating this contradiction in the present economic régime.

The social progress of our countries carries with it the removal of economic restrictions and the difficulties under which we have suffered. Our problems should be examined within the framework of the activities of the I.L.O. We should choose targets which will enable us to secure, if not total welfare, at least some tranquillity in face of the burdens which we in the less developed countries have to carry.

The efforts of a practical character made by the I.L.O. give us the opportunity, which not all of us have yet taken, to achieve better conditions in regard to manpower, productivity, the organisation of employment services, migration, the development of co-operatives and the utilisation of our resources, and so to reach our objectives of national well-being and the full enjoyment of the basic freedoms.

We therefore gladly note the Director-General's concern that all countries of the world, particularly the less developed countries, should find a solution to their problems through the efforts and the studies of the I.L.O.

Cuba, one of the smallest countries of the American continent, has, by the efforts of her sons, secured a position of privilege among the countries which are still struggling to obtain better conditions for the workers. In Cuba we have exceptional labour legislation.

When one analyses the conditions existing in our continent and in others, and sees countries which are backward as regards the rights, the progress, and the welfare of their peoples, it is obvious that no one is better qualified than we to appreciate the fact that joint effort can provide solutions of the kind suggested by the I.L.O.

The Cuban working class, as I have said in the past and repeat with pride today, has succeeded, by its struggles and activities during its 50 years of independence, in giving an example of what can be done by means of

collective effort on the part of the working class.

Today we are stimulated in our activities by our Government, led by Major-General Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, a Government which respects the achievements and the independence of the working class. We are encouraged also by the ratification of many Conventions and Recommendations adopted at previous sessions and will continue with the same devotion to work within the International Labour Organisation to achieve what remains to be achieved and to aid other countries and continents to secure the same benefits.

The agenda of the present session of the Conference, referring as it does to social security, workers' health, agricultural problems, maternity problems and industrial relations, both at the national and international levels,

indicates what remains to be done. May this Conference reach conclusions which will bring greater happiness to the men and women of the world, carry them a step forward in the path towards social security and welfare, help them to eliminate the sorrow and uncertainty which predominate in the world today, and bring us a permanent peace, which is indeed the aim of all free countries and is in accordance with the principles that gave birth to the I.L.O.

Allow me to assure you that the Cuban working class will continue to strive for these objectives and that the studies and recommendations of the I.L.O. will become a blue print and an inspiration for us and for all those who are in need of a peaceful life, free from fear.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.15 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Ghayour Mr. Keyvan	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajin Mr. Licki
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Sölvén
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes Mr. Molins	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Moriel	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Lüdi (substitute for Mr. Kuntschen) Mr. Möri
<i>Bolivia :</i> Mr. Pérez del Castillo Mr. Torres	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Canini (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Charabati (substitute for Mr. Elias)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Lang (substitute for Mr. Pires) Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Karikoski Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Wilson	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Alam (substitute for Mr. DüNDAR) Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Richter (substitute for Mr. Bührig)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaïke Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Tsatsos Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Hayot (substitute for Mr. Diederich) Mr. Krier	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Chapman (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Donoso (substitute for Mr. Torres) Mr. Cisternas	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Laris (substitute for Mr. Desentis)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Miss Stenberg Mr. Borstlap	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Rovira (substitute for Mr. Troitino)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Newton (substitute for Mr. Velvin)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Hernández (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Chau
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño		<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
		<i>Peru :</i> Mr. Leguía	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Spengler, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. de Ruijter (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*), Mr. Serrarens (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

NINTH SITTING

Monday, 16 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President : Mr. Pons*SEVENTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION
COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—The first item on our agenda for today is the Seventh Report of the Selection Committee. I call on Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan : Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Seventh Report of the Selection Committee, which has already been printed and distributed, be adopted.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—If there are no objections, the Seventh Report of the Selection Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—The second item on the agenda for today is the continuation of the discussion of the Director-General's Report. Before we resume the discussion, however, I wish, in my capacity as President, to remind members of the Conference of the terms of paragraph 6 of Article 14 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, which states that no speech may exceed 15 minutes in length, apart from the time required for translation, unless the Conference expressly decides otherwise. There are still 70 speakers on our list, and I shall, therefore, be obliged to enforce this provision strictly.

Interpretation : Mr. de SANDOVAL (*Government delegate, Cuba*)—It is an honour for me once more to make, in the name of the Govern-

ment of Cuba, a few observations on the remarkable Report of Mr. Morse. It gives us an opportunity for a general discussion related in many cases to questions of politics and propaganda, thus enabling us to break away from the strict, though constructive, lines laid down by the other items on the agenda.

It is very difficult, in the brief space of some 120 pages, to deal with so many world social and economic problems, to go from world and continental considerations to particular problems, and at the same time to gauge and to suggest adequate solutions for the problems which arise.

Some speakers have accused Mr. Morse of deliberately leaving out certain points and of not giving sufficient emphasis to others. Perhaps there is some truth in these charges, but they must be attributed to very different causes. Indeed, the Report, although it analyses the repercussions of rearmament, does not analyse its origin, shies away from political conclusions, does not mention who provoked rearmament and who proclaims ideas of peace with a view to securing military superiority and world dominion.

In the economic field there is no greater danger than the increase in the cost of living, which is, gradually or rapidly, leading to inflation. It is unnecessary to repeat, for it is well known, that increases in wages never sufficiently compensate the effects of the inflationary spiral, with the possible exception of some sectors of industry where there are monopolies or where there is a great demand.

Mr. Morse recommends in his Report that greater production should be achieved. Cuba had followed this advice in anticipation, and the sugar harvest will reach some seven million tons, work on it will be continued up to the present month and extra wages will be paid for the extra production or the increase in productivity in sugar-producing centres or factories.

However, this industrial policy, supplemented by two practices which apparently are incompatible—to sell cheaply and to improve conditions of work—appears destined

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

to provoke political dumping or a speculative reduction in prices. Our prime industry deserves neither the one nor the other, for within its controlled economy and its system of wage-increases, applied also to agriculture, we produce at from four to five cents a pound, a price which has been maintained despite war shortage and since the war ended, although the price 20 years ago, when social charges were very low, reached 22 cents.

Mr. Morse, and likewise the Governing Body of the I.L.O., has given particular attention to productivity. The success achieved in this field shows that low output can be remedied by improving operative methods. The experience of the manufacturing nations should serve as a lesson to the less developed, proving that the ineffectiveness of other countries' experience counts only as regards individual activity.

The productivity of Latin America, where scientific systems should be introduced in the place of empiric methods, must be improved by introducing other methods than those used in the big industrial countries. In place of calling for a high degree of mechanisation, consideration should be given to the advisability of the increasing use of manpower with reduced mechanisation, in order to achieve the greatest productivity by social methods, taking into account the community as a whole.

All the above arguments, which are formulated with no desire to lay down unchangeable economic principles, lead to the conclusion that productivity is not governed by rigid rules but must be viewed within the framework of the conditions of each country or continent.

The International Labour Organisation, with its vast experience and competence in these matters, could provide valuable technical assistance by means of the study and application of the most modern and effective systems of improving productivity without adversely affecting the employment market. This has been an objective since attention has been paid to payment by results, to intensive production, or to rationalisation.

Certainly these studies will indicate the road to be followed as regards productivity in the development plans adopted in our countries, so that Latin America may occupy its proper place having regard to its natural resources, its territorial extent, the inventive spirit of its sons and the diligence of its working people.

In making these suggestions we remember that no effect has yet been given to the resolution proposed by the Cuban Government delegation and approved at the 33rd Session of the International Labour Conference, which called on the Office to prepare a comprehensive report containing a statement on the law and practice of the different countries with regard to the termination of individual contracts of employment.

There is no doubt that the individual contract of employment, which can never take precedence over collective agreements, is nevertheless the basis for the industrial relations of millions of workers and salaried employees, while the international regulations so far do not touch other aspects than indivi-

dual contracts for seamen, indigenous workers and migrants. Nor can it be denied, in reviewing productivity, and without forgetting the guarantee of security which should be given to workers, that economic development depends to a large extent on the discipline and the guarantees given to persons who invest capital, on responsibility in carrying out the functions of a producer, and on the mutual observance of contracts. An objective report by a body like the I.L.O., with its material and moral resources, would serve as a guarantee to employers and workers and would guide States Members in the regulation of individual contracts on a technical and impartial basis.

As regard social policies, the Report contains one statement of extreme importance. After referring to the Preamble of the Constitution of 1919, Mr. Morse says that the declaration against injustice and poverty and its threat for universal peace and harmony should be taken into account both as regards conditions of labour and as regards life in general. This reminds us, in the evolution of ideas and human aspirations, of the time when the proposal was made to extend social insurance and make it social security.

It is not sufficient, within the modern concept of social justice, simply to protect the workers; it is necessary to introduce for the people all the general improvements compatible with the economic possibilities, to distribute more evenly and to extend the benefit of the advantages which a well organised and progressive society can offer.

These rules of social policy are applied in Cuba, where our President, General Fulgencio Batista, and his Minister of Labour, Dr. Jesús Portocarrero, carry out a policy which aims at introducing democratic conditions and social justice without demagogic experiments and without ignoring the wishes of the people.

We have just introduced in Cuba legislation concerning the summer rest, which means that during June, July and August there will be two complete days' rest a week. This measure improves relations between the workers and employers, has no harmful effects for the public, and also enables unemployment to be reduced at the time when it normally becomes most acute. It has been introduced in all activities where production and supplies will not be affected by it.

Cuba has sent a complete delegation to this Conference and we have a full understanding of our international duties. We have paid our debts to the I.L.O. and we have ratified 11 Conventions, which has placed us at the top of the list of American countries in this respect.

As regards co-operation with the I.L.O., apart from submitting all the reports required under the Constitution, the Government is now contemplating immediate ratification of the instruments regarding freedom of association and protection of the right to organise, minimum wages in agriculture, equal remuneration, holidays with pay, and other instruments compliance with which will not run contrary to our law.

We regard this as one of the most important sessions that the Conference has held, in view of its agenda. In some respects it can hardly

meet the legitimate requirements of the workers. Holidays in agriculture, for instance, will inevitably be short, having regard to the requirements of farming. Only the Cuban system of proportionate leave takes into account the essential conditions of agricultural employment.

It is the desire of the Government of Cuba, in addition to establishing the most favourable conditions of labour, to collaborate in the spreading of these measures throughout the world. This will be achieved through the ratification and application of the Conventions and through the statement every year of the progress made, not from a spirit of political propaganda but by way of carrying the history of international labour law a step further forward.

I would like to refer to an idea repeated on various occasions, and more particularly at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., regarding the publication of an annual table, on the lines of the Chart of Ratifications, which will show the most outstanding developments in regard to labour institutions in the various countries. We would thus be able to see at a glance not only the progress made in each period but the extent to which, and the countries in which, the Constitution of the I.L.O. and the Declaration of Philadelphia are in fact being enforced.

Finally, we must express our appreciation of the fact that the Director-General's Report was prepared and distributed in time to allow of its proper consideration, in spite of its following so closely on the similar report prepared for the Conference in Petropolis.

This enables me to congratulate him very warmly on the basis of the thorough study which its contents merit.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—The Conference will be glad to hear that the Minister of Labour and National Service of the United Kingdom is present in the Conference Hall. I am sure you will wish to associate yourself with me in welcoming him and wishing him a pleasant stay among us.

Interpretation : Mr. TORRES (*Workers' delegate, Bolivia*)—I have read with keen attention the Director-General's Report describing the work of the I.L.O. during the present year. It is a particularly interesting document because its contents relate to problems of vital importance to the workers of the whole world, and it deals also with matters of special interest to the workers of Latin America; the problems of trade unionism, social security, living conditions, agricultural labour, etc., are dealt with as social aspects of concern to the Director-General. I must say, first of all, that for me and for all the Bolivian workers it is most important that the I.L.O. should advance beyond the stage of theories which can be applied easily in highly industrialised countries, such as those of Europe, where all its recommendations are speedily given effect, and should give real aid to the working classes of the less developed countries, particularly those countries whose economic structure makes them externally semi-colonial and internally open

to exploitation as regards raw materials and in which the valuable recommendations of the I.L.O. are hardly ever given effect.

I am informed that there have been Bolivian employers' delegations at previous sessions of the Conference. It seems to me that the presence of those persons who exploit our tin resources was highly ironical when the principal object of this Conference is to create legislation and technical systems for the protection of the workers.

I say "ironical" because our experience is that the main object of the tin barons is to evade any legislation directed towards improving the position of the workers. On the other hand, no genuine workers' representative was able to attend previous sessions and express our point of view; many years of persecution and imprisonment and repressive policies had deprived us of this legitimate right.

Thanks to the present Government of Bolivia, however, which emerged from the only popular revolution in our history, we now have a chance to tell the world the real facts concerning the problems in our country and about the efforts we are making to resolve the economic, social and political crisis resulting from 50 years of merciless exploitation of the people and resources of my country.

There is one basic, historical fact underlying our position—the economic and social freedoms of the Bolivian workers cannot be secured in a State where there are economic forces hostile to the interests of our nation.

At present, and as a result of the dramatic age in which we live, both factors, the sovereignty of the State and the individual liberty of the workers, are indivisibly interwoven.

This has not been understood in the past, and indeed has been deliberately obscured by the propaganda of the big mining undertakings which have tried to obscure the true facts concerning Bolivia, an attempt in which they have been aided by the very gravity of international problems in a divided world.

Unfortunately, in the most tragic moments in the history of our trade unions we have been isolated and no voice of protest or encouragement was heard to further our hopes of securing the aid of the I.L.O.

These facts make it necessary for me to give a brief survey of the events which influenced the struggle of the workers in my country.

Indifferent to the backwardness and poverty of the Bolivian people, the tin barons have extracted great wealth from the soil for half a century, and so we have, on the one hand, a group of the most powerful millionaires in the world, and, on the other hand, a people subjected to feudal servitude, far from any kind of civilisation and living in abject poverty.

The situation has grown so terrible that the workers' movements of other countries have become concerned about the fate of our movement and the Magruder mission was sent from the United States. Part of the conclusions of this mission's report read as follows: "The wages of the workers, and particularly those of mineworkers, cannot be said to be satisfactory; compared with those at the time of the war of the Chaco, and considering the high cost of living and other factors, it can

be seen that wages have fallen. " And then : " According to statistics of the Workers' Insurance and Savings Fund, 41 per cent. of mineworkers receive wages of less than 20 bolivianos a day. " In dollars this means that, at the time of the mission's visit, they were getting 25 cents a day in mines 4,500 metres above sea level and in which the average life expectancy does not exceed 30 years. Since then there have been no wage increases for the workers in general, despite the rise in the cost of living, because, although the nominal value of money has increased considerably, its purchasing power has fallen, with serious consequences for the workers, whose real wages are lower than those mentioned by the Margruder mission.

The Keenleyside Report in 1950 says that the reason for the lack of economic progress in Bolivia is not mainly ignorance of what has to be done but unwillingness to do it, or incapacity on the part of the Government to take the necessary action. According to the report most of the population is in the same condition as it was when the Spaniards first came.

These terrible economic conditions gave birth to the first Bolivian working class movements which strove to achieve better conditions. There was an immediate reaction on the part of the mining super-State and the first of many massacres designed to stifle the movement took place in Uncia in 1922.

The struggle for freedom of association coincided with these events ; various workers' congresses laid the bases of the movement, drew up rules which should govern labour policy and stated our independent trade union position. Our experiences had shown that it was useless to hope that Bolivian employers would understand our problems and the spirit of collaboration necessary for ensuring better conditions of life and work, and that we could not achieve the necessary improvements without proper trade union organisations. There is a great gulf between the tin magnates and the rest of the nation. While the trade unions have accepted the principles of contemporary social legislation, the employers refuse to believe that times have changed and even consider that the primitive employer-employee relationships of the colonies still obtain.

This total lack of understanding on the part of the employers, their stubborn resistance, and the barefaced complicity of Governments in the pay of Patiño, Aramayo and Hochschild have left a great mark on our struggle for independence. The saying that liberty is not a gift but must be taken by force and held through their own efforts by men who love democracy is certainly true in our case. The massacres of 1918, 1922, 1942 and 1947, the terrible hecatomb of May 1949, and the massacres of 1950, prove that what I have said is no empty phrase.

Thanks to our steady trade union policy of resorting to strikes where conciliation and arbitration procedure has failed we have been able to secure considerable achievements such as recognition of trade union immunity, the abolition of the system of dismissal without compensation, payment of hundreds of millions

of pesos which had not been made in accordance with the law, recognition of and respect for the benefits granted under the General Labour Act, an annual increase in salaries, the construction of houses, schools, hospitals and many other benefits. All these have been won from the egoistic employers thanks to the conscientious action of our trade unions, affiliated today to the powerful Bolivian Workers' Confederation.

In the permanent struggle between the nation and the mining super-State, whose siccative action affects its entire structure, we have found understanding in two men and in one political party ; they have identified themselves with our aspirations for social improvements and have tried to lift the workers out of the misery and subhuman conditions in which they have existed up to the present.

President Busch, a young military leader with a deep consciousness of social duty, assumed power in 1939 and drafted a Labour Code which put on paper much of what had been achieved in the social field in the preceding years and which was based to a large extent on I.L.O. recommendations. For instance, the Code established the right to strike, provided for conciliation and arbitration machinery, laid down general standards for the protection of the workers, etc.

President Busch's Government also tried to recover for the nation part of its wealth which had been exported by the mining magnates without the supervision of the State and without bringing any benefit to Bolivia.

President Busch's tragic and mysterious death destroyed the possibilities of social and economic improvement which had begun to appear. Indeed, the mining super-State did not permit socially minded Governments to continue in power in Bolivia. After five years of absolute rule by the tin barons a new force emerged, the National Revolutionary Movement led by Victor Paz Estenssoro. When it assumed power in 1943, along with a group of young soldiers under Don Gualberto Villarroel, it began immediately a series of social and economic reforms which, while they were supported by the workers and, in particular, the miners, were strongly opposed by the tin magnates.

Venal politicians, soldiers with no conscience, and mercenary journalists in the service of Hochschild, Patiño and Aramayo moved into action to destroy the legitimate hopes of a whole nation. A skilfully directed international propaganda campaign in which money and other resources were used to the full in our own country brought about the collapse of the Villarroel-Paz Estenssoro régime on 21 July 1946.

The assassination of President Villarroel enabled the reactionaries to return to power and threatened our hard-won conquests. Exile, imprisonment, torture and massacres replaced the Villarroel-Paz Estenssoro régime, which had been directed towards freedom and assistance for the working classes.

Subsequently, neither the rise in the price of tin and other minerals nor the aid given to the State by international capital served to improve the living conditions of the workers or even to complete undertakings begun under the previous régime.

Unable to solve existing problems and forced to carry out the instructions of the mining companies, the Government naturally became the despotic instrument of cruel economic exploitation which eventually led to the tragic events of 1949 and 1950 when hundreds of factory workers and miners were assassinated. From then onwards the Government identified itself absolutely with the views of the mining magnates; indeed the Minister of Labour declared in *El Diario* of La Paz: "There are no trade unions because the workers realise that they do them serious harm." This phrase was intended to justify the Decree abolishing the trade unions on the pretext that these were composed of nazi and communist elements.

The puppet Governments of the mining undertakings proceeded to try to extirpate the whole trade union movement and, in particular, to destroy the Bolivian Miners' Federation, to which I belong, and which was the only bastion of trade union freedom left in the country. Under the leadership of its Executive Secretary, Senator Juan Lechin, it fought untiringly to save underground workers from greater abuses.

In April 1949 the workers of Catavi and Llallagua secured an arbitration award which obliged the Patiño Mines to pay considerable amounts in wage adjustments and to comply with their obligations arising from the mass dismissal, in September 1947, of 7,000 workers. The delay in the enforcement of this award and the mobilisation of the army were only a warning of the fact that the mining undertakings had resolved to have recourse to arms whenever an important labour dispute occurred.

The just demands of the workers' leaders led to the imprisonment, in violation of the Political Constitution and despite their position as senators and deputies of the Republic, of these leaders. The dispute was then "settled", 800 workers being shot in the process. The remainder were improperly condemned and the leader of the massacre promoted to the rank of colonel. Those of us who were in exile in different parts of the continent lodged a formal protest with the I.L.O. and other international agencies and requested an investigation to be made. Most regrettably, our request was completely ignored and this undoubtedly encouraged the Government of Hertzog and Urriolagoitia in its criminal policy.

Hence the attention we paid to the words of Mr. Paul Ramadier, the Chairman of the Governing Body, and Government delegate of France, when he stated, in connection with the system which the I.L.O. had established for investigating and conciliating in disputes arising as the result of the violation of trade union rights, that it was the basic task of the Organisation to abolish abuses.

The puppet Governments of the mining undertakings abused in every possible way the Bolivian trade union movement and yet our protest was not listened to. I would like to know where the Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. was then that he did not hear us or, if he did hear us, what forces destroyed his generous impulse?

It is because of my knowledge of the virtually defenceless position of trade union movements

that I make my own the words of the workers' delegate of Guatemala who defined clearly and unmistakably the true part to be played by the I.L.O. and what should be its attitude towards violations of trade union rights—rights which fortunately are respected today in my country.

The persecution in my country of the trade union movement and of all men of independent mind continued without a moment's respite after the massacres of Catavi and Llallagua up to the date of the Bolivian general elections. In these elections, and as a defence measure, all the trade union organisations, intellectuals and the middle classes lined up with the National Revolutionary Movement and supported the candidature for President and Vice-President respectively of Víctor Paz Estenssoro and Hernán Siles Suazo.

In an election which proved unquestionably the democratic way of thinking and the political maturity of my country, and which encouraged the trade union movement with the hope of regaining its freedom and its lost rights, the candidates of the mining super-State were defeated by a large majority.

When the mining magnates saw that the election had been won by the candidates of the workers and the people in general and realised that their long rule over Bolivia had ceased, they contrived to hand over the government of the country to a military junta chosen from soldiers whose incompetency and ignorance easily made them the instruments of this group of exploiters.

For eleven long months the Bolivian trade union movement suffered under extreme persecution.

The tragedy of the Bolivian workers' movement had to end because tyranny always finishes in disaster. Thus, in April of this year, the great rebellion of the people established a Government which was prepared to enforce the law.

The Bolivian trade union movement, which is not a political movement and is not in the service of any party, has maintained and will continue to maintain its freedom of opinion. We understand the part we have to play and our future tasks. We support the present Government because we agree with the basic principles underlying its policy and we believe that our support is indispensable for the achievement of the great work the Government has begun and must complete. Consequently, we support the draft resolution concerning the independence of the trade union movement submitted on 4 June to this session of the Conference by the workers' delegations of France, Cuba, India, the United States, Switzerland, Italy and other countries. One of the most important clauses of this resolution states that "The fundamental and permanent mission of the trade union movement is the economic and social advancement of the workers"; the resolution also says that when trade unions decide to establish relations with a political party or to undertake political action, such political relations or action "should not be of such a nature as to compromise the continuance of the trade union movement or its social and economic functions irrespective of political changes in the country".

In this connection we are particularly glad to see in the Director-General's Report an analysis of what is occurring in the economies of the insufficiently developed countries. The Bolivian trade union movement is fighting for a better utilisation of the natural resources of these countries, and considers that the technical assistance of the I.L.O. is extraordinarily important for the purpose of securing such objectives as agrarian reform and the nationalisation of the mines, which are included in the programme of the Bolivian Government and of our workers' organisations.

The work of the I.L.O. in connection with vocational training in general and the sending to Latin America of experts on indigenous labour also earn the gratitude of the Bolivian workers.

I would like to take this opportunity of telling the Director-General that the Bolivian Workers' Confederation would be glad if Bolivia were given priority as regards the application of the recommendations of the first meeting of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour, which was held at La Paz in 1950.

Any co-operation by the I.L.O. directed towards solving the problem of rural workers in Bolivia would be welcomed by the workers of my country and would have their full support.

RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS BY GREECE

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—I am glad to inform the Conference that the Minister of Labour of Greece, Mr. Cassimatis, deposited on 13 June the Instruments of Ratification by his country of six international labour Conventions.

They are as follows: Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (No. 11); Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925 (No. 17); Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29); Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) Convention (Revised), 1934 (No. 42); Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936 (No. 52) and Final Articles Revision Convention, 1946 (No. 80).

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL : DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—We will continue the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. VEBER (*Workers' delegate, Yugoslavia*) speaks in Serbo-Croat.

Interpretation : Mr. VEBER (*Workers' delegate, Yugoslavia*)—The Report of the Director-General reviews very fully the present international economic situation and other important problems, including the efforts made to solve them.

The Report also deserves our praise because it gives special attention to problems of social policy and explains the means by which they

can be solved, having regard to the economic and social conditions in the countries of the States Members.

As Workers' delegate of Yugoslavia, may I say a few words on that part of the Report of the Director-General to explain the attitude of the working classes of my country towards it?

The efforts devoted to the solution of the problems analysed in the Report are very important for the improvement of the standard of living, the working and living conditions of the workers, and social welfare generally in the world, thereby contributing to more normal international relations.

The work of the I.L.O. in this field is very important because it pays special attention to all possibilities of assisting countries to solve their problems. The forms of this assistance are set out in the Director-General's Report and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the I.L.O., on behalf of the working class of my country, for the technical assistance which they are to receive under the programme proposed for helping our workers to perfect their vocational training.

Apart from the I.L.O.'s efforts in this field, we must also try to see that the other specialised agencies and international institutions promote a more rapid economic development of the underdeveloped countries. A more effective solution of the social problems of the backward countries would thus be achieved; but it is also evident that the primary obligation of these countries is to use their own resources to the full to settle these problems.

One of the principal objects to which we must pay attention is the right of the working class to improve its economic and social conditions and, in fact, it is making considerable efforts in this direction. In this respect I should like to give you a few examples of what has been achieved in my own country.

In the social development of Yugoslavia during the post-war period very profound and revolutionary changes have taken place and have opened up new prospects for speeding up the development of socialist relations in our new society. One of the most important measures in this direction is that which has granted to the working class the right to manage production directly.

In Yugoslavia all industry, mining, commerce, transport, etc., are nationalised. In the early stages of this nationalisation the State managed the undertakings through its own organs. But the social property of these undertakings was soon afterwards transferred, in accordance with the law of June 1950 concerning the management of economic enterprises, to direct management by the workers, that is to say, the "workers' collectives". Workers' councils and management boards, set up in the undertakings themselves as an organisational form of management by the workers, are organs of the workers' collectives and, elected by the workers, are responsible to the workers for their activities. A series of decrees regulating the method of election of these bodies, the representation on them of different categories of the staff, their position vis-à-vis the workers' collective, the duties of the director, etc., ensures the democratic nature of these bodies, their administrative cohesion,

their responsibilities and their methods of working and of management.

These bodies exercise their activities both in matters of production and industrial relations and in solving economic and social problems in general.

The fact that the management of production has been assigned to the producers themselves has meant abandoning the old system of administrative management and has made impossible the strengthening of the bureaucratic element and bureaucratic methods in management in general.

The process of workers' self-management followed during the two years since the promulgation of the law mentioned above, and the direction taken by the development and the extension of socialist democracy have strengthened the material basis of workers' self-management and transferred important and decisive functions to the producers. From this point of view the most important measures are those applied at the end of last year and the beginning of this year.

The new law on planned management accords greater independence to undertakings, that is to say, to the workers' collectives, in the solution of concrete questions of production and the financial and economic management of the undertakings. In the name of the community, the State draws up a general social plan which fixes the estimates of the distribution of national revenue and decides the minimum obligations which undertakings must accept towards the community to meet general social needs. For the rest, complete independence is left to the undertakings concerning the drawing up of production plans, the choice of the range of goods, the determination of quality, price fixing, sales organisation, working standards, etc.

Particularly important changes have recently been introduced in the system of remuneration of workers. Previously the State fixed for all categories of workers and employees a guaranteed system of wages and salaries, which was independent of the success of the undertaking. Under the new system, in accordance with the principle of workers' self-management, the workers' collective decides independently how the remaining income will be distributed after it has fulfilled its obligations under the social plan. All questions regarding wages are solved by regulations laid down by the workers' collectives themselves and confirmed by the trade unions. The intervention of the State is limited by general decree to fixing the minimum rates of remuneration which the collectives must pay to the workers. The rest is left to the collectives and the trade unions.

This new system of remuneration of workers serves as an incentive to the workers' collectives and encourages them to produce more and more cheaply, because the earnings of every worker depend not only on his own work but also on the success of the whole collective.

The first results of these measures have proved how right our policy is.

At present great changes are being made in the organisation of our governmental authorities which will continue to strengthen the part played by the working class in our political and economic life. From the local bodies up

to the supreme organs at the federal level, and up to the Popular Assembly of the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, all Government organs have attached to them and incorporated in them new bodies, the producers' councils elected by the producers themselves. Through the medium of these councils the working class has a direct voice not only in all questions of economic and social policy but also in all Government bodies right up to the legislative body.

In this manner the whole system of workers' management, starting from the undertaking and continuing, through the local bodies, up to the federal governmental organs, constitutes a complete system suitable to the new socialist relations in our society.

I should like to refer now to the important part played by the trade unions in our country in applying these new measures. The self-management bodies are directly linked with the trade unions, which form the social organisation of the working class. The trade unions play an important part in electing workers' management bodies, the supervision of their work, the enforcement of their decisions, and the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies and non-democratic procedures which might appear in the course of their work. The trade unions have a decisive role to play in the economic and social development of our country.

Having regard to the cultural level of the working class, I wish to stress particularly the importance of the vast cultural and educational activity on the part of the trade unions among workers with a view to enabling them to carry out their right of management in production as well as in the other fields of social life.

It is clear that the development of new social relations should also include the solution of direct questions in the sphere of social and economic problems of the working class and the other sections of the population.

In view of the important place given by the Director-General in his Report to social policy, I will confine myself to referring to just a few of the most important achievements in Yugoslavia. I will mention in particular health protection and social security.

Before the second world war social insurance in Yugoslavia covered about 16 per cent. of the total population. Today there are about 1,840,000 persons directly insured, with about 4,800,000 dependants. In addition, some 303,000 pensioners are included. The total number covered is therefore about 6,950,000 persons, *i.e.*, more than 42 per cent. of the population, who all enjoy free medical care. They are entitled to social security payments in the event of incapacity for work owing to illness or industrial injuries involving temporary or permanent incapacity; they are also entitled to unemployment insurance, old-age or survivors' pensions, and grants for funeral expenses.

Apart from these various forms of social protection, there are others for categories of persons not included in the sectors I have mentioned, namely, protection of the war-disabled and their families, protection of disabled adults incapable of working, protection of orphans, and so on. This brings the number of persons protected to nearly 9 millions, that is to say,

57 per cent. of the total population. It must be remembered that Yugoslavia is mainly an agricultural country in which small properties predominate and that the percentage of unprotected persons consists mainly of independent peasants and a small number of inhabitants of towns who are not in paid employment.

It has to be stressed that my country has been for the last few years, and still is, under aggressive pressure from some of our neighbours. We are therefore obliged to see to our own security and to devote very considerable sums to our defence. In 1952 alone our defence estimates amount to 200 milliard dinars, that is to say, 22 per cent. of the national income.

Nevertheless we do not neglect questions of social protection and the expenditure on social security for 1952 is over 100 milliard dinars, which equals 11 per cent. of the national income. This proves that it is possible even in underdeveloped countries to pay great attention to social protection and to devote important resources to it in spite of pressure and threats from outside, such as is the case with Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia still has to solve very great problems and serious difficulties in the field of social policy. We realise that the results so far obtained in the field of social policy are not all that could and should be done, but, considering our conditions and our possibilities at the moment, we think we can say that we have made substantial progress. We will continue to do all we can to try to solve the many questions which still await a solution.

We shall be very happy to be informed of the success of the working class of other countries and we already have knowledge of many of their achievements. However, I think it should be pointed out that in some countries, in spite of statements announcing a programme of advanced social policy, the responsible elements have done little to give effect to these statements. There are still countries which are far from having an advanced social policy and where the workers live and labour under very difficult conditions. Too little effort is made in these countries to improve the conditions of life and work of the working class.

Unfortunately, this applies not only to countries with very few resources but also to countries which, in view of their economic strength, could give much more attention to these questions. It is not enough to secure the standard of living of the workers while they are integrated in the process of production, but their material security should be guaranteed when they are no longer able to earn their living through no fault of their own.

The solution of social problems and the extension of social security must do away with backwardness and must improve the conditions of work and life, contributing at the same time to the raising of the general standard of living.

Millions of human beings all over the world are interested in these questions and are fully entitled to say that the solution should be found as effectively and as rapidly as possible.

We can and must establish in this domain a wider system of international collaboration which will help to bring all the peoples of the world closer together and thus contribute sub-

stantially towards the consolidation of peace in the world.

Interpretation : Mr. ESPEJO (*Workers' delegate, Argentina*)—I shall dispense with compliments and begin immediately to discuss the Director-General's Report, with particular reference to the points to which we attach special importance.

Mr. Morse rightly sets out the situation of the world today as concerns the desire of the working masses to improve their conditions and the effect of this on national liberation movements. It is most characteristic of our epoch, this vehement desire of the peoples to live in a better world, free from fear and exploitation, quit of the violence of national capitalism, foreign imperialism and totalitarian ideologies.

We Argentines believe that the world is inexorably moving towards greater social justice and freedom and we think that all Governments should contribute to make this path less difficult.

As the Director-General says : " social policy... begins with attacks upon the worst aspects of poverty, malnutrition, disease and ignorance, and leads on to positive and constructive action for the provision of good health conditions, ideal homes, garden cities, elementary schools for all and facilities for higher education of every kind. "

But, we ask, how many countries have put these principles into effect ? Very few (and among those few, Argentina) ; for, if we consider that the world is divided into oppressed and oppressor nations, we realise that the small powers cannot carry out such programmes owing to their subject condition, whilst the big ones cannot carry them out because they are concerned with maintaining their leadership by force and with increasing it by war.

For these ideals to be put into practice we need a spirit of peace and of understanding which now is not present in the minds of the men who govern the world without consulting the people.

But there is a continent, Latin America, where the principles of social justice have taken root, thanks to the inspiration of Argentina. It is true that Latin America, which holds our particular interest owing to well known historical affinities, includes many countries still divided and subjugated owing to the struggle between capitalist imperialism and totalitarianism. It is no less true, however, that throughout Latin America promising tendencies towards liberation are making themselves felt in the face of the forces which, by means of political and economic domination, prevent improvement of the situation of the working class.

I wish to call attention, from this platform, to this auspicious position and to ask the workers of the whole world for a helping hand for those peoples which desire to work out their own destiny and themselves to enjoy the full benefit of the wealth which they extract from the generous soil.

It is my duty to point out how wrong is the general policy of the I.L.O., which is influenced too greatly by the Anglo-Saxon powers, and consequently cannot see in their true perspective, or adequately solve, the chief problems

of our continent. To do so, the I.L.O. should prepare a programme based on an understanding of the Latin American people. Such a programme should start with the emancipation of the people and work up to the economic liberation of the countries of our continent so that each of them may fulfil its historic destiny without pressure or interference.

Such a programme must include the principles of economic freedom, political sovereignty and social justice, which have permitted Argentina to act as a standard bearer for the young peoples of America, so that they may all enjoy the same welfare and respect, based on full exercise of their rights in genuine democratic conditions.

We cannot fail to observe with sadness and indignation that in the world today, and particularly in countries which describe themselves as advanced, there is still fierce racial discrimination, and that some Latin American peoples suffer from this in the form of economic oppression. We protest against this violation of the Declaration of Philadelphia and affirm with legitimate pride that in the new Argentina of Perón and Eva Perón the last vestiges of this discrimination have been swept away for ever.

We can make no secret of our disillusionment at hearing certain countries described as champions of democracy when we can see for ourselves that the workers are shot down in the streets of the cities, the trade union leaders in prison and the police controlling the people with truncheon and sabre, although trade union freedom and the right to strike are still proclaimed in theory.

This occurs in Europe as a last effort on the part of a class which does not wish to succumb without a struggle. It occurs also in America, where the peoples are awaking, know that their hour has come and rise up against their oppressors.

We, too, before the coming of Perón, still suffered some barbarities of this kind. Our oligarchy, like its kind the world over, took its orders from foreign capital and used some of its methods, keeping the workers under inhuman conditions on the sugar plantations, on the ranches and in the mines.

Today; however, owing to the adoption and enforcement of proper legislation, we can affirm that in the new Argentina all men are entirely equal before the law and in fact.

We share with Mr. Morse a belief in the principles of the Philadelphia Declaration, that poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere, and that the struggle against need must be carried on with ceaseless energy both within each country and by a continuous, concerted international effort. We support this belief in spirit and in action, and can declare that Argentina, led by President Perón, has done and will continue to do its best to carry this noble aspiration into effect.

Our country has generously sent wheat, meat, wool, hides and other products to meet the needs of others, and where it has been necessary to provide help or soothe pain the Eva Perón Foundation has responded rapidly in the beneficent spirit of its illustrious chief.

We proclaim all this without boasting but with the satisfaction due to performance of an elementary duty. With the moral authority

which this conduct confers upon us, we now proclaim that all countries should take part in the great common task, and that precisely those which are best equipped and have the greatest resources should make the most generous contribution. But they should do so without tying strings of submission or subservience to the economic or material aid which they accord, without forcing on the receiving peoples conditions incompatible with sovereignty or dignity.

The aid should be given as between equals, the agreements should not be based on the need of one of the parties, because apart from the injury thus done to the dignity of nations, such agreements bear within themselves the weakness inherent in all that is not based on mutual confidence and free will.

As regards the benefits immanent in social justice, let me repeat a paragraph from our President's message to the recent inaugural session of Parliament. "It is of no use", he said, "to have an economically free and powerful State if we do not redistribute among the men and women of our country the good things which our power and liberty bring." If the State were immensely rich, and the people abjectly poor, the people would inevitably react, destroying the very foundations of the State and pulling it down in ruins.

I should now like to make a statement which falls in line with the general ideas and policies of the Argentine Workers' delegation. My Peronist enthusiasm may have surprised some of those who are still ignorant of the remarkable situation in my country, and I must tell them that if my words vibrate with the Peronist ideal and my fervour overflows, it is because the huge majority of the workers of my country are Peronists and have embraced the cause of the Peronist revolution. Since President Perón ran up on the Argentine flag-staff the banner of the dispossessed, we have been with him at every moment, in the difficult days, on the glorious 17th of October 1945 and when in free and democratic elections we confirmed our choice of him as the head of our country.

I think I should explain the real and profound reasons why we are identified with the Peronist revolution and why we support its leaders, President Perón and his illustrious wife. How can we fail to support the revolution since we are ourselves the revolutionaries? How can we fail to support our leaders, since with them at our head the conditions of work and life in Argentina have been fundamentally changed?

Once a subject people, we have become free, our political sovereignty affirmed by economic emancipation. We are now enjoying conditions of life which would have appeared incredible only a few years ago. This is why we are Peronists, with as much right as and better reason than other peoples or groups who are socialists, labourites, communists or what you will. We therefore reject with indignation the calumnies aimed at the Argentine Workers' movement, describing it as no more than an instrument in the Government's hands. Nothing could be more puerile and untrue. We are with the Government because we are the Government, because we act within it on a permanent and systematic basis.

Consequently the elections of 11 November 1951, which ended in the public triumph of Perón, carried to power men from our own rank and file, sponsored by our own Confederation, who have become governors, senators, deputies, administrators, counsellors—the only occasion in the world on which organised workers have acted not as camp followers of a political party, not merely as bringers of votes or of money, but as integral members of a powerful movement. This is made up by the Peronist Men's Party and the Peronist Women's Party, as well as by ourselves.

I should like to add this. We workers proposed Eva Perón as Vice-President of Argentina, intending this to be well-earned recognition for a life spent in helping the workers forward, bringing happiness to the humble.

But Eva Perón, in an unparalleled moment of renunciation, declined the honour in order to remain closer to the workers themselves, to struggle on, amidst the ranks of the dispossessed, for the victory of the cause she had embraced with passionate attachment to the most Christian principles. Such a post of honour, earned by her love for her country and its people, would have fulfilled the wildest dreams of any woman in the world. But she, combining greatness and humility, declined the honour and continues to live side by side with the men and women of her country, sharing their joys and troubles and marching side by side with them to staunch their wounds and encourage them in the struggle. Eva Perón has left to history a product of her greatness which goes beyond all that her humanitarianism, heroism, patriotism have achieved. She has written an unforgettable book, explaining the reason for her life, as all other men and women should do, to tell others what objective they follow, the cause for which they live and strive. Entitled *La Razón de Mi Vida*, it is a mixture of love and revolt, of generosity towards the humble and of hard words for the powerful, of soothing song and chant of battle. It is counsel to those who struggle, scourge for the cowards, consolation for the suffering. This book has already been translated into several languages and is already serving as a guide. We suggest that this Conference should decide to print the book as part of its own programme of spreading knowledge of social problems and distribute it in those circles where its letter and spirit will be welcomed as a ray of light showing the peoples of the world a new path.

As briefly as clarity permitted, I have described our attitude of full identification with the principles of Justicialism, which has passed beyond the old institutions of liberalism without falling into either of the fatal extremes. This is the unshakable position of the Argentine people, which was ratified by Congress when it proclaimed President Perón as the liberator of the Republic and Eva Perón as spiritual chief of the Argentine nation.

With these achievements behind us and our position thus clearly defined, we Argentine workers act at home and abroad on the principle that we wish to go forward peacefully and to co-operate with the other workers of the world in abolishing injustice and insecurity and establishing equality, peace, tolerance and the rule of law in every country.

We do not wish to dominate anybody, but we are determined that no one shall dominate us. We extend a brotherly hand to all workers' organisations which sincerely wish for these same ideals, without interference from abroad and under the orders of none except their own working class.

In this spirit we have entered the new Latin American Trade Union Unity Committee, which aspires to express the wishes of all the workers of Latin America, to raise their standard of life and to make a reality in the new world the social justice which the I.L.O. extols.

These are our ideals, and I have proclaimed them from this platform so that they may be known and understood throughout the world and so that the Argentine workers' delegation may be known for what it really is.

Its members speak on behalf of a working class which has freed itself from exploitation and indignity, thanks to a revolutionary movement which broke its bonds and helped it on a path from which no one and nothing can now divert it—the path of social justice, sovereignty and economic freedom, which we have achieved in our country, thanks to the work and inspiration of our leader and his wife.

I am not aware of the state of mind in which the delegates to this Conference will return to their own countries, but I do not think that anyone can seriously think that a good job for the workers has been done. For our part, we are confirmed in our opinion that the I.L.O. is not at present able to provide any solution for the problems facing the workers of the world. In order that it may do so, Governments would have to take part in its work with the interests of their peoples more clearly in mind; employers would have to understand that capital has a social function to perform and not merely one of exploitation; and the workers would have to forget their quarrels, form a united front and compose a common programme directed towards the adoption of positive labour legislation.

It is important that the weaker countries should participate to a greater extent in framing the policy of the I.L.O., for they alone can understand their own requirements. If palliatives and foreign intervention are not abandoned, if social problems are not faced with courage with a view to humanising capital and giving labour greater dignity, if the agreements reached here are not ratified so that their enforcement becomes compulsory, all that is done here will be paper work, and you will be maintaining an expensive bureaucracy and deceiving those who still believe that welfare can come to them by any means other than their own efforts.

Mr. McGRATH (*Employers' adviser, United States*)—As most of you know, Mr. McCormick, the United States Employers' delegate, was taken ill while in Europe on the way to this Conference and his illness compelled his immediate return to the United States. However, he had previously prepared the address which he expected to make to this body, and he asked me to deliver that address for him in his absence. I shall therefore now read Mr. McCormick's text.

The representatives of the American employers at this Conference pledge themselves to

continue their efforts to increase the usefulness, influence and effectiveness of the I.L.O. along lines which contribute to the security and strength of the free nations of the world, together with true freedom and dignity of the individual.

In studying the Director-General's Report, I was particularly pleased by the emphasis which he placed upon the necessity for increased productivity, which, he said in his Report, "remains a matter of the first importance for the economic welfare of men and women in all countries".

However, I was again disturbed, as I was last year, over the lack of emphasis in the Director-General's Report upon competition as a stimulant to productivity and a primary force on behalf of advancement in the standard of living.

To an American industrialist competition is a primary principle of human progress. If we seem to you unduly emphatic upon this point it is because, in all sincerity and on the basis of our experience, we believe that the remarkable standard of living which has been achieved in the United States is due chiefly to the operation of our competitive system under the principles laid down in our Constitution.

To comprehend the underlying philosophy of our competitive system, one must go back to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, which says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." These principles were embodied in the Constitution of our Republic and its Bill of Rights. Our basic law therefore consists largely of guarantees of certain freedoms and rights.

I might cite, as one example, freedom of speech and of the press. Those of you reading our newspapers today might think from the acrimonious political debates there reported that our country was falling to pieces. As a matter of fact, you are simply witnessing an exhibition of free speech in a country where every citizen is protected in his right to say what he pleases.

Bear in mind that in our country the Government is the servant of the people and our citizens are resolved that it will always remain so. Our Constitution stands as a protection against the assumption of power by executive decree—a protection that must be maintained.

Now, remember that our Declaration of Independence, upon which our Constitution was built, refers specifically to the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Liberty and the pursuit of happiness have to do with the way a man chooses to make his living. In our country, therefore, a man is free to seek any job he pleases. If he wants to he may go into business for himself. He may leave a job in one company and go to a better job in another. He may enter any sort of occupation he pleases. He may rise from the ranks all the way from a wage earner to the president of a company. He has equality of opportunity in the "pursuit of happiness".

But to maintain equality of opportunity there must be freedom to compete, and this must be true of companies just as much as of individuals. Therefore we have laws forbidding monopolies. We have laws forbidding cartels. Competition is protected as one of our basic liberties.

In every conceivable field, therefore, there are individuals and there are companies competing with each other. And it is the incessant competition with the objective of earning a profit that, in my opinion, has been primarily responsible for advancing the standard of living in the United States.

We, as representatives of the employers of the United States, continue to stand firm in our conviction that the competitive system of enterprise, which is based on the freedom and dignity of man and on opportunity for everybody, is the only safe highway to prosperity and security.

The experience of our people has, we believe, shown that a free society within a dynamic economy where the welfare of each citizen depends primarily upon his own ability, industry and thrift is the best way to create large real national income and promote social, material and technological progress. Such a society is able to make adequate provision for those of its citizens who, through no fault of their own, are unable to provide for themselves in such a way as not to diminish the individual's sense of responsibility for his own welfare.

The element of government naturally plays a necessary role in the protection of our economic structure. But its role must be neutral since the people must be the managers of the Government. We do not condone "centralisation of authority" or any other fancy term which means that the Government has assumed responsibility for the control of our affairs. The beneficial influence of more power for Government has yet to be demonstrated. Government has seldom created anything that pays its own way, and we emphasise the word "create". Government did not create the new television, plastics, and synthetic fibres industries, which have provided opportunities for so many people. Government did not increase our per-acre production of foodstuffs to feed our growing population. Rather it was the result of improved farm methods developed by private industry. Nor did the Government produce the better automobile, the better washing machine, the better refrigerator. It was private industry through the constant method of testing, selection, survival and death that marks the free competitive economy.

All this may explain to you why employers from the United States view with alarm proposals for planned economies under the control of the Government.

However, we can only point to our way of life. Our system may well not be adaptable to some other countries. To my mind each country must work out its own destiny in its own way under the democratic principles of local self-government.

Met together in this room are representatives of many different social and economic systems. We come here in a spirit of tolerance and with a desire to gain mutual understanding. It is my belief that the main efforts of the I.L.O. at

this stage should be devoted toward developing a greater measure of such mutual understanding before we attempt to formulate more proposed international laws based upon any social or economic philosophy. I think we are trying to move too fast and too far in that direction.

One way in which this could be accomplished would be to amend the Constitution of the I.L.O. to provide that Conventions may be approved only by a two-thirds vote with a favourable majority of each of the participating groups, namely, Government, Employers and Workers. This would represent truly tripartite support and any Convention passed on that basis would, I think, have every likelihood of incorporation into the laws of the majority of our States Members.

The need of some measure that would ensure that we pass only such Conventions as will have a probability of ratification by most States Members is well indicated by the sorry record of Convention ratification, especially during the latter years of this Organisation. Of the 100 Conventions adopted, 42 have received only five or less ratifications. Such failure to ratify destroys the significance of the Convention. The amendment I suggest would, I think, restore the Convention to its proper standing. I would not suggest any amendment with respect to Recommendations.

Ever since the Declaration of Philadelphia there has been a tendency on the part of the I.L.O. to inject itself more and more into areas beyond its original field and into subject matters having highly controversial social, economic and political implications. I think the I.L.O. has ventured beyond its proper sphere of action and believe it is imperative that a review and reappraisal of I.L.O. objectives and activities be undertaken at the earliest opportunity.

Such study should be made in the light of the Preamble to the original I.L.O. Constitution, which clearly sets forth the basic purposes and scope of this Organisation.

It would be my hope that such a review and reappraisal would indicate a further shift of emphasis from social legislation to technical assistance. The Director-General in his Report laid great stress upon increased productivity as a world-wide objective. Vocational training is an immediate stimulant to increased productivity. It has created new carpenters, new welders, new machinists, new stonecutters, new boilermakers, new automobile repairmen, new furniture workers. Furthermore, these trainees then become the trainers who can teach others.

These special skills cannot be acquired out of a book. We do not do it that way even in the most highly industrialised countries. In order that people of the underdeveloped countries may acquire technical skills someone must go there in person actually to show them how these things are done. If only a few people are taught they nevertheless form a nucleus upon which a whole broad programme will eventually grow, for there is someone in the country who knows exactly how the job ought to be done and that knowledge can be imparted to others.

In the past we have only too often passed

Conventions which certain countries could not possibly put into effect because the basic economies of these countries simply could not support them. It would seem to me far more practical to help such countries to improve their economies by showing them how they could increase their productivity. The economic foundation must be laid first before a social structure can be built upon it.

However, more than technical knowledge of production is required to build a sound economic foundation. It is also essential that there be a substantial measure of freedom for the individual and profit opportunity for industrial and commercial enterprises.

We do not believe that the Government can decree a certain standard of living or legislate prosperity. Government can, however, establish a legal framework within which free men, under the inspiration of opportunity and by their own initiative, can create prosperity and, by their own productivity, raise the standard of living.

The passing of a law will not give a working man more income if the country in which he lives does not possess an economy sufficiently productive to sustain it. But if you provide a climate favourable to the venturing or risk of capital by private enterprises you have a different story. Then companies begin to build plants and hire men. Then products begin to flow out and money begins to flow back in.

In this connection the Director-General said in his Report: "Of all the many difficult tasks confronting the Governments of underdeveloped countries none is more important than the task of creating and maintaining conditions in which capital, both domestic and foreign, will be attracted to productive use."

In conclusion may I emphasise once again my complete agreement with the Director-General, that increased productivity is a major objective the world over, with a view to improving the welfare and the living standards of all people? The problem of the I.L.O. is that of determining how we can turn our efforts most effectively toward that objective.

Mr. KOLSKÝ (*Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*) speaks in Czech.

Interpretation: Mr. KOLSKÝ (*Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—The Report and the discussions which took place at last year's session of the Conference dealt, in the first place, with the subjects of armaments, wage freezing, inflation and the deterioration of workers' living conditions. This year's Report proves that, far from improving, the situation has only become more serious. The questions to which mere allusion was made last year have now been expressed openly, but nothing is said in the Report as to what the I.L.O. has done in the past year in order to contribute to the improvement of a state of things which bears so heavily upon the workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. The Report does indicate, even if not explicitly, that this situation is due to the armaments programmes which are being carried out by the capitalist and dependent countries in conformity with various pacts and blocs.

It is surely inconceivable that the I.L.O., the Constitution of which proclaims such noble principles, should continue to remain passive in the face of this situation. We cannot be satisfied with the Report purely and simply stating these facts and the Conference taking note of them and accepting them as such. Inspired by the international solidarity of the working class and in their own interest, the working people of Czechoslovakia demand that the I.L.O. should contribute with all its forces to the reduction of armaments, and to the cessation of hostilities wherever they exist, and that it make its contribution to the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

Another problem which the Report does not solve is that of unemployment. The employers of certain countries had entertained hopes that war economies would help to absorb unemployment. In fact, as a result of the introduction of war economy unemployment is increasing in certain sectors.

Three factors are the cause of this state of affairs. In the first place there is the pauperisation of the working people resulting from the constant rise in taxes and prices and the diminution of real wages, and from the consequent decrease in the demand for consumer goods. Secondly, there are the ever-greater obstacles put in the way of trade and the discrimination in the international exchange of goods. Thirdly, there is the policy of certain Governments, which encourage investments of ever-greater amounts of capital in the military sector, to the detriment of civilian production.

In facing such a situation the I.L.O. should immediately start to work on concrete studies and surveys on unemployment and its causes, as just indicated, and should propose effective remedies within the framework of a peace economy and on the basis of the demands of the working class.

If war economy brings unprecedented profits to the employers in the capitalist countries, it brings only suffering and misery to the workers of these countries, who bear the brunt of the burden of war expenditure, in high taxes, the lowering of real wages and the curtailment of social expenditure. These are only some of the aspects of this policy of privation and poverty which is being imposed on the working class. A particularly striking example of this situation was given from this very rostrum by the Workers' delegate of Japan, who was not able to deny the existence of 8 million unemployed in his own country and the misery of the working class in Japan, overburdened by unbearable taxation. A similar situation exists in many other countries.

As far as profits are concerned, according to the Report of the Council of Economic Advisers profits in the United States have gone up from 17.4 billion dollars in the first half of 1950 to 25.1 billion dollars in the first half of 1951, that is, by 44 per cent. On the other hand, in the period from May 1950 to September 1951 weekly wages have gone up by only 13 per cent. whereas since the beginning of the war in Korea income tax has increased by 34 per cent.

According to a White Paper and to the *Financial Times* the rise in profits in Great Britain, as against 1946, is evaluated in 1951 at 89 per cent.; the increase in wages in the

period from June 1950 to August 1951 at 9 per cent., while retail prices have gone up by 11 per cent. in the period June 1950 to June 1951 and by another 14 per cent. in the period from June to August 1951.

The working class, uniting its forces, is determinedly resisting this onslaught upon its interests and rights, whereupon the Governments pursue more and more a policy of open and direct persecution, even of the most representative trade union organisations, in order to weaken the fighting force of the working class. The number of provocations against the working class and its representative organisations is increasing, and these provocations are inspired by methods which the most reactionary Governments have been using for the last 50 years. Political pretexts are preferably used in these attempts to hinder and suppress trade union activities. The numerous proposals and complaints raised by the World Federation of Trade Unions before the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations are abundant proof of this.

In this situation certain circles sometimes pretend that they are defending trade union rights so that they may the better dupe the working class. The I.L.O. itself has established a body concerned with freedom of association, but its true ability to defend trade union rights is best demonstrated by the state of things which exists within its own framework, when certain Governments, in flagrant violation of the Constitution of the I.L.O., send Workers' delegates without any representative character. It suffices in this case to recall the protests raised this year against the Workers' delegates of France, Italy and Ceylon, appointed in gross violation of the will and opinion of the majority of the workers of their countries. We have already had occasion to denounce this intolerable situation at previous sessions of the Conference. It is our duty to draw the attention of this Conference once more to the fact that perseverance in this practice, which constitutes a defiance of the workers and of the respect for trade union rights and a violation of the Constitution of the I.L.O., will completely discredit this Organisation in the eyes of the workers.

Once again I demand that the representation at the I.L.O. be regulated in such a manner as to give the Workers' delegates a proportion of 50 per cent.

The war economy intensifies the repressive measures applied in the colonial and dependent countries, which have been transformed into military bases with absolute disregard for their social and economic interests. I have to state with regret that the I.L.O. has shown a complete lack of interest in the millions of exploited human beings of these countries.

In the underdeveloped countries the intensive exploitation of their raw material resources, and the complete absence of any counterpart in the form of deliveries of the equipment essential for their industrialisation and the improvement of their living standards, only increase the misery of their working populations.

The peoples of these countries call for measures which would effectively ensure their economic and social development and the right

freely to dispose of their national wealth and resources. It is the duty of the I.L.O. to respond to the legitimate aspirations of these peoples by supporting their demands.

Another important shortcoming of the Report is the fact that it pretends to be ignorant of the economic and social developments that have taken place since the end of the war in the countries that have liberated themselves from the capitalist yoke. That is why I should like to give briefly some information concerning the economic and social situation in my country.

The prodigious development of the planned economy of my country has resulted in a rapid growth of employment. The number of workers in industry will increase by 780,000 in 1953 as against 1948, *i.e.*, by almost a quarter of the total number.

The accelerated development of our production also leads to an increase in the material and cultural standards of the workers and of the entire population.

In Czechoslovakia in 1937 the average number of pairs of shoes bought by each member of the population worked out at 2.7 pairs, which is a rather high index. In 1951 the figure per inhabitant was 3.3.

As far as the principal foodstuffs are concerned, the rise in consumption in my country as against 1936 was as follows: meat by 45.7 per cent., poultry by 21 per cent., edible fats by 32 per cent., milk by 30.9 per cent., wheat flour by 54.4 per cent., beer by 67.4 per cent., sugar by 15.1 per cent., and so forth. At the same time, consumption is equitably distributed among the whole of the population.

In the factory canteens approximately 1,200,000 workers pay an average of eight crowns for a complete meal, this sum representing the average wage gained by the worker for 21 minutes of work.

So far as annual paid holidays are concerned, the average duration before the war was eight days for workers and apprentices, while today it is 24-25 days annually.

Our People's Democratic Republic also gives particular care to workers' health. In comparison with pre-war years the number of hospital beds has increased by 33.7 per cent., and by the end of 1954 there will be a minimum of one hospital bed per 100 inhabitants. The number of pre-natal and post-natal consultation centres has increased by 175 per cent. in comparison with the pre-war period and is at present over 6,600.

The results with regard to the raising of our cultural level are also most encouraging. While in 1937 one inhabitant out of 15 owned a wireless set, today there is one set per five inhabitants, including children. In the same period the number of cinemas has almost doubled. In 1951 the number of books published was 304 per cent. higher than in 1937.

There are numerous further social and cultural improvements enjoyed by the workers, such as national insurance, social security, factory cultural clubhouses, sports stadiums built for the working people, and so on.

The standard of living of the Czechoslovak people has substantially improved in comparison with pre-war years under the capitalist Republic, and is constantly improving.

The working people of Czechoslovakia have achieved all these successes in spite of the policy of discrimination carried on by the ruling circles of the western countries against my country. This policy of discrimination, aimed not only at Czechoslovakia but also against all the countries of the camp of peace and progress, will never be able to stop the advance of our planned economy and the improvement of the living conditions of our working population, but it has disastrous consequences for the working people of the capitalist and dependent countries.

That is why all possibilities for the extension of international relations, particularly in the field of economy and trade, must be made use of in order that all countries, irrespective of their different economic and social systems, may start out on the road of peaceful development and international economic co-operation on the basis of equality and without any political conditions or economic privileges.

I am convinced that such a development in economic and trade relations would also have considerable influence on the increase of employment in capitalist countries, on the improvement of the living standards of all workers and on the strengthening of world peace, which is the aspiration of all workers of all lands, irrespective of nationality, race, political convictions or religious beliefs.

I consider it my duty to call the attention of the delegates to this Conference to the importance of these fundamental problems, not only for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people but also for the maintenance of world peace.

I feel obliged to state quite clearly that in this respect the I.L.O. has completely neglected the tasks which naturally devolve upon it from its Constitution.

I demand and insist, as I did last year, that this Organisation should immediately undertake concrete studies and action inspired by the demands of the working people and conducive to the improvement, in conditions of peace, of the living standards of the working masses in all countries of the world.

Interpretation: Mr. MORIEL (*Employers' delegate, Israel*)—I have read with great interest the Director-General's annual Report, containing a review of the extensive activity of the I.L.O. in the different parts of the world—activity relating to numerous aspects of the social and economic life of the countries of the world.

This great fresco painted by the Director-General, shaded in various ways, some of it in light and some in dark colours, gives us a picture of the contemporary world with its various tendencies, sometimes contradictory, of development and reconstruction.

The Director-General stresses in his Report, and quite rightly, that the social problems of today are problems of international interest, and the difficulties impeding social progress in the different countries have not diminished in recent years.

Alas, they have even increased in various countries, particularly in the young and insufficiently developed countries where the standard of living, whether high or low, of the

working population does not depend only on the political and economic conditions within the country but also to a large extent on international factors.

In Israel, a country whose national economy is still being constructed, the importation of large capital, of industrial investments, as well as the intensification of international exchange and the extension of international trade, play, after the increase in production of the country itself, a most important part in its industrial expansion and consequently in the improvement of the lot of the working classes.

The activity of the I.L.O. is appreciated in Israel by all sectors of the population. In order to achieve its noble objective, it is not sufficient to aim at improving the lot of the working classes simply by increasing their share in the national income and by more justly distributing the wealth within the country itself. This objective cannot be achieved without placing at the disposal of all countries the natural resources and knowledge of the most industrialised and advanced sections of the world.

We greatly appreciate the importance of the technical assistance which has been given us by the I.L.O. and already mentioned in this debate by the Government delegate of my country, but we should not lose sight of the fact that only access in one form or another to natural wealth, to raw materials and to the possibilities of modern industrial equipment can enable the standard of living of our country to be raised and the spiritual and material situation of its inhabitants to be developed.

The great North American democracy has given us a magnificent example of international co-operation in this field and has contributed to recovery and to a certain stability in the economy of the Old World. We hope that other countries will follow the example of this great country.

Now, as previously, we believe in the beneficent effect of free enterprise and free competition, which are the basis for all economic and social progress. Nevertheless, in order to continue the industrialisation of our country we must have more of the raw materials which we do not possess ourselves, and more capital than we can provide ourselves or than has been invested already in Israeli economy.

We must recognise that the shortage of raw materials in Israel as in other countries is a great obstacle to social progress. This shortage is aggravated by the fact that the freedom of maritime communication and the exchange of goods between countries have been restricted in various parts of the world in recent years.

In ancient times, as in modern times, the freedom of maritime communications was, and remains, a primary condition for the economic development of any country. Nevertheless, some sea routes are at present partially or entirely closed to international trade, thus impeding the economic development and social progress of certain countries.

I will only quote you as an example the situation in the Middle East, where a route very near our country, and which was opened

by the great Frenchman Lesseps, remains closed to a large number of vessels. Consequently the transport of goods from some countries is hindered and ships must go to South Africa or Australia round the Cape of Good Hope just as they did at the time of the Pharaohs when the route of the canal was still covered by the sands of the desert.

These grave problems of raw materials, industrial equipment and international free trade are causing the greatest concern to certain countries and their rapid and just solution is absolutely essential.

No international social activity will be effective unless it takes into account the natural resources and economic possibilities of the various countries and if it does not go hand in hand with economic and financial aid programmes which can establish the necessary equilibrium between the economies of developed countries and those which are not yet so developed.

The employers of my country are making a great effort to intensify productivity in our industries for our domestic needs and to increase our exports, these factors being of vital importance for the economic progress of our country. But, great as our effort is, we cannot ignore the fact that it is the natural wealth, the degree of mechanisation and the capital available for development which accelerate or impede social progress and affect the standard of living of the working class.

Co-operating in the field of social progress with the Government of my country and with the General Confederation of Labour, which represents the majority of the workers, the Manufacturers' Association of Israel, which is the most important and representative employers' organisation in the country, has been striving for more than a quarter of a century to discover the best form of collaboration between employers and workers while taking account of the possibilities and economic needs of our country, which are of a very special character. We shall continue our efforts in this regard.

The existence of various obstacles has shown us also that so many Conventions adopted by sessions of the International Labour Conference have not been ratified by the different countries and have not been introduced into their national legislation.

Social progress in all parts of the world, even the less developed parts, can only be prompt and efficient if social life is governed not only by Governments, employers and workers but also more and more in the light of international agreements on social matters and on mutual assistance and co-operation. It is towards this objective that the I.L.O. must strive; its future depends on the solution of great economic problems not only within different countries but at the international level.

Once this international social co-operation has been achieved it will be the best assistance which the I.L.O. can offer for the future of social progress and co-operation between the various nations of the world.

Interpretation : Mr. DONNADIEU (Government delegate, Costa Rica).—If I had to sum up

in one concise phrase the Report of the Director-General, I should say that he has put the main emphasis on social justice, which is the necessary basis for securing the moral improvement of the individual and the improvement of his living conditions.

We are fully in agreement with the Director-General in recognising that in the problems which we have to solve here the worker must no longer be considered as a unit of manpower but as a human being and the partner of his employer in a common enterprise.

The social policy of Costa Rica—and this is to its credit—is inspired by the idea that while the immediate aim of our efforts is a steady improvement in the material living conditions of the worker, nevertheless, respect for human dignity must be promoted at the same time by a constant improvement in the cultural level of all citizens.

We agree with the Director-General that this objective of social peace in each country, which is a necessary pledge of international peace, can be attained only by great understanding between employers' and workers' organisations and national authorities. We also consider it essential to expand the material resources which are necessary for raising the standard of living of the peoples.

We believe that technical assistance is one of the indispensable factors in the programme of the I.L.O. and that it is through technical assistance that we shall manage to satisfy the increasing needs of the nations, provided, however, as the Director-General so rightly says, that there is "a parallel development in the social conscience", because it is by never ceasing to promote moral values that men will be able to live in freedom and dignity, as is reaffirmed by the Declaration of Philadelphia.

The Government of Costa Rica is particularly happy that technical assistance should be among the items on our agenda and we note with the greatest satisfaction that the technical assistance projects of the I.L.O. have been increased by several hundred and that the number of technical assistance experts will soon reach 1,800.

The Minister of Public Education of Costa Rica has taken up this important problem and is at present working out a series of educational reforms.

To carry out these reforms the Costa Rican Government has laid the bases of an agreement with the I.L.O. on the one hand, involving the support of the I.L.O. in the form of technical assistance, and with U.N.E.S.C.O. on the other.

I am glad to inform you that the President of the Costa Rican Republic has taken a personal interest in the plan for the reform of our general educational system, and in particular as regards the vocational guidance schools in connection with which the I.L.O. has promised its very valuable help.

The city of Alajuela, the birthplace of the President of the Costa Rican Republic, has been chosen as the site of a model vocational guidance school.

The I.L.O. will provide the instructors for this establishment, which will provide technical training courses as well as general training courses. The I.L.O. expert on vocational train-

ing will be responsible for establishing and organising the school and a special instructor will be provided for each of the following branches: forestry, woodworking, leather working, general engineering and electricity.

I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing publicly our thanks to the I.L.O. for the assistance it is giving us by covering the expenses of acquiring the necessary equipment to set up these schools and for the fellowships which it has granted for young Costa Rican workers who will acquire there the necessary technical knowledge with a view to replacing one day the technicians sent by the I.L.O.

Before closing I feel I must mention that the harmonious social policy of the Government of Costa Rica has already borne fruit. The President of the Republic was able to give recently some encouraging information on the improved financial position of Costa Rica, which justifies the implementation of a large-scale economic programme from which the workers will be the first to benefit.

The year 1951 ended with a credit balance of 22 million colons, 19 million of which were derived from an increase in receipts. The present state of the national wealth and the favourable prospects will enable us to finance this economic programme without contracting new debts. We hope to finance in the same way the public works planned by the Government, such as construction of roads, aerodromes—including the new international airport of Alajuela—irrigation works and new school buildings. Credits are also earmarked for the Electrical Institute of Costa Rica, for the Inter-American Public Health Co-operative Service in connection with new installations for water supply, and for agriculture, through loans from the National Bank.

May I congratulate the Director-General on behalf of the Costa Rican Government, which I have the honour to represent here, for the most valuable information and encouragement contained in his Report?

You may be sure that we greatly appreciate the efforts of the I.L.O. and that you can rely unreservedly on our sincere collaboration.

Interpretation: Mr. TOYDEMIR (*Workers' adviser, Turkey*)—This is the first time that a delegate of the Turkish Workers comes to speak from this platform. It is a privilege for me to be the first such delegate to take part in the discussion of such an interesting and constructive Report, and I consider that it is my duty first of all to tell you of the sincere attachment of the Turkish workers to the ideal of progress and social justice which is at the basis of this great world institution.

Although in Turkey occupational organisation goes back some centuries and guilds and other trade unions played an important economic and social part in the past, it must be admitted that labour unionism of a modern character is very young in our country. Still, it is strong, it is moving forward in a healthy way, jealous of its freedom and independence, free from all political interference. We have at present over 170 unions organised in a number of regional federations. These unions belong to the different industries of our country both in the private and in the public sector.

They are about to form a national confederation, and as soon as this is done we hope to establish systematic relationships with the international body which brings together the free trade unions of the world. I am particularly glad in this regard to be able to express the satisfaction with which the trade union movement in our country welcomed the interest and sympathy shown by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which recently sent to us our distinguished friend, Herman Patteet, whose stay in Turkey has greatly helped us to learn about the efforts of our comrades in the other free countries and to inform them of the true situation in the Turkish trade union movement.

In this field of mutual understanding there is still a great deal to be done. This is true also of our relationship with the International Labour Organisation. In a country where the trade union movement is still in an initial stage, a great educational effort must still be made and this effort, if it is to be efficient and fruitful, could profit very much from the international fund of knowledge and experience which the I.L.O. represents. If Turkish workers had access to the studies and publications of the I.L.O. on the character, activity and achievements of the I.L.O. itself, on industrial relations in the different countries, on the part played by occupational organisations and their contribution to social and economic recovery, the Turkish workers' movement would be greatly strengthened. In this connection I should like to call the attention of the Director-General to the advisability of publishing some documents in Turkish and distributing them widely.

The Turkish workers are still imperfectly acquainted with the I.L.O. and they wish to spread greater knowledge of their own situation. I am persuaded that the action recently taken by the I.L.O., namely, the appointment of a Correspondent in Turkey and the establishment of a regional manpower office at Istanbul, will contribute very much to a better comprehension of the problems which are of concern to us.

The agenda of the present session of the Conference includes questions regarding social security, industrial relations and the conditions of work of agricultural workers. In all these fields success depends to a large extent on the extension and development of a strong trade union movement. In Turkey the workers take part in the administration of the branches of social insurance which have already been introduced. They hope to be able to contribute efficiently to the extension of the social security system. The development of the free trade union movement should enable them also to play a more active part in the whole domain of economic and social recovery. A better organisation of technical and vocational training accessible to all stages in our manpower, together with scientific and rational production arrangements, should enable them to increase their productivity and raise their standard of living.

Turkey is pre-eminently an agricultural country. Although the great mass of the farms are of a family and peasant character, seasonal

employed workers nevertheless play an important part.

As in most countries of the world, the trade union movement has not yet reached this circle, although there is already an agricultural labourers' union at Adana. Workers in industry will give all possible assistance to their brothers in agriculture, but it is also desirable that labour problems in agriculture in the Middle and Near Eastern countries should be studied more closely by the I.L.O. and that the technical assistance given by the I.L.O. should aid in solving these problems.

Turkish workers, conscious of the grave dangers threatening the free world, have made many sacrifices. They know that without liberty no progress in the social field is possible. They will do all they can to contribute to the economic and social recovery of the world and to world peace. They count on the comprehension and fellow-feeling of all those who have met here to achieve this same ideal.

Mr. ADACHI (*Employers' delegate, Japan*) speaks in Japanese.

Interpretation: Mr. ADACHI (*Employers' delegate, Japan*)—The excellent Report of the Director-General has provided a valuable survey of the progress being made throughout the world in the work of the International Labour Organisation, but there are some considerations relating to Japan upon which I would like briefly to touch.

First of all, I am honoured to have this opportunity to speak as the Employers' delegate from Japan before this illustrious organisation, which has as its objective the realisation of lasting world peace based on social justice. This is especially so since Japan's readmission to the I.L.O. took place only last year and I am thus the first formally appointed Employers' delegate from Japan to attend and speak at this Conference since my country's readmission.

If I might be permitted to mention something about myself, I would like to state that I participated in the establishment of the first employers' organisation established in Japan after the war and was its first president. In addition, I am connected with commercial radio broadcasting, an entirely new enterprise that has appeared in Japan since the war and, as I am thereby in close contact with the daily flow of international events, I have come to realise keenly, more and more, the very great importance of the mission of the I.L.O.

Thanks to the understanding and goodwill of the Allied nations Japan has just regained its sovereignty through the signing of the peace treaty on 28 April this year. It has thereby been enabled to regain an independent position in international society. We are determined to use our economic capacity gained since independence to contribute to the promotion of the welfare of all mankind and, in particular, to the development and progress of the economy of Asia.

During 1951, thanks to the friendly assistance and guidance of the Allied nations, both Japan's mining industry and the actual total national income were able to surpass the pre-war level. In other words, the mining

industry registered 128.7 per cent. and the actual total national income 103 per cent. of the pre-war level. In comparison with six years ago, when production had fallen to a mere 20 per cent. of the pre-war figures, it can be said that a conspicuous recovery has been made. It should be noted, however, that the population has increased over 20 per cent. during this period. Thus, the people's actual *per capita* income has barely reached 84 per cent. of the pre-war level. In the field of foreign trade also, the import total has not reached 50 per cent. of the pre-war figure and the export total has not reached 40 per cent. of the pre-war total.

In his Report for this year the Director-General has emphasised the trend toward world-wide tension in national economies resulting from rearmament. In Japan rearmament is not recognised under the new constitution. Nevertheless, there are expenditures related to internal security which account for 21.6 per cent. of the total national expenditures and 3.7 per cent. of the national income. Although this ratio is not necessarily large, the Japanese economy, which has suffered great war damage, is seriously concerned about any further increase of the defence burden.

Throughout its history the only way in which Japan, a country with small territory and scarce resources, could develop its economy and hope to raise the people's living standard has been to expand its foreign trade. It is my country's hope that the I.L.O. will be able to assist the development of free commerce and trade in the world. Similarly, we deeply appreciate the efforts being made by the I.L.O. among European countries in order to solve the population problem, but it is our hope that these efforts can be expanded in order that a solution of this most difficult problem can be reached on a world-wide basis.

Since the end of the war, under the guidance of the Allied nations, we have endeavoured to establish a democratic economy and society. At the same time, despite the handicap of a meagre economy, we have endeavoured to maintain and enhance the workers' livelihood as much as possible. In this connection it might be mentioned that before the war the workers' income represented 38 per cent. of the total national income. In 1951 this percentage had reached 44.

Since we believe that a further increase of the workers' income will depend on labour productivity from now on, in the economy of post-independence Japan serious study and efforts are being devoted to the rationalisation of management. At the same time we believe that a social security system to battle against poverty and want should be maintained and gradually improved as the economic capacity increases.

Turning to management-worker relations in Japan, we find that now that the checks imposed by the occupation have been removed with the attainment of independence, the labour movement in Japan is showing a trend toward increasing activity. Utilising this trend, however, certain radical elements centring on the communists and North Koreans, other than workers, incited disturbances on

May Day this year. In addition, political strikes directed against governmental legislation have occurred in some fields of industry. We have learned that reports of these incidents have drawn the keen attention of various nations towards Japan.

On account of such destructive action based on violence as the May Day disturbances we consider it only proper, from the viewpoint of safeguarding democracy and maintaining peace and order within the nation, that a law to prevent and punish anti-subversive acts has been drafted in our country.

In regard to the political strikes strong criticism is growing even among the labour unions, and in the light of the Japanese national trait that seeks the middle way, we are by no means pessimistic regarding the future of the labour movement. We anticipate that as the labour movement attains maturity a true balance will gradually be reached in labour relations.

In addition, although certain revisions of labour laws have been introduced into the National Diet this spring, the revision of the Labour Standards Act consists of technical amendments of the sections which both labour and management had agreed were not in conformity with Japanese conditions as discovered in practice over the past few years. We would like it to be understood that this revision is by no means of such a nature as to affect the standards of international labour Conventions. Nor does the revision of the Trade Union Act and of the Labour Relations Adjustment Act signify in any way oppression of the labour union movement. These are not new laws but merely the codification in the post-occupation period of the policies carried out by the Allied nations during the occupation of Japan. We therefore consider them as proper legislative measures.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that on the basis of social justice the employers of Japan are determined, through the self-awakening of both labour and capital and through their mutual trust, to achieve industrial peace and labour-capital co-operation, thereby being able to make a worthy contribution to the realisation of the objectives toward which the I.L.O. is so resolutely advancing.

Mr. WEINBERGER (*Employers' delegate, Austria*)—As representative of the employers of a country which, unfortunately, is still occupied by four foreign powers but which has proved its wish for independence in the seven years since the end of the war, I gladly take this opportunity of discussing at this Conference the very interesting and informative Report of the Director-General, which rates so highly independent thought and speech, as well as free competitive enterprise.

In his Report the Director-General lays stress on increasing productivity. This is of great importance to Austria since it is the only way to produce more goods. In the first place Austria's agricultural production must be greatly increased in order to be, as far as possible, independent of imports of foodstuffs. Owing to the lack of agricultural workers this increase in production can only be reached

through higher productivity, but Austria also needs an increase in industrial productivity in order to produce more cheaply for the world market. High productivity requires not only organised labour and technical knowledge but, above all, capital. The building up of new capital meets with difficulties in a great number of European countries, first, on account of latent inflation, which up to now has been undeniable, and secondly because of the contradictory views of the big bourgeois and socialist parties on this point. Therefore, building up capital on the widest possible basis seems most desirable to us Austrian employers.

To this end we consider it very important that the individual workers should, as far as possible, be the owners of personal property. It would seem to us to be a good goal for the workers to invest their savings as much as possible in shares in the enterprises which employ them.

Full employment, which the Director-General's Report also underlines, has up to now been widely realised in Austria. However, I would like to point out that full employment unfortunately bears a close relation to inflation. We employers agree, therefore, that to get rid of unemployment must surely be our highest aim, but it is not one which can be reached at any price.

Mr. Morse has devoted a considerable part of his Report to the problem of inflation and its consequences. In Austria, too, there has been evidence of inflationary tendencies in the last few years. An attempt was made to balance the consequences of inflation by means of general salary and price agreements, but this method threatened to speed up more and more the turning wheel of inflation. Austrian industry, therefore, appealed to the whole population about six months ago to put a stop to this dangerous tendency by avoiding all further salary and price increases and to stabilise the value of money by effecting savings in public administration. In this way our economy is ensured a peaceful development.

Austrian industry and commerce led the way with a good example and burdened itself through price reduction of various products with an unjustified sacrifice of a billion schillings within the last six months. Our workers met our efforts with full comprehension, as they too had reached the conviction that they would obtain no advantage from higher salaries if these were accompanied by increased prices and a decrease in the value of money, and that, moreover, a stabilisation of the economic situation was also of the greatest importance to all workers. This action of price stabilisation, which is due to the initiative of the employers, has been beneficial for Austria. Our currency is stabilised and an increase in productivity can effect further reductions in prices and, therefore, also result in bigger sales and the avoidance of unemployment.

We consider it important to underline specially the fact that the co-operation in Parliament of the bourgeois and socialist parties has done a lot to maintain peaceful labour conditions and political stability in Austria. I would point out, in this connection, that the communist party in Austria has not been able to

cross the 5 per cent. line in the elections since 1945.

It must also be kept in mind that Austria is in a specially difficult position due to the still existing occupation. Imagine what it means that the large oil production of our country is withdrawn from Austrian administration under the title of "German property". In 1951 the oil production of Austria topped that of Rumania, the European country which is best known for oil production. The proceeds of these oil wells which were withheld from us would not only have covered the whole of the country's requirements but would also have brought the country important financial resources and evened out the trading balance. Picture to yourself how heavy is the burden of the occupation costs, the total amount of which since 1945 has been just as high as the help Austria has received during the same period through the Marshall Plan.

Finally, just consider how much the utilisation of the industrial and agricultural production of our own country is impeded owing to a large number of enterprises being under the administration of a foreign occupation power, also through the title of "German property". The production of these works is to a great extent lost to the Austrian economy; nor are any taxes paid by them to the Austrian State.

If, in spite of all this, Austrian industry since 1945, and after having been destroyed during the second world war, has been built up and modernised thanks to big investments, it is surely due to the Marshall Plan but also, above all, to the good relations existing between Austrian industry and the workers. These relations are especially based on the comprehension with which the employers meet the wishes of the workers for social security.

Permit me also a word on the subject of social achievements. As our Minister for Social Welfare stated here last year, Austria belongs to those countries whose social legislation is the most advanced. It is partly due to the comprehension of the Austrian employers of social needs and the very effective work of the trade unions in this direction that the Austrian workers have a legally documented and freely granted maximum of social rights and social security.

The Director-General's Report stresses with reason that social improvement is only possible with simultaneous economic improvement. Every over-tension, every transgression of what the economy can stand, would turn against those for whom social achievements should be advantageous, that is to say, against our workers. We must, therefore, take up the task with care and deliberation if a further development of social legislation is to be reached, whether in one direction or the other. As soon as our country has once more attained its freedom, as well as its full economic freedom, and as soon as the productivity of our country is increased so as to ensure its position in international competition, the Austrian employers will gladly work with their workers and employees to develop social security, for which we also strove in the years gone by. In that way we may preserve social peace.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley	<i>India :</i> Mr. Menon Mr. Tata	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Espejo	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Keyvan	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajm Mr. Licki
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Sölvén
<i>Bolivia :</i> Mr. Pérez del Castillo Mr. Torres	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Bounous (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Win	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Goulet Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. King	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Kayser (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Huberty (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Roberts
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Laris (substitute for Mr. Desentis)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. McGrath (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Bayce (substitute for Mr. Pons) Mr. Rovira (substitute for Mr. Troitíño)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Graterol Mr. Soto Montero (substitute for Mr. Velutini) Mr. Ochoa
		<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mrs. Seweriin Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Chau
		<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Ahmad	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Storch (*Minister of Labour, Federal Republic of Germany*), Sir Walter Monckton (*Minister of Labour, United Kingdom*), Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*), Mr. Patteet, Mr. de Ruijter (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*).

TENTH SITTING

Tuesday, 17 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna*RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS
BY PORTUGAL

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference has an announcement to make.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Conference is informed that the Director-General received on 13 June the instruments of ratification by Portugal of the following four international labour Conventions : Food and Catering (Ships' Crews) Convention, 1946 (No. 68) ; Certification of Ships' Cooks Convention, 1946 (No. 69) ; Medical Examination (Seafarers) Convention, 1946 (No. 73) ; Certification of Able Seamen Convention, 1946 (No. 74).

EIGHTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION
COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I now call on Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Eighth Report of the Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Eighth Report of the Selection Committee, which has already been printed and distributed, be adopted.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, the Eighth Report of the Selection Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The second item on the agenda for today is the

continuation of the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. PIRES (*Employers' delegate, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mr. PIRES (*Employers' delegate, Brazil*)—This is the first time that I have had the honour to bring before the International Labour Conference the ideals and the spirit of collaboration which inspire the Brazilian employing class. Naturally I am impressed by this responsibility and by the great brilliance of the present meeting. Nevertheless, I am stimulated by the message of comprehension and solidarity which I have to bring to you.

It is a symbol of great historic importance that so many eminent men should have met together in Geneva at the International Labour Conference in a common desire for harmony and understanding. This desire is dominant in Brazil and has inspired both our advanced labour legislation and the social reforms which have been undertaken spontaneously by the Brazilian employing class.

Law generally comes into being as a result of prevailing conditions and social tendencies. An excellent proof of this is the conviction of Brazilian employers that the basis of social reform in our country is not violence or State compulsion but is the product of a long-term policy wisely implemented by the Government. We are secure in our own convictions, but ready to discuss the views of others and to accept any contribution in the spirit of compromise with which it is offered.

Faithful to these basic intentions, I would like to describe to you the policy of the Brazilian employers and their social achievements. I refer to the Commercial Social Service (Sesc), the National Commercial Apprenticeship Service (Senac), the Industrial Social Service (Sesi), and the Industrial Apprenticeship Service (Senai).

These social assistance and educational institutions came to birth as a result of a realisa-

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

tion on the part of the Brazilian employing class that capital has a social function and that increased wealth through greater production can be based only on social stability and a proper regard for the value of human labour.

We do not think that the State, in a democracy, can take over every form of social action as a monopoly. We consider that, apart from the general and collective guarantee of minimum standards, the responsibility for fulfilling the needs of the worker, particularly in regard to social assistance, should be transferred more and more from the public authorities to private initiative.

Consequently we are very glad to have heard what was said by the eminent Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Paul Ramadier, in his memorable speech of 4 June.

All this is the result of an atmosphere based on mutual recognition of rights and of responsibilities on the part of employers and of employees, under the necessary protection and guidance of the State.

If we single out industrial relations from among all the phenomena of present-day social conditions, we do so because we think that it is the most important of these phenomena at the present moment.

We are in full agreement with the ideas expressed by the Director-General. Whether the system has been slavery, handicrafts, the corporate State, or strict capitalism, the world has always found it necessary to aim at greater production as well as at a better and juster distribution of wealth. But production can only be greater and better if conditions of labour are improved; and it is only possible to make a just distribution of wealth if we aim at giving the worker more than the living minimum—at giving him something which permits him to satisfy all his reasonable requirements. Consequently measures merely of assistance are not enough; we must aim at a real raising of the standards of life of the economically weak and socially dependent by an increase of the national wealth which, in the ultimate analysis, means greater productivity and a higher income *per capita*.

The excellent Report of the Director-General, which gave me the occasion to make some observations regarding national social policy, also inspires certain reflections concerning social policy in the international field. First of all, the distance between the economically developed and the underdeveloped States is becoming a more and more disturbing factor in the world. Only a policy of moving public and private capital from the over-capitalised States to the underdeveloped States can re-establish the equilibrium which the social peace of the world demands. The balance of international movement of capital since the war has been quite insufficient to give minimum possibilities of improving their economic conditions to the economically weaker countries.

The Report tells us what the weaker countries—importers of capital—should do but it does not point out, as it should, the responsibilities of the economically powerful countries, which should stimulate their excess capital with a view to greater flow of the latter to the underdeveloped countries.

Fortunately, the Report does stress the

intimate relationship between economic and social policy.

From ideas of pure liberalism in economy we have passed gradually in recent decades to an empiric attitude to economic and social organisation. We know that methods must be rationalised and we know that society must discipline itself with regard to its relationships and that these must be based on a realistic view of the gradual transformations which are going on.

In Brazil we have realised that a proper regard for human labour based on social justice must be the corner-stone of our progress. Consequently, the most intensive study and attention must be given to labour law. In our Constitution labour is defined as a social duty; it involves rights and it creates obligations also. We have passed the stage of unilateral contracts and now have a system under which there is mutual respect and understanding between the three basic elements in a nation's life—labour, capital and Government.

I have said that Brazilian social reform has not been State-inspired. Nevertheless, it would be most unjust to overlook the very great encouragement which it receives as a result of the clear-sightedness and strength of will of that great statesman, His Excellency Getulio Vargas, the President of Brazil.

His constant guidance at all times in all vicissitudes and despite the inevitable clash of interests has made him the supreme protector of Brazil's achievements in social justice.

It was because of this characteristic more than any other, this impartiality—essential if the clear horizon of industrial relations in my country is to be kept unclouded—this quality, bound up in the present history of the Brazilian nation, that he was brought back to power as our President.

It was a renewed proof of his wisdom, continuing his record of the past, that his first care was for the Ministry of Labour, the organ through which the Government carries out its task of fostering Brazil's tripartite evolution.

There could have been no better choice, as Minister of Labour, than José de Segadas Viana, the illustrious President of the present Conference.

At the beginning of my speech I said I had a message of understanding and solidarity to deliver to you. That is because the Brazilian delegation—representatives of Workers, Employers and Government—forms one whole. It is for this spirit of understanding and solidarity that our great country stands.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan*)—I must at the very outset congratulate the Director-General on his illuminating Report, which shows, in particular, a penetrating grasp of the great problems with which the underdeveloped countries are faced today. I wish I had the time to say something about all or most of the problems referred to by the Director-General, but with the time at my disposal I shall have to remain content with touching on only some of the salient points which are vital to an underdeveloped country like Pakistan, which has less than five years' existence as an independent State. I cannot do

better than commence with a reference to the preamble of the I.L.O. Constitution which lays down, *inter alia*, that "conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled". These words have been ringing true down the gallery of time. Only if humanity can, in its march of civilised progress, appreciate the implications of this truth, only if it is realised by our more fortunate brethren that the only solution to our ills is the economic development of the world as a whole, will man as his highest attainment be able to ensure an equitable and fair distribution of wealth resulting in the supply of amenities of life to those who have been denied them so far.

I am sure you will all agree with me that the economic conditions of developed and underdeveloped countries, though different in complexion, are intimately interconnected. The days of economic isolationism are over. Every problem today tends to be an international problem and has to be tackled by the combined efforts of the peoples of the world. The aim of the States Members of the I.L.O. should be the economic development of every region of the world and improved social policy which would lead to improved standards of living.

For the economic development of underdeveloped countries and particularly of agricultural countries like Pakistan and other Asian countries, note must be taken of a few basic facts. In the first place the development must be twofold, viz., agricultural and industrial, in order to be all-embracing and really effective. Each must be complementary to the other, like the role played by capital and labour. Secondly, the development—both agricultural and industrial—has to keep pace with the increase of population. If this important fact is neglected the country concerned will face either the operation of Malthusian law or a fall down the abyss of increasing poverty. Thirdly, with the growth of industrialisation the mobility of labour from agriculture to industry, and vice versa, has to be regulated or controlled. The world has witnessed many a time an undesirable drift from rural areas to boom towns of industry due to the irresistible attraction of higher and quick cash remuneration; this involves the danger of upsetting the economy of a nation. After all, industry itself cannot feed the population unless due attention is paid to food production. Fourthly, measures are essential to remove chronic underemployment and unemployment. And, lastly, food production has to be increased. Only the other day the 18-nation council of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, which met at Rome to review the world food situation, concluded that hunger and malnutrition still afflict a large part of the world, and that food shortage is most acute in much of South-East Asia. We must take note of the warning of the Director-General of F.A.O. that the problem of hunger is already serious and will become more acute if the present trend continues.

As against these requirements we observe that during 1950-1951 most of the industrially advanced countries were busy stock-piling essential raw materials on account of the

threat of war, and this has put the world economy out of gear. The prices of raw materials which the eastern countries like Pakistan used to export are now going down. This is likely to have an adverse effect on the internal volume of employment and standard of living of the people in these countries.

The rearmament programmes of different countries have caused scarcity of labour in armament industries and resulted in unemployment in other categories of industries which produce consumer goods. In this race for armaments it is the underdeveloped countries which have to suffer most. If we take into account the total amount of money the nations of the world are spending on armaments, and compare it with the estimated money needed for development works amongst the countries, I am sure we will find that a mere percentage of the money being spent on armaments would be sufficient to finance social and economic development. I shall, therefore, plead, with all the emphasis at my command, for a diversion of at least part of the investment from the armament industries of all the big industrial countries to the production of capital goods for the development of underdeveloped countries, particularly of the East, whose standards of living are subnormal and whose grinding poverty is a challenge to the peace of the world. The grim truth of history that external war for a country is not as dangerous as internal revolutions cannot be forgotten. There are powers which very seldom attack a country from outside. Instead they encourage and then take advantage of want, poverty and dissatisfaction in another nation. Hence the justification of acting upon the truth contained in the Preamble to the I.L.O. Constitution, which I quoted in the beginning, and removing "injustice, hardship and privation" suffered by the people.

The Director-General, on page 50 of his Report, has referred to the question of manpower. The position in short is this: where there is surplus manpower, there is less work, and where there is work, manpower is short. It is a well-established fact that an efficient employment service is necessary in every country in matching workpeople against work. If this holds good as a national measure, there is no reason why we should not—if we really feel that we belong to a family of nations—consider that the time is already ripe for the establishment of international machinery for proper distribution of manpower. What we really need is the preparation of a world budget of manpower.

I would now draw attention to the paragraphs relating to "productivity" and "wages" on pages 90 to 93 of the Director-General's Report. The two concepts are closely related to each other. We agree with the Director-General that the worker should have an incentive for higher and improved production. We welcome the system of payment by results. Unless efficiency is improved and incentive provided, productivity cannot be increased. It should not be difficult to introduce a system to achieve this end. The suggestion of preparing a practical handbook on methods of introducing and applying such

systems of payment by results is a timely move. We shall anxiously wait to see what steps the Governing Body takes in this direction.

It is heartening to note that in a world torn by conflict and on edge with fear and suspicion, the I.L.O. is marching on against the real enemies of mankind, *i.e.*, want, poverty and social inequality, keeping in view the lofty ideals of social justice. The results may not be spectacular but they are sound and, as long as there is sincere effort, there is hope. We particularly appreciate the I.L.O.'s regional activities in recent years and feel happy that the different stages of economic and social development in different regions have been recognised. We hope that such activities will be further intensified according to the needs in each field. The extent to which the young State of Pakistan desires to look ahead and benefit from the experience of developed nations is indicated by the fact that it has the largest number of projects for which technical assistance has been requested from the I.L.O., as will be seen from the table on page 61 of the Report. The fields in which technical assistance agreements either have been signed already or are being negotiated include a general survey of labour conditions in the country, organisation of employment service and technical and vocational training centres, social security, a preliminary survey of agricultural labour, industrial welfare, training of labour officers, training within industry, statistics and co-operation. In this context I may mention that the specialised agencies must bear in mind the cost involved in such projects for the underdeveloped countries, whose financial resources may be limited.

Before closing I would like to mention very briefly what has been done recently or is being done at present in my country in the fields of economic and social development. It is only by a substantial increase in our national wealth that we can hope to raise living standards and provide social services. With this end in view the Government of Pakistan drew up in 1950 a six-year plan of development. The plan was the first co-ordinated effort to develop and exploit the resources of the country and to provide measures of social uplift on a planned basis. The estimated cost of the plan was 2,600 million rupees and included projects for agriculture, transport and communications, fuel and power, industry and mining, social capital, etc. Later, following the principle that national efforts towards social and economic development should be applied first to fundamentals, and taking into account the international situation and increasing difficulties in obtaining goods from abroad, the Government of Pakistan launched a two-year priority plan of economic development to implement the more urgent projects. Besides it was decided that the Government should itself take the initiative in cases where the establishment of important industries would in the ordinary course entail undue delay or where private enterprise was lacking. Power development is also part of the two-year programme.

In the field of agriculture a number of irrigation projects are under way to bring large areas under cultivation. An Agriculture

Enquiry Committee, headed by Lord Boyd Orr, has examined the whole question of agricultural production in all its aspects. Recently there have been important land tenure reforms in my country which aim at improving the living conditions of the agricultural workers. We have very little agricultural labour in the strictly technical sense of the term. Most of the people occupied in agriculture are tenants who till the soil and share the produce with the landlord, apart from paying land revenue to the State. The recent agrarian reforms in the Punjab fix a minimum of 60 per cent. of the produce which the tenant is entitled to retain, and he cannot be evicted from the land except under certain specified conditions of misbehaviour. We have, therefore, followed in spirit the principle of minimum wages for agricultural workers in large areas of our country. It is, however, necessary to increase productivity, as the tenants have small holdings. For this purpose we need machinery, fertilisers, modern equipment and technical assistance for reclaiming and improving vast tracts. We hope the I.L.O. will set up two separate Divisions to deal with the agricultural workers and problems, one for Asia and the other for the western countries. These activities may have to be co-ordinated with the functions of the F.A.O.

It is also proposed to make efforts to improve rural conditions under a community development plan which will be a bilateral partnership on the part of the State and village.

A housing corporation has been set up to promote construction work in the country, which will, apart from other things, considerably increase employment. Besides, it has also been decided to set up a house-building finance corporation which will provide loans to housing societies and individuals for construction of houses. For the refugees several new colonies have already been built up.

The provincial Governments have their own programmes of economic development. It would not be presumptuous on my part if I quoted Mr. Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, regarding the development project which is in progress in the Punjab, one of the provinces of Pakistan. He had seen most of the projects under way and said that in the world today this project was one of the best designed and well executed.

The central Government, in its budget for 1951-1952, set apart 100 million rupees in the shape of a non-taxable fund for financing schemes aiming at social uplift; these schemes will be implemented during the next two years. It has also been decided to set up a school of social welfare training with the help of United Nations experts.

In one of my previous speeches I made a reference to the co-operative movement in my country. In this context you would be interested to know that we not only have a network of about 49,000 co-operative credit societies, thrift societies, and rural uplift societies, with a total membership of about 3 1/4 millions, but have also commenced co-operative farming on a large experimental scale in certain regions. The co-operative banks have played a great part in financing trade and industry during the early period following the creation of Pakis-

tan, when foreign banks evacuated, closed down, or declined to advance finances on the security of pledged goods. We have great faith in the co-operatives, and it will be only proper to set up the Asian Field Office for technical assistance on co-operative questions in Pakistan, in Punjab, which has taken great strides towards this movement.

In the field of labour constant efforts are being made to improve the lot of the working class. Realising that an authoritative investigation is necessary for a comprehensive labour policy for a number of years to come, the Government has invited a team of I.L.O. experts to look into such matters as industrial relations, hours of work, holidays, employment of women and young persons, labour welfare administration and enforcement of labour laws, wages, methods of work, industrial hygiene and safety. We have not ignored agricultural labour and have invited an expert to conduct a preliminary survey of labour problems in agriculture. I have already mentioned the technical assistance requested from the I.L.O. for the various projects. The existing laws on labour in the country will be reviewed on receipt of the reports of the experts. I may mention that during the last session of the Legislature, the Employment (Record of Services) Act was adopted, which can be applied to a large variety of employees including those in small hotels, household employment and working journalists. As the title suggests, the law requires the proper maintenance of the record of services of the employees.

Lastly I have great pleasure in announcing that my Government has now ratified a few more Conventions, the most important being the Convention concerning the application of the principles of the right to organise and to bargain collectively. By ratifying this Convention and the previous one concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organise, we have given convincing proof of our desire not to lag behind the progressive nations of the world but to grant this fundamental human right to the citizens of the State, who, crippled through the dark ages of their political servitude and economic decadence, have a burning desire to rise to their full stature.

Interpretation : Mr. BOSON (*International Co-operative Alliance*)—The Director of the International Co-operative Alliance, Mr. Watkins, is unfortunately prevented from attending this session of the Conference and has asked me to say from this platform what he himself would have said if he could have been present.

My first duty is to thank you for the opportunity of addressing the Conference on behalf of the International Co-operative Alliance, an advisory organisation which today represents over 100 million co-operators in 32 countries. These co-operators are, for the most part, workers in industry or on the land, with whose welfare the International Labour Office is particularly concerned. They are people who, for many years, have been successfully strengthening their own economic security and promoting their social welfare through mutual

aid associations. As early as 1895, nearly 25 years before the International Labour Organisation was set up, co-operators established the International Co-operative Alliance in order to carry their system of mutual help across national frontiers and to create a body which would represent their interests and their common ideals throughout the world.

My intervention today is motivated by the references to co-operative societies on various pages of the Director-General's Report. These bear mostly upon action taken or planned by the International Labour Organisation for the promotion of co-operative enterprises in different regions of the world, either in the normal course of its activities or under one or other of the programmes of technical assistance.

I may say at once that the International Co-operative Alliance welcomes such activities on the part of the I.L.O., and is grateful for the powerful help it receives thereby in realising its own aims. In particular, the setting up of an Asian Field Office to deal with co-operation and handicrafts should bring a much appreciated reinforcement in a region where the Alliance is for the present unable to provide as much direct assistance to its actual and potential affiliates as it would like.

For its part, the International Co-operative Alliance is happy to render to the International Labour Organisation any service within the scope of its resources, more particularly in connection with co-operative projects in the sphere of technical assistance. From the start of the activities of the Co-operation Service over 30 years ago, there has existed between it and the Alliance a cordial interchange of views and information, and it is gratifying that, as a result of conversations during the past year, a fuller measure of agreement has been reached for collaboration or consultation in many branches of their work. The Alliance is ready at all times to do its utmost to recruit persons capable of implementing technical assistance projects requiring practical knowledge and experience of co-operation, as well as to ensure that the holders of I.L.O. fellowships are brought into effective contact with the proper co-operative organisations for their studies and research.

In conclusion, I want to emphasise that the proper aim of any co-operative project within the sphere of technical assistance must be to create and develop enterprises and organisations capable of standing on their own feet and assuming responsibility for their own survival. Underlying every genuine form of co-operation is the basic idea of self-help expressed through the practice of organised democratic mutual aid. The natural evolution of co-operative enterprises which owe their existence and their development to technical assistance is to graduate out of the tutelage of Governments and inter-governmental authorities into the stage of self-government so that they can play their part as free and independent members of the international system of mutual aid which the I.C.A. represents. Accordingly, the I.C.A. must and will continue to pursue its own line of action parallel with and supplementary to the Technical Assistance Programme and, wherever possible, in co-ordination with it.

Interpretation : Mr. BUU-KINH (*Government delegate, Viet-Nam*)—I should like first of all in the name of the Government of Viet-Nam to bring you the very warmest wishes for success and to state once more the hope which our nation places in the International Labour Organisation for the achievement of our common ideal of social justice. I am happy to express my Government's satisfaction with the substantial Report now before us, which it has studied with the keenest interest. My Government appreciates the positive achievements of the Organisation at the world level all the more keenly because at the national level, in its efforts to raise the standard of life and the output of our country, my Government has itself to satisfy very great needs and to overcome great difficulties.

The present world events, which the Director-General analyses in such a penetrating way, raise many problems of an economic and social character: inflation, increases in the cost of living, a considerable increase in demand as compared with the available resources, and armament programmes. Such are the principal nuclei of the problem, the solution of which the Report appears to contemplate from both the national and the international angles.

First of all, from the national point of view, the Report indicates the danger of following a policy which would not recognise the need for continued social progress during and after the completion of an armament programme.

Secondly, from the international point of view, the Report insists on the growing importance of this new form of international co-operation, technical assistance. Measures of an internal character to pursue social progress and measures of an international character taken to extend the scope of technical assistance are the dominant notes of the Report. In this brief speech I shall, therefore, merely speak of these national and international aspects of the present social problem.

The disorder and insecurity prevailing in some parts of our territory are the chief obstacles to the achievement of the essential objectives of our social policy. Despite these difficulties our Government has been able to make considerable progress and to prepare the way for future improvements. We intend to carry on side by side this battle for peace and this fight against poverty, sickness and ignorance. Does not the experience we have obtained during this troubled period show us clearly that general welfare and economic stability are as necessary to the maintenance of peace as a defensive armament intended to discourage aggression? A programme of defence need not hold up social development if the Government succeeds in its efforts to increase the volume of production. Consequently, my Government has concerned itself mainly with making the most of all our national resources. I do not want to give you a complete economic review of the situation. I will merely tell you briefly a few things about our production of rice, which feeds and gives employment to about nine-tenths of our working class. Many governmental measures have been taken to increase agricultural output, and these have given satisfactory results. The gradual extension of the pacified zones has been followed by

an increase in the areas under rice, which rose from 317,000 hectares to 465,000 hectares in the north of Viet-Nam and from 1,237,000 hectares to 1,287,000 hectares in the south (2½ acres to the hectare). The Government has distributed free of charge to farmers thousands of tons of seeds and chemical fertilisers. These measures have enabled us to achieve a good harvest, estimated at 2,096,564 tons of paddy in 1951, against 1,969,690 tons in 1950. This year Indo-China will have over 500,000 tons of rice available for export. Commenting on this fact, which has a direct effect on the problem of feeding the whole of south-eastern Asia, the *New York Times* concluded as follows: "The battle of South-East Asia depends still to a large extent on success on the nutrition front. The stability of each zone and the stability of a free Government depend to a large extent on the war against hunger."

Owing to the importance of our agricultural production, my Government, in a spirit of social progress, is striving to carry out an agrarian reform, from the point of view both of increasing production and of social justice.

Side by side with this economic development, a programme of social organisation is being applied. Control of health conditions, cheaper housing, guaranteed basic wages, family allowances, workers' housing and the fight against illiteracy—all these are now being put into effect.

Protective labour legislation conceived according to our ideals should, in order to be fully effective, form part of a co-ordinated programme of concerted effort in the economic and social field, a field in which international action must develop that spirit of co-operation and mutual help among interdependent nations. It is to conform to this tendency that our Organisation has expanded its activity in the domain of technical assistance, which must be considered from the standpoint of the beneficiary countries.

While we use this form of international assistance we know that it implies for us more duties than rights. We know that in giving us the key to knowledge and progress only a first step is being taken, only a first stage is reached which marks a step on the long road to a higher and stable production and a constantly rising standard of living. The work of the experts who have to make an inventory, to propose plans of reform, contemplates later development of the country which, in order to put that programme into effect, will have to ask for more experts, more technicians, more equipment and more capital.

In the conception and execution of the technical assistance programme adjustments can be anticipated, and its scope is not yet determined. In these circumstances we may hope that technical assistance will develop towards a broader form of economic assistance.

The fact that the Economic and Social Council, at its session in August-September 1951, recommended a liberal interpretation of the rules relating to the supply of equipment and consumption goods may perhaps be a first step in this direction.

While recognising the results already achieved by technical assistance programmes, particularly in Asia, we would hope for an

extension of this activity, which must go beyond the stage of information and instruction and be combined with financial assistance. The internal obstacle which hampers economic development is the lack of capital resulting from the small volume of savings. The lending capacity of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development seems to be limited rather by the lack of carefully prepared plans and of recommendations of the Economic and Social Council than by lack of capital.

If the means adequate to its mission are granted to it, this form of expanded technical assistance, the result of the solidarity of free peoples combined in a common desire for social progress, will become one of the greatest achievements of history. In working for a stable equilibrium between the more developed and the less developed countries technical assistance will eliminate the causes of dispute and will thus create the social and economic conditions favourable to the political solution of the problems of peace.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Mr. Storch, Minister of Labour of the Federal Republic of Germany, who is honouring this Conference with his presence.

Mr. STORCH (*Minister of Labour, Federal Republic of Germany*) speaks in German.

Interpretation: Mr. STORCH (*Minister of Labour, Federal Republic of Germany*)—The Report which the Director-General of the I.L.O. has laid before this session of the International Labour Conference has been studied with the greatest interest in my country in employer, worker and Government circles and I would like to thank the Director-General particularly for having described so clearly the economic background which is of such decisive importance for the development of social policy throughout the world.

The inseparable connection between social policy and economic policy must be clear to anybody who is responsible for the solution of social problems. No single measure of social policy can be taken without regard to its economic and financial effects, and in no country of the world can an economic policy be pursued without regard to the social requirements of the working population. The interplay of cause and effect between the economic and social fields in the life of human society is inevitable. I am therefore particularly glad that in his Report the Director-General not only describes the present economic situation in the world but also looks to the future. He directs the attention of the Conference to 1954, the year which he regards as likely to be decisive. He tells us that that year is likely to mark a turning point for the world because by that time the rearmament programmes will probably have been more or less completed and, as in 1945, the economy will be switched again more definitely to civilian requirements.

From the purely German point of view, however, things look rather different. We are still living in a politically and economically divided Germany, and we hope that it will be

possible by 1954 for the men of goodwill in the world to bring the German people to unity in freedom. We Germans will then have to face the task of raising to a proper level the economically exploited part of Germany east of the Elbe. We shall have to make a very great economic effort in order to guarantee a decent standard of living in the whole of Germany. We shall have to make it our business to see that social security benefits are adapted to the new conditions in the whole of Germany. These great tasks before us oblige us, in planning future standards of social security, to act with the necessary caution.

Within the International Labour Organisation attention should be concentrated on drawing up minimum standards of social security which can either now or in the near future be reached by a great majority of the States Members. Proposals which can be ratified only by a minority are not of real use.

We also consider it good and useful for the Conference to deal with advanced standards of social security in order to give the States Members of the Organisation a spur for the development of their social policy. But I would regard it as wrong to give the advanced standards of social security the binding form of a Convention at the present stage.

I have read with great interest that part of the Report which deals with technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. The first 30 years of the International Labour Organisation were characterised by the attempt to promote social development in the Member States by a large number of Conventions and Recommendations. There is no doubt that this network of international agreements has had success. Although a number of Conventions have not been ratified to the extent desirable I would nevertheless like to affirm my belief that the Convention and Recommendation procedure laid down in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation will have further success in the future.

On behalf of my own country I can say that we are now examining the question of whether, and to what extent, we can undertake further ratification. We hope in the comparatively near future to be able to deposit quite a number of instruments of ratification.

The International Labour Organisation should in the future devote a still larger part of its activity than in the past to help for the economically underdeveloped countries so that they too may be in a position to ratify Conventions. My country is very ready to take part in this work. We have already informed the Organisation that we are prepared to put our experience in certain economic branches at the disposal of other countries in order to promote their technical and economic development. We are very willing to aid other people in this way because we know that our own economic progress in the post-war years has been dependent to a large extent on help from other countries. We believe that by means of our help we can repay part of the debt which we owe to other countries which, by their direct aid in the first years after the war, helped us to get back on our feet. This applies particu-

larly to the help given us by the American people in the form of Marshall Plan aid.

If in the future the International Labour Office provides experts from its own personnel or from the Member States in order to improve the economic situation and legislation of the less developed countries by means of advice, we shall be helping to give practical effect to the principles laid down in the international Conventions and Recommendations. Technical assistance and the advice which the International Labour Organisation can give constitute a valuable—indeed an indispensable—supplement to the labour and social law which the Organisation has already created. My country, which, since the 1880's, has undertaken a great deal of pioneer work in the social field, is ready to give the International Labour Office vigorous support in this regard.

The Director-General's Report shows clearly that the success of social effort is dependent on productivity in the country concerned. He points to the efforts of the International Labour Organisation to raise the level of economic productivity in the various Member States. But this encouragement of economic productivity must extend to all countries. You cannot in the long run prevent individual States from using their production potential to the full.

I have a remark to make on behalf of my own country in this regard. In the territory of the present Federal Republic and West Berlin about 50 million men and women are now living in a very small area. Before the war only about 38 million people lived in this territory. As many as 7 million were added to this number from the areas east of the Oder-Neisse line and from the other countries of Eastern Europe—people who have lost not only their homes but the economic basis for their existence. Besides this stream of men and women from the East, we had to receive another two million who could no longer stand the restricted life in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany. These people had to be reintegrated into the national and economic life of the Federal Republic at a time when, owing to the war and its consequences, there was hardly a sufficient economic basis for the original population. In addition, economic restrictions were imposed upon us which made it impossible for German economic life to develop freely.

I need only refer here to the fact that the output of iron and steel in the Federal Republic has been limited to a maximum of 11.1 million tons a year, although in the same area in 1933, *i.e.*, at a time when there was no war production economy in Germany, 16 million tons of iron and steel were produced. Anyone who knows the structure of German economy knows that it is based mainly on coal, iron and steel. In all other respects, as far as raw materials are concerned, we depend mainly on the world market. In addition to the restrictions I have just mentioned, there were others affecting the chemical industry, the manufacture of light metals and shipbuilding. In these latter fields the restrictions have been lifted in the course of the last two years, but those affecting iron and steel remain. It is clear to anyone versed in political economy that it is

impossible to incorporate an additional 9 million men in an economic unit without at the same time providing it with the possibility of extending its economic bases, in order to assure them of bread, work and social security. It is therefore essential that the German people shall have full freedom for economic development. Owing to these circumstances it has not been possible for the Federal Republic of Germany to use its productive capacity to the full; consequently we still have unemployment, which the Director-General described in his 1951 Report as affecting, on the average, around 1,430,000 people, or 9 per cent. of the population fit to work, as compared with an average of 1,585,000 people in 1950, or 10.2 per cent. of the working population. You will therefore understand that the Federal Republic of Germany has a particular interest in the international arrangements regarding migration. My country was represented both at the Naples Conference and at the Brussels Conference which established the Provisional Inter-Governmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (P.I.C.M.M.E.), which works closely with the I.L.O. We take a keen interest in the work of this Committee and help to finance it.

I must state, however, that in the future Germany will have an increasing need for trained, skilled workers and that their emigration to other countries might cause the greatest difficulty for us. The situation is different as regards the people who formerly lived in Eastern Germany and as regards the *Volksdeutsche* who lived in the countries of East and South Eastern Europe, and who were, for the most part, independent farmers. It is impossible for us to integrate them into our agriculture owing to the lack of agricultural land. It must be the principal task of P.I.C.M.M.E. to provide these valuable workers with new homes and a new economic basis for existence in some other part of the world. If we send German workers to countries which require them for the development of their economy, we must naturally lay great value on arrangements to guarantee proper conditions of work and proper treatment of these workers in the field of social security. A great deal has already been done with regard to conditions of work by means of bilateral agreements.

I would not like to let the opportunity given to me by this Conference go by without appealing to the immigration countries which receive European workers to conclude agreements with the emigration countries guaranteeing to immigrants social security benefits and labour rights. In Europe there is already a close network of international agreements regarding social security, and the Government of my country, ever since it came into existence, has taken a prominent part in concluding such agreements. We have signed agreements on social security with France, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Austria. An agreement with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is about to be concluded. Negotiations are in progress with Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg. Negotiations with the Scandinavian countries are under consideration. We must attach par-

ticular importance to the conclusion of similar agreements with the overseas countries which receive German workers. We must arrive at an internationally organised migration system which ensures that migrant workers do not lose the social security rights they have acquired in their homeland or those they acquire in their new country of employment. Provision must be made not only for proper conditions of work during the active working life of the migrants but also for their protection against the manifold hazards of life, just as if they had worked only in one country, where there is a social security system. I know that the creation of international relationships in this field is still regarded with some reserve in overseas countries, but it is also in the interest of these countries to provide European immigrants with the maximum social protection. It would be a good thing if the International Labour Office were to give the maximum help to the parties concerned with a view to the conclusion of such agreements, and I would like, therefore, to request the Director-General to pay special attention to this problem.

The question of social security is particularly difficult to solve in Germany, because not only have we to protect the workers against the normal hazards of life but we also have to provide for the very large numbers of persons who have been injured in the war or who have lost their breadwinners or their homes as a result of the war. The legislation regarding compensation for those who have suffered through the war makes it necessary for us to provide about 3,500 million marks for these persons every year. This figure can only be appreciated properly if it is remembered that the total annual tax product of the Federal Republic is only about 20,000 million marks. Expenditure for the integration and subsistence of displaced persons and refugees who can no longer work also amounts to thousands of millions of marks. In addition, we have to provide compensation for the displaced persons who have entered our territory and for those who have lost their property owing to the bombing or to the revaluation of the currency. An outsider can hardly understand what this means. Let me tell you that it means that every person who, in spite of the war, has retained all or part of his property, the war must within 30 years make over 50 per cent. of the value of such property to those who have lost all.

We in Germany are aware that we can only fulfil these heavy social obligations if everybody in economic life is convinced that he is treated justly. Above all the worker must once more have the feeling that in economic life also his human dignity is respected. We are therefore in course of introducing a new fundamental law giving the workers the right of co-decision in economic affairs. We have to make provision for this in two stages: first of all there is the right of co-decision at the top of the economic pyramid, whereby employees, together with employers, are able to influence the whole of economic life in Germany. We propose, in this connection, to establish an economic council in which workers and employers, through their respective organisations, will be able to express their views on all economic questions and aid the Government and Parlia-

ment by their suggestions and expert advice. This Federal economic council will later on have a regional substructure so that at every stage the parties to economic life will be able to influence legislation.

The question of how to organise the right of co-decision for workers within the undertaking is a very difficult one. We have, first of all, in this way to give the individual worker back the feeling that his human dignity is respected also in the field of economic affairs. We believe that, under this new arrangement, it will be possible to interest everyone, whether he is a worker or an employer, in economic life and in economic affairs so that there may be the greatest possible output in the interests of all our people.

The records of the last few sittings of this Conference reproduce the opinions expressed by a representative of another country on these purely German problems. His remarks have shown me that he has not understood the matter. It was as though a blind man were speaking on the beauties and colours of nature. We in Germany know very well that there can only be real social progress in our country if social progress is pursued also by the other peoples of the world, so that the standard of living of all men and women may be raised. We Germans, therefore, wish to strive within the International Labour Organisation to promote to the utmost the welfare of the whole of mankind in an atmosphere of peace.

Interpretation: Mr. PÉREZ (*Government delegate, Bolivia*)—In reading the Director-General's Report, especially the chapters relating to general economic conditions, social policy and the operational work of the I.L.O. and problems encountered, one appreciates not only the magnificent studies carried out by the Organisation but also that the most important problems of humanity at the present time are those relating to labour, the development of production and the need to harmonise these factors for the benefit of the great majority.

The Director-General says that "it is no exaggeration to say that most of the peoples of the world are suffering from shortages of the most elementary necessities".

My country welcomes this realistic judgment, pronounced by the highest authority of the International Labour Office, as the beginning of a new direction in the work of that institution which must beyond doubt be of greater help to those nations which, like my own, are insufficiently developed and therefore have to carry on a tremendous struggle against poverty, in spite of vast resources.

With a very clear vision of the historical process at present taking place, the Director-General says that "the political movements which have swept across underdeveloped countries . . . have been very largely based upon demands for social reforms" and that "the urge to achieve or strengthen national independence lends force to the demands for social reforms with which it is inextricably connected".

These comments are entirely valid for Bolivia, which is at present struggling to give a higher standard of living to its people and

to consolidate its national independence, extending it to the field of economic sovereignty and thus achieving solidarity with all those nations which, like India and Iran, under their great leaders Nehru and Mossadegh, are engaged in the same process.

My country is one of the great world centres of the production of tin and other minerals, and in a period of ten years it has produced them to a value of U.S. \$800 million. Let us consider how this great contribution to the world economy has benefited the producing country and its own people.

While other nations were fortunate enough to receive capital to develop their economic activities, Bolivia has received its capital from its own territory. The three great mining undertakings which monopolise tin production are foreign only as regards their fictitious domicile abroad, fixed with the object of evading taxes and benefiting from the imperialist protection which is now a thing of the past.

The capital of the three great tin producers in Bolivia was amassed in Bolivia, thanks to a stroke of luck in the discovery of very rich veins of ore and the constant rise in tin prices due to the two world wars. In this respect alone, there is notorious inequality between the nation and the producers. The result is that Bolivia, relatively poor and underdeveloped, paradoxically enough exports such large amounts of capital that a few Bolivian undertakings virtually control the tin industry and tin foundries throughout the world.

I must therefore analyse, in the course of this statement, the two aspects of the problem created by mining production in my country: that which affects the nation as a whole and that which relates to the social conditions of the workers who are directly engaged in mining. The analysis of these factors has led to a theoretical interpretation of the facts of Bolivian life which has determined the line of conduct adopted by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and its head, Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro, President of Bolivia.

The great mining interests of Bolivia, from the beginning of the century until now, have exploited tin deposits and exported their production without any control on the part of the State and without the least concern for standards of social security, industrial safety or other conditions of life of the workers. When the first labour legislation was introduced companies transferred their registered offices to the United States and to Europe, following their policy of depriving the country of every possibility of progressing and of diversifying its sources of production. The problem of tin production thus became more than simply a point of connection between the State, the workers and the employers, and represented a serious political danger for the sovereignty of the nation.

In the view of undertakings with large capital and exports worth millions of dollars, the best method of working was not to seek the co-operation of the people from whose effort their riches were derived; they chose rather to dominate the people and the nation and to mould the lives of the latter to the

needs and commercial appetites of their industries.

The debasement of the political life of the country resulted. The fiction of an independent State was maintained, with all the organisations created by the theory and practice of modern constitutional law, but the reins of power were in the hands of the mining "super-State" and its agents in the Government.

The social consequences are perfectly clear, in the light of the Keenleyside Report prepared in 1950 when the creatures of the capitalists of mining were still ruling; that report stated that industrial accidents which caused death or serious injury to the workers were very high in relation to the number of workers employed in the mines. The workers lacked any kind of labour protection and even the most elementary industrial safety regulations.

The conditions of life in these inclement regions where the mining industries operate extend to the whole population, since the entire economy depends on tin production.

As the Keenleyside Report also informed us—and it did not deal with the harshest aspects of the situation—in La Paz 407 out of every 500 families did not drink any milk at all and in the great mining area of Catavi, owned by the Patiño Company, the sale of milk indicated a consumption of 0.1 of a tin of condensed milk and one-sixth of a tin of evaporated milk, which is so small—as a United Nations expert said—as to be practically negligible.

A member of the Keenleyside Mission says that in the mining communities deaths during the first year of life frequently exceeded 500 per thousand.

Not only was the policy of our mining enterprises threatening to exhaust the mining wealth of the country—because every export of tin means an irreplaceable loss—but these enterprises are also destroying the human capital of our country by accidents and by diseases, such as silicosis and others, which every year take a heavy toll in casualties. During the second world war the loss in human material was 40,000 men disabled by accident and industrial disease.

As the State had simply been turned into a screen for covering the exploitation of the national wealth, it was natural that the results should be as recorded by Dr. Paz Estenssoro in an important leaflet called "The Trial and Judgment of the Bolivian Oligarchy" (*Proceso y sentencia de la oligarquía boliviana*), in which he says that it does not suit the Bolivian super-State that Bolivia should develop all its economic and social resources, because that would place obstacles in the way of the mining interests which are bleeding the nation white. Thus the nation is being exploited both by the mining industry and by the Government: the former sends abroad the country's wealth and the product of the Bolivian people's labour and the latter extracts taxes and buys protection. The incompetence of those in authority fitted in with exploitation like the halves of a sphere in which Bolivia was being choked to death in the name of democracy, freedom and the fight against totalitarianism.

This is why our country, with its enormous potential wealth, is living in steadily increasing misery and its resources are not being properly

used. The mining undertakings adopted a system of not allowing the national economy to be diversified and preferred to invest millions in importing food rather than to allow the cost of labour to rise as a result of the development of new industries.

Another aspect which must be noted is that there are no large tin-smelting plants in Bolivia. The mining interests claimed that there were technical difficulties, but the falsity of this excuse is proved by the existence of a small smelting works recently established in Oruro.

The real reason for the resistance on the part of the mine owners is that the State would have been able to control the production and smelting of tin and, therefore, to exact the proper legal taxes and prevent evasion.

This process of impoverishment of the country would have continued indefinitely had not the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement come into being and assumed power for the first time in December 1943.

The objectives followed by the Villarroel-Paz Estenssoro régime are clearly seen. Up to that date Bolivia had not been governed in accordance with its interests but merely for the profit of the mining undertakings.

The condition of the country was typically semi-colonial, and at that stage—as in our own day—what was needed was a national uprising, since the problem concerned all classes of society.

The National Revolutionary Movement introduced control of the export of minerals, diversification of our economy and land reform. The latter was necessary because of the feudal system and the rudimentary agricultural techniques. In the social field the Movement introduced trade union laws, payment for overtime, special remuneration for night work, compulsory social insurance, the protection of women and children and maternity protection, and obliged the mining undertakings to provide proper housing for their workers. As was pointed out in the Magruder Report in 1942, the workers were crowded together without even the most elementary conditions of hygiene.

In the sphere of land reform the régime abolished the feudal obligation of personal service, set up more than 5,000 rural schools and obliged the owners of the big estates to establish instruction centres in the country.

Considering that currency protection was fundamental to ensure that the increased wages which were introduced would signify increased purchasing power, the Movement limited fiscal credit, the increase in three years (1943-1946) being only from 740 million bolivianos to 870 million bolivianos, as a result of a policy of economy in administration, efficient tax-gathering and careful control of currency.

In implementation of its policy of creating new sources of production, the Government constructed a pipeline from Camiri to Cochabamba (750 km.), with the object of promoting the petroleum industry by bringing the product to the consuming centres.

Like every party which has a revolutionary political philosophy, the Movement concerned itself with the civil and political rights of all

classes and gave women equality of rights with men.

The objectives of this first nationalist Government could not be fully carried out because of the resistance of the feudal mining system, which was used to having a puppet State at its command and set out to destroy the Movement.

For many years the mining interests had consolidated their political control by establishing a monopoly over the most important newspapers. Working through economic control, they had used the press to maintain the country in a semi-cultured condition and had not allowed progressive movements to appear.

The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement tried to transform the structure of the nation, to recover the sources of wealth and to carry out its social aims, but this mercenary press was used as a weapon against the new régime of the Bolivian people and managed to convince a large part of continental and world opinion that our Movement was an eruption of totalitarian ideas in America.

An attempt was made to conceal the birth of a real nationalist movement with objectives limited to its own frontiers and, unfortunately, owing to the characteristics of our economy, which we had not yet been able to remedy, these co-ordinated internal and international manoeuvres were successful.

The assassination of President Villarroel, carried out by the mining interests, began a harsh struggle between the people and the exploiters of the nation.

The trade union delegate who represents the workers of my country here explained to this Conference the hard road travelled by the trade union movement in Bolivia, in the course of which the workers lost all the rights they had acquired between 1943 and 1946 and thousands lost their lives. Political rights disappeared and even women were imprisoned and exiled, an event unprecedented in Bolivian history. I would rather not go in detail into the sufferings of the Bolivian people during the last six years of the domination by the oligarchy.

The economy of my country fell into chaos. The public debt rose from 870 million bolivianos in 1946 to more than 3,200 million in 1950. The cost-of-living index rose from 760 to 1,306 in those five years. I have taken all this information from the report of the United Nations Technical Assistance Mission.

The mining interests, in contrast with the poverty of the population, increased their enormous profits in American dollars and continued to pay the same low wages to their workers in debased Bolivian currency.

The people of Bolivia understand the real origins of these economic problems and therefore in the general elections of May 1951 supported the party headed by Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro, which gained 80 per cent. of the votes. Dr. Paz Estenssoro became President and Dr. Hernán Siles Suazo, Vice-President.

This democratic expression of the will of the Bolivian people provoked an immediate reaction by the mining interests in their own defence; they superseded the popular will and implanted a military junta which held power for 11 months and dominated the poli-

tical and institutional life of my country, issuing many decrees in its own favour and persecuting citizens and trade union leaders, including the most prominent of the Bolivian trade union leaders, Mr. Juan Lechín, the present Minister of Mines and Petroleum, falsely accusing him of communist connections.

This situation had its inevitable epilogue in the heroic events of 9, 10 and 11 April 1952 which are known to you all and which returned the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement to the power which was legally its own.

This may seem an internal matter of no importance to the I.L.O., but it means the appearance of new relations between the Bolivian State, workers and employers, and therefore I have to bring it to your notice. It means the re-establishment of equilibrium between capital and labour under the auspices of the State.

It means, in other words, that in Bolivia capital and labour enjoy equal rights and guarantees and a man cannot be considered as a mere piece of machinery in the process of production of unlimited profits.

My Government considers therefore that it is following the letter and the spirit of the resolutions and recommendations of the I.L.O. and at the same time is paving the way for Bolivia to receive capital, the legitimate profits of which are amply guaranteed by an Act of 1945 and which would be used in a social environment stabilised by our progressive policy.

Fulfilling its historic duty, the present Government of my country has decreed the nationalisation of mineral exports, and is planning land reform.

In few countries of the world are such plans so necessary. The peasant in our mountains, despite his great capacity for work, is several centuries behind the times, and to bring him up to date in regard to civilisation and culture will need great efforts. It is precisely in this domain that the I.L.O. can give the greatest help to Bolivia.

I have already mentioned the help of the I.L.O. to underdeveloped countries and the fact that so far it has been mostly theoretical. This is understandable because labour problems depend on the kind of régime in each country, and that again depends on the efforts of the people.

In Bolivia there is now a revolutionary régime with great social intensity, and it is highly responsive to the execution of technical assistance schemes. My country hopes that it will have such assistance, particularly as concerns agrarian reform, and that is why we greet with great pleasure the visit to South America of the Committee under the chairmanship of Professor Beaglehole, which is the first stage in the creation of a pilot project for the indigenous peoples of the Andean highlands.

We would be glad to see the seat of this Committee in Bolivia because the various aspects of the indigenous problem are more evident in Bolivia than in any other country.

Mr. BAETA NEVES (*Workers' delegate, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mr. BAETA NEVES (*Workers' delegate, Brazil*)—In the name of the workers of Brazil I would like to say how glad I am to be able to speak to the world from this platform and to propound our anxieties and our hopes. We know from study of the Director-General's Report that our problems and ideals are analogous to those of other peoples, for we all aim at a life free from want and fear, at social justice and equilibrium, and at a better future for our sons.

In fact, there is no fundamental discord among the peoples of the world ; the discords of which so much is made result from a sectarian point of view. If we isolate ourselves, if each group sees things merely from its own point of view, from the standpoint of its own rights and claims, it will inevitably become bemused and disordered because it will be unable to appreciate the general interest and will not attain the balance which can be achieved only from an exchange of ideas and which is essential in view of the close connection between economic and social matters today.

We must unite in our classes, but act and judge as a society. In my country there are no castes and no exclusive group objectives. We are a new country, a people in course of formation ; our economy is expanding and no one can regard himself as finally classified. Each person plans his own life and his destiny is not inherited. A spirit of co-operation inspires the relations between workers, employers and Government. We have only been independent for little more than a century and we have put our freedom to good use. That great task brought forth all the latent vitality and sense of duty of our people, and it must not be dissipated now ; rather, it continues and makes for national unity. We ignore and despise the class distinctions which are to be found in some other countries.

There is sometimes a great difference between knowing and feeling. In the Director-General's Report we read of the danger and the disquiet of the present international situation, but although we are conscious of the danger we do not understand why other means of expression are not found than those deriving from force. We belong to a different continent, where there is peace. We are ignorant of the horror which threatens us although we are aware of our responsibilities and have fulfilled them twice before, in other lands. But the past does not bind the future. We live in a continent where nations respect one another, understand one another, esteem one another, and all problems are settled by agreement. And as the nations, so the people.

At present the Brazilian Government is establishing, through its Ministry of Labour, a policy of increasing production as the only real means of fighting inflation and raising the standard of life of the workers, since it has been shown that the race between salaries and wages brings no satisfactory result.

The first action of the Government in this connection was taken jointly with the workers and this shows that in a country in process of development political, social and economic advancement can be achieved only through harmony and co-operation. It cannot be

achieved by division and distrust, which sectarian antagonism has shown to be the seed-bed of régimes founded on force.

Production follows strictly from a combination of natural resources, capital and labour, an essential union failing which its results—a fair return for capital invested and fair wages for the labour provided—will be no more than an obsession played up in the wild proclamations of agitators.

I would not like it to be thought that my words mean that we do not face the present-day problems of inflation, low wages, etc. We believe that wages, apart from providing the necessary minimum, should enable the workers' children to be brought up and educated properly.

The humanisation of work is an ideal that we hold dear, but it is difficult in a country of incipient economy. We are consequently surprised that the Director-General appears to wish to reduce the value of technical assistance. His words in the present Report are very different from those which he addressed to the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., recently held in Petropolis. His reference there to technical assistance was welcomed by the Latin Americans, for we realise the fundamental importance of such assistance and are prepared to co-operate in raising world productivity by the participation of our own huge reserves.

Our Latin American countries have already passed the stage of being mere receivers of excess population from elsewhere. We have already passed the stage of primary economy, that is to say, agriculture and mining. We need machinery, capital and technicians to develop our industries further, to increase our profits and our wages, and thus to increase our purchasing power both on the home market and abroad.

The workers of the world have no illusions; they know that they cannot receive economic benefits except as a result of their own efforts. Economic factors follow directly from production. Value is not a cosmic but a social phenomenon and all social data are founded in man. Society is merely man in his collective aspect.

We see from the Director-General's Report, which confirms what was said at the Petropolis Conference and experience in our own country, that the vicious circle of increase in the cost of living is world-wide, and that the pseudo-panacea of higher wages is world-wide also. It would be a healthy measure to introduce a policy of increasing purchasing power, for this is the only means of freezing prices and readjusting standards of living reduced by inflation and which the above-mentioned pseudo-panacea has not improved. The solution is rightly defined, but we do not see at present the means for reaching it.

We see in the Director-General's Report that plans are under consideration for the fixing of a quantum for a national wages fund. We agree with such a scheme.

Capitalists have often in the past striven to defend the purchasing power of their capital by means of monetary deflation funds. Why should not the same be done to defend the purchasing power of wages by means of a currency deflation fund in the field of wages?

In this way it would be possible to maintain wage levels without a constant increase in costs of living.

Such a fund could be a national institution, as the I.L.O. suggests, or it could spring from private enterprise, as was the case with funds to defend the value of capital and its profitability. The same might well be done for wages, which are the payment for labour and likewise deserve protection.

It would not be reasonable for countries which have had due regard to the need for proper treatment of labour and have not permitted wages to be out-distanced by the cost of living to be damaged in international economy for this reason. There is a danger that there might be social dumping and unfair competition by countries which pay lower wages.

We must protest from this international platform against the policy of regarding labour as a commodity, as a mere factor in overhead costs. Human beings cannot be treated on the basis of mere economic considerations; we must respect their human dignity.

We Latin Americans, employers and employees, as is shown in the statements of the Chapultepec, the Teresopolis and the Araxá Charters, are determined not to forget the importance of economic and social improvements for the working class as a means of safeguarding social justice. In Latin America there is an awakening of consciousness in this respect. No political or economic systems can be maintained without support from the working class and the working class will not support a régime which does not have due regard to its just claims. Social peace results from social justice, and economy is a work of peace.

I have already referred to the joint interests of employers, workers and Government. All are unanimous that the best course is to freeze costs of living and, with that object, to increase production. Productivity depends on understanding and co-operation between capital and labour.

In Brazil the representative organs of each group, *i.e.*, their unions or associations, have already reached a stage of agreement in law and in fact which is near the fulfilment of all our aspirations.

Nevertheless, the social atmosphere justifies the hope that things may advance further, towards a point of convergence between the two groups.

The main reason for the establishment of unions was equal representation for the discussion and settlement of labour disputes, because in the past individual contracts invariably relegated the workers to a position of inferiority in relation to the employer. We think that it would be a backward step to have these organs restricted to relationships at the level of the undertaking. Trade unionism is a good means of strengthening the position of the workers, and we believe that we should carry this collaboration a stage further and establish a joint organisation at the national level for the discussion of the interests of employers and workers in the labour field. Such a trade chamber, jointly established by representatives of economic and occupational groups, would be

able to give its decisions executive force if they were unanimous. To it should be submitted problems affecting common interests. The regulations for such a chamber should be carefully put together, particularly regarding the choice of members, who should be genuine and capable representatives of their organisations, properly qualified to represent them at such a high level. In this trade chamber, away from the atmosphere of legal institutions and from the scene of disagreements, employer and worker would seek solutions for our problems on the basis of mutual understanding with a view to increased productivity. Such an organisation would naturally be a precious aid in planning and would help to find a solution to the complex problems of a national character to which I have already referred.

We Brazilian workers, through our representative organisations, are at the disposal of our comrades in every country for any help and advice we can give them and we should be glad to receive such help and advice ourselves. We are convinced that success in the fight for social justice depends on agreement and mutual consideration among all classes.

I am sure that my words will not be taken as a criticism but as an expression, in a different way, of Brazil's determination to follow the path of mutual understanding which is essential to the struggle for social peace.

We do not forget the difficulties which face us; we know that we must find common words and sensibilities for problems which, although world-wide, have racial, geographic and other aspects which vary in time and space with national and regional conditions.

The I.L.O., in its work for world peace and understanding between men and classes, is doing a job which must be steadily extended, since the freedom of discussion which it brings is an essential instrument of mutual comprehension.

We hope that in the near future, in addition to these General Conferences, we shall see a development of regional conferences, so that in each region, such as Latin America, each nation may benefit by the advice and experience of the others, and so take its place in a community inspired by a sense of the brotherhood of all races and nations of the world.

Interpretation: Mr. WANDAS (*Workers' delegate, Poland*)—Speaking on behalf of the workers of Poland, who are day by day laying the basis for a better future for the whole nation, I cannot pass over in silence the constant threat which is hanging over the working class of the capitalist countries as a result of the armaments race let loose by the imperialists. What is the attitude of the Director-General's Report towards this threat?

The Director-General admits that the deeper aspirations of mankind for a better life must be satisfied, but he says at the same time that the realisation of this programme must be delayed, and adds that this delay may result from the growing pressure of the armaments programme on the limited resources of the various countries.

It appears that the Director-General shares the official attitude of the United States

Government with regard to the need to carry out armaments programmes on the false pretext of defence of the so-called free world. He does not see that the purpose of armaments is to prepare aggression against the Soviet Union and the Popular Democracies. The Director-General evidently considers armaments as a factor favourable to economic prosperity and to the maintenance of a high level of employment, since he anticipates that for 1954 there will be a serious danger of unemployment when, according to the State Department, the rate of armaments production will have slackened.

What are the prospects offered to the working class in the countries bound to the plan of the criminal war-mongers? The lowering of the present standard of living, which will grow worse as the armaments programme proceeds, and general unemployment, that is to say, a further worsening of the workers' position—these are the prospects in view.

What are the measures proposed by the Report to prevent the lowering of the standard of living of the workers? First, the use of all economic resources by increasing the mobility of manpower, both nationally and internationally; secondly, the increase of the output of labour; and thirdly, the maintenance of equilibrium between the armaments programme and social policy, thus producing many guns and, if possible, a little butter.

The first of these methods amounts to a reduction of manpower in the consumption industries and the transfer of the unemployed to the armaments industries. That means that it is intended to drag the workers away from their own environment and their own family life and to waste their skills.

The second method—the increase in the workers' output in capitalist countries—means the extension of occupational diseases and accidents, at the same time as it means excess profits for the entrepreneurs and the increased exploitation of the working class. That is so true that the Report itself is obliged to note that in spite of increased productivity of labour the position of the working class has not improved.

The third remedy is the fair distribution of resources between armaments and civilian production. Mr. Charles Wilson, former Director of the Economic Mobilisation Board of the United States, had already foreseen the results when he said that in 1952 and the following years there would be more and more guns and less and less butter.

As we can see, the three remedies proposed by the Director-General are characterised by the fact that no one of them separately, nor the three together, can bring the slightest improvement or the solution of the fundamental problems with which the workers are faced, and that they are predicated on the continuance of international tension and the armaments race.

For these two reasons they cannot be acceptable to the I.L.O.

Turning now to particular features of the Report, I begin with the question which is of most importance to the workers—that of employment. Both the figures and the conclusions presented by the Director-General's

Report in this field are unsatisfactory. The Report expresses the opinion that there has been no notable change in the level of employment as compared with last year, but a glance at the statistics relating to capitalist countries is enough to reveal that, as a result of the armaments programme and the reduction of civilian production, a large increase in unemployment has been recorded. Can we then endorse the conclusions of the Report that there has been no change in the employment situation?

I know that unemployment is an inseparable phenomenon of the capitalist régime. Only a change of régime or a planned socialist economy can put an end to this calamity. War preparations and armaments are factors which favour the extension of unemployment, because they increase the poverty of the working masses by reducing demand, because they deflect raw materials from civilian production and lead to the closing down of whole branches of production, thereby putting an end to the development of the national economy. The Director-General's Report indicates an attitude which this Organisation cannot admit, namely, a passive resignation which accepts this state of affairs as something inevitable and fatal. This would-be fatality is, however, contradicted by the economic and social development of certain countries. I could quote as an example Poland, where not so long ago theories of chronic and incurable unemployment were current, but the falsity of these theories has been proved by the régime of the Popular Democracy. Before the war the bourgeois economist estimated that there were eight million useless and unemployed workers in Polish agriculture and one in three unemployed in industry. Since the war, under the new régime, thanks to land reform, to nationalisation and the development of industry, unemployment has entirely disappeared. Since 1945 industrial employment has steadily risen. Last year the numbers employed in Polish industry increased by 12 per cent. and in 1952 a further increase of from 7 to 8 per cent. is expected. Compared with pre-war conditions the number of workers in industry has trebled. There are means therefore to prevent unemployment and even to abolish it entirely.

Among the factors which have a decisive influence on the maintenance and increase of the level of employment mention must be made of international trade. The Report itself emphasises its importance, but confines itself to generalities, leaving aside the decisive problem of a return to normal exchanges between the west and the east, which are hindered at the present time by the political pressure exercised by the United States. The International Economic Conference recently held in Moscow has shown what would be the prospects for the improvement of employment if only normal exchanges were resumed between east and west.

Let me turn now to the problem of the standard of living of the workers. The Director-General's Report says that in the capitalist countries the rise in wages has followed and sometimes overtaken the rise in the cost of living.

But it is clear from the data published in the *Economic Survey of Europe for 1951* that in

1951 the real wages of the workers were reduced in most of the capitalist countries of Western Europe. Even where, thanks to their energetic action, the workers obtained wage increases, these scarcely compensated for the rise in the cost of living, and for the most part they have not even done that. Moreover, it should be pointed out that during the past few months the purchasing power of wages has been reduced on account of new price increases.

This is the real aspect of the so-called increase in wages mentioned in the Report.

The document placed before us includes the surprising statement that "The rise in money wages was in many countries moderated as a result of the realisation on the part of Governments and workers' leaders of the need to release resources for rearmament".

The Director-General, then, appears to approve the actions of those corrupted trade union leaders who have betrayed the interests of the working class for the benefit of the capitalists.

As regards the capitalists, how are they carrying out this policy of moderation which they are urging on the workers? According to the *Financial Times* the profits of 929 large English concerns increased in 1951 by 16 per cent. In the United States the profits of the big monopolies for the years 1949 to 1951 increased as follows: General Electric—104.1 per cent.; Dupont—79 per cent.; Standard Oil—79.1 per cent.; Goodyear Tyres—168 per cent. Philip Murray recalled on the occasion of a recent strike that the profits of the United States Steel Corporation had increased since the war by 551 per cent., while the workers' wages had increased by only 57 per cent. In France the profits of 45 big undertakings increased, as compared with the previous year, by 45 per cent. That is the share of the capitalists in the burden created by armaments.

The Report then goes on to deal with governmental measures against inflation in several capitalist countries, but will they succeed in remedying the disproportion which exists, as the Report tries to prove? Let me cite the case of Great Britain, where the Government has reduced food subsidies in 1952 by £160 million. It is true that family allowances have been increased and a certain amount of tax relief has been allowed, but who has benefited from it? Mr. Dalton, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, calls the new budget the "Moneylenders' Charter" and estimates that, as a result of it, a married couple without children with an annual income of £5,000 will gain £46.14s.0d. while a household with two children and an annual revenue of £400 will lose £7.16s.0d. a year, taking account also of the loss due to the reduction in food subsidies and of the benefits from the increase in family allowances. This is the practical result of the anti-inflationary policy in capitalist countries—the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer.

The situation of the working class has also worsened as a result of the reductions in insurance benefits, health services, cultural expenditure, etc. This is pointed out by the Director-General in his Report, which admits that the rate of progress has been slowed down as a result of the war in Korea. I should have

said otherwise—that the imperialist war in Korea has led, in the field of social policy, to a backward march at an appalling speed. It is clear that the I.L.O. does not intend to do anything to improve this situation and that its policy is characterised by resignation and passivity.

The Report also alleges some success in the acceptance of international standards of social policy, and enumerates a number of conferences, congresses and so on.

Let me refer to the Information Bulletin of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which says that of 14 American countries taken into consideration, including the United States and Canada, only three would be able to provide the minimum standards concerning medical care, only four could fulfil the minimum standards for maternity care, and none of them would be able to meet the standards concerning unemployment insurance or family allowances.

But the Report is silent on these facts and also makes no mention of the advantages secured by the workers in the socialist countries and in the popular democracies.

In Poland today, social insurance benefits for maternity and sickness have been extended to 400,000 agricultural and forestry workers, and free medical care is granted to 720,000 pensioners and 110,000 retired persons. Before the war none of these groups had the benefit of these allowances.

Social insurance contributions are borne entirely by the undertaking, whereas formerly the proportion of the contribution paid by the workers was 43 per cent. Furthermore, the workers engaged in difficult heavy work, such as miners, now receive additional pay. Medical care, which before the war was limited to 26 weeks for workers and to 13 weeks for members of their families, now extends without a time limit, and is free. Before the war, out of a population of 35 million, less than five million received social insurance benefits. Today, with a population of 25 million, there are 12,300,000 insured persons, that is to say, nearly half the population.

Last year 500,000 workers had a holiday in 1,469 holiday homes managed by the Central Trade Union Council.

In Poland, as in other socialist countries, the trade unions have entire freedom, whereas in the capitalist countries the governing class attacks them more and more violently.

None of this is mentioned in the Report of the Director-General, that is to say, neither the progress which has been achieved by the workers in the socialist countries nor the attacks against trade union freedom in the capitalist countries.

The Report affirms that not all countries can advance at the same speed and that it is not desirable that changes should be introduced too rapidly or on too wide a scale—strange words in the report of an organisation whose aim is the protection of the worker.

But the workers in the capitalist countries will not give up their struggle for their rights and will reject the policy of war and misery. Is it not absurd to read in the Director-General's Report that "progressive employers the world over have shown their concern for the welfare of their workers"? The strikes and

demonstrations which have been severely repressed by the police and the military during the massacres in which many workers were victims, *e.g.*, in Japan, in Western Germany, in France, in Tunis and in Spain, give a true picture of the situation.

The I.L.O. must condemn the policy of rearmament and the preparations for war in the capitalist camp. The I.L.O. must work to improve the conditions of the working masses in the capitalist countries. Only a determined defence of the interests of the working masses can gain for it a renewal of the confidence of the world.

Mr. SHASTRI (*Workers' delegate, India*)—Again this year it is my privilege, as a representative of the workers of my country, to pay my deep and sincere tribute to the Director-General for his Report, which speaks highly for his profound imagination and extraordinary grasp of the present-day problems of the world.

I claim no originality when I say that, among others, the three main problems of the workers of India—and as a matter of fact of Asia as a whole—are wage policy, housing and full employment.

With regard to the first, the immediate need is to evolve a wage structure that could ensure a reasonable living standard for the workers. At its last annual convention, held in 1951, the Indian National Trade Union Congress, as the principal organ of the Indian working class, strongly urged the Government of India to consider the desirability of setting up a national commission to determine a wage policy for the country. We are assured of the active consideration of the Government in the matter. Although as a result of collective agreements and arbitration awards wages have during the post-war period registered an increase, yet such increases are not proportionate to the rise in the cost of living, and, in addition, they are still far below the needs of the workers.

Turning now to the problem of housing, it has been recognised beyond any shadow of doubt that lack of suitable housing accommodation constitutes a danger to the health and efficiency of the workers. During the post-war period the housing problem has undergone further deterioration. In India, although plans in regard to housing have been formulated in the past, they have not taken concrete shape. It is, however, gratifying to note that, with the advent of the new popular Government as a result of the recent general elections, the housing problem has now come into the limelight. The matter brooks no delay and it is hoped that schemes will be drawn up and will yield quick results.

The main aspect of the employment problem in India is that of underemployment. Though there has so far been no scientific assessment of the extent of underemployment, it is common knowledge that it is very widespread among the vast majority of the rural population engaged in agriculture, and to some extent among industrial workers, particularly those employed in seasonal industries. The needs in this regard are for a proper assessment of the volume of underemployment and for ways

and means to be devised to solve the problem by improvements in methods of cultivation and by expansion of rural industries as a means of providing supplementary incomes.

It cannot, however, be denied that full attainment of the aspirations of the workers is dependent on many factors, the most important being the all-round economic development both of agriculture and of industry. Keeping this in view, a National Planning Commission, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister himself, was set up in my country some years ago. This Commission has now completed its work and has already produced a draft plan, which is shortly to be finalised. While the main purpose of the plan is to tackle the food problem, the Commission has properly assessed the possibilities of industrial development in the country. In preparing the plan the Commission has relied mainly on domestic resources. Yet it is clear that the fulfilment of the plan is largely dependent on an adequate supply of funds and capital goods and on technical assistance from outside. The value of outside aid already available to my country should not be underrated. All the same, having regard to the magnitude of the problem, it is still negligible.

As the Director-General has rightly pointed out, "Rearmament has made it difficult for the more highly developed countries to supply the capital equipment needed for such programmes, and the flow of lending to underdeveloped countries . . . has remained disappointingly small". I do not propose to enter into the domain of politics by questioning the soundness of the policy of increasing rearmament on the part of industrially advanced countries. But my humble submission is that, while rearmament may have its own value as a safeguard against the danger of totalitarian aggression, the most effective answer to the growing menace of totalitarianism is a rapid stabilisation of the economies of the underdeveloped countries and a rise in the living standards of their people. It is high time that the advanced nations should take stock of their outlook on the whole problem and appreciate the value and importance of rendering active and tangible assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

During the few minutes at my disposal it is not possible to make even a passing reference to the many important subjects that have been dealt with in the Report of the Director-General. Instead of attempting to touch on every point, I will confine my remarks mainly to one problem, that is, productivity, to which the Director-General has rightly attached great importance. Apart from past activities, a significant step which the I.L.O. has taken in this direction is its decision to convene a meeting of experts on productivity. My country will be represented at this meeting by experts drawn from the ranks of employers and workers.

While on the subject of productivity, I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Director-General for the very significant remarks which he has made in his Report. He says: "Higher levels of production, at reduced cost, must therefore be reflected in advantages for the workers and

consumers derived from an equitable distribution of the resultant benefits. Side by side with improvements in productivity must go advances in social policy, leading to improved conditions for the workers and the provision of better food, clothing, housing and other necessities for the people in general; otherwise the assistance given to underdeveloped countries will fail of its main purpose."

I do hope that for all future approaches to the problem of productivity these observations will serve as the preamble. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases—although there are exceptions, no doubt—these objectives have in the past been completely ignored by the employers of my country, with the result that any attempt at productivity has naturally resulted in acute industrial disputes. Let us hope that the growing world consciousness in regard to the new concept of industries as the instrument to satisfy social needs will, in course of time, bring about a change in the outlook of Indian employers.

There is a serious misconception in regard to the scope of the term "productivity". Employers in general have treated productivity mainly in terms of improvement in the efficiency of workers. While I do not dispute the vital role that labour has to play in the important task of productivity, there is, in my view, an equally important aspect that deserves study, namely, the question of rationalisation in the cost structure of industry.

Leaving aside other details for the moment, one basic point in this connection to which I invite your attention is the wide disparity between the incomes of management and those of workers. To illustrate my point, I take as an example a tea plantation in India. The average daily wage of a worker is about two shillings; this may be compared with the average income of the manager of the plantation as follows: monthly salary 1,350 rupees, monthly allowance 150 rupees, children's allowance 150 rupees, servants' allowance 270 rupees, car allowance 250 rupees, an additional team of five servants equivalent to 200 rupees, free furnished house of which the approximate rent is 500 rupees—a total of 2,870 rupees. He is also entitled to a pension and to passage back home. Over and above that he gets a share in the profits, ranging from 10,000 to 75,000 rupees annually.

May I state frankly that such a situation cannot be tolerated any longer by the workers of my country, and no study of productivity will be complete unless and until it is determined what proportion of the present cost structure should be absorbed by workers and what portion should go to the management? We often talk of incentive payments to workers as a device to raise their productivity. Such a method no doubt has its own value, but in my view the greatest incentive for labour is an assurance of human conditions of life and work, and the elimination of the wide and unfair disparity that exists today in underdeveloped countries.

I should like to make a passing reference to the problem of price stabilisation of primary commodities in underdeveloped countries and the need for international endeavour in that direction. The subject has been dealt with by the Government delegate from Ceylon in his

speech at this Conference, and I associate myself with his observations.

I should be failing in my duty if I concluded these remarks without making a reference to the operational activities of the I.L.O. which have been dealt with in the Director-General's Report. The Director-General deserves to be complimented for the earnest and honest attempt that the I.L.O. has made under his leadership to tackle the problems of manpower and technical assistance in underdeveloped countries. The magnitude of the problems in these regions is such that the achievements of the Organisation in this direction may not look very encouraging, but if we look at the situation in the light of the limited resources of the Organisation and the obvious handicaps with which it has been confronted in the discharge of its task, the work so far done is by no means disappointing. The conditions prevailing in each country constitute an important factor in the success of any plan. For instance, if technical assistance is to result in increased production it has to be closely related to economic development plans, for the rapid development of which we do not have sufficient funds and machinery. The success of technical assistance will therefore be greatly limited unless investments and the supply of capital goods are considerably increased. Similarly, technical assistance in the field of manpower can be effective only if it is closely related to the long-term and short-term requirements of the economy.

In this connection both the Governments of the countries concerned and the I.L.O. have their responsibilities. As a member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., I have studied with care the problems of manpower and technical assistance in underdeveloped countries. There have been instances in which some countries sought technical assistance in the formulation of schemes that had subsequently to be dropped for lack of resources. During recent years the I.L.O. and some other specialised agencies have received trainees from underdeveloped countries. It has been found from experience that some Governments do not select trainees with sufficient care; they are often persons who do not possess the requisite qualifications. At the last meeting of the Manpower Committee I had to refer to another difficulty. There have been instances where Governments designated trainees but, when they had completed their training, no work could be found for them.

With regard to the role of the I.L.O., while I have no desire to withhold my appreciation of its operational activities, I must say that before such activities can make any tangible impression much more has to be done. I would, in particular, say a word regarding the selection of experts. To secure suitable technical experts for the underdeveloped countries is by no means an easy job. While I do not underrate the value of experts appointed in the past, I should like to reiterate what I said on a previous occasion at a meeting of the Manpower Committee, that in selecting experts care should be taken to ensure that they possess the requisite knowledge and experience in the field, that they have general knowledge of the social and economic background of the country

where they are to serve, and that they have a proper understanding of the people of the countries concerned and of their problems. In some advanced countries there is a regrettable tendency not to release their first-rate experts for underdeveloped countries. The I.L.O. should exercise its moral pressure on the Governments concerned and persuade them to change their attitude in this respect.

Interpretation: Mr. ESPINOSA (*Workers' delegate, Colombia*)—On behalf of the workers of my country I wish to offer to the Director-General of the I.L.O. and to the staff of the Office my cordial greetings and my sincere congratulations on the magnificent work they are doing to promote the social welfare of all peoples.

I must also express my satisfaction with the progress achieved by the I.L.O., to which the Director-General refers in his Report this year. In its references to technical training, migration, co-operatives, labour legislation, the ratification of Conventions and social security, the Report makes clear the effectiveness of this Organisation and the active work of those responsible for directing it.

It shows how the permanent efforts of the Office are creating a new mentality among Governments, employers and workers, aimed at securing a high standard of living for the community through new techniques and within the bounds set by justice.

Perhaps one of the most interesting questions dealt with by the Director-General is that of productivity. He refers to it in various parts of his Report, as, for instance, when he says that it is unquestionable that the world is still producing much less food than is needed, when he emphasises the essential importance of increasing agricultural production, and also where he states that he considers an immediate increase in production directed not towards war but towards the conquest of general well-being as an essential factor for the development and progress of the nations.

It is unquestionable that the rearmament policy has caused production to develop along lines which are of no benefit to the workers. If this situation were to continue, or if a new world conflict were to arise, the future would be disastrous, and hence the basis of social welfare for the people lies in the permanent consolidation of peace, founded on a respect for the sovereignty of every country and on a fair share in the fruits of their efforts for employers and workers alike.

Everyone recognises the need to increase production, both in agriculture and in industry, in order to meet the many requirements of the modern age. This is in the general interest, and particularly in the interest of the workers whose greatest desire it is to contribute day by day to the development of the economy with the double purpose of prosperity for all and better living conditions for themselves.

For it is undeniable that greater production coupled with greater consumption has an important bearing on the social welfare of the workers. As the Director-General says, increased productivity must be accompanied by advances in social policy leading to improved conditions for the workers and the provision of

better food, clothing, housing and other necessities for the people in general. Only thus will we be able to consolidate peace permanently and ensure that the workers have a larger share in the profits of the undertaking, because an increase in production followed by an increase in profits accruing to the employers alone would be a grave injustice fraught with heavy consequences.

We greatly appreciate the constant efforts of the I.L.O. to secure peace through social justice, but when we look at the position of the workers, particularly in the underdeveloped countries, we are surprised at the enormous amount of work which still remains to be done. We cannot deny that hunger, poverty, sickness, discomfort, lack of housing and difficulties in educating children prevail in most of the world and are a disgrace to any society calling itself Christian.

On the one hand greedy capitalism is trying to gain more profits, and, on the other, insensitive officials are indifferent to the seriousness of social problems. But it would be unfair to blame the Governments and employers alone for this situation. We workers, too, are partly responsible and we cannot escape our responsibilities. Perhaps we lack the ability and the sense of solidarity as well as the spirit of sacrifice and perseverance necessary in order to fight for better conditions.

We must give proper value to the Christian concept of the human dignity of the worker, which is trampled underfoot when the wages paid are insufficient to maintain the worker and his family, when no interest is taken in his various moral, cultural and biological problems, and when social problems are studied totally without human feeling and without generosity.

Fortunately, as the Director-General says, a new conception has developed and the worker is now regarded as a human being and a partner.

It would be vain to seek social peace if we did not base our fight on a revaluation of the dignity of human beings. We recognise that, when relations between capital and labour are harmonious and inspired by a spirit of understanding, they lead to prosperity, but when, through indifference or caprice, the bonds of mutual understanding are broken not only is there danger of disaster but an opening is also created for alien, materialist, subversive and totalitarian doctrines which, on the pretext of defending the interests of the workers, light the spark of armed revolution, with all its evil consequences.

We are pleased to see the progress achieved by the I.L.O. and its plans for the future, but perhaps, before all else, it would be advisable to pay greater attention to the situation of workers in various parts of the world where even the minimum standards concerning hours of work, basic wages, medical services and social security benefits are disregarded.

The working class of the present generation is gratified at finding in the I.L.O. an organisation which recognises its problems and interprets its anxieties. We are sure that the best means of settling labour disputes is through serene understanding between employers, Governments and workers, inspired by the desire to bring about social justice without violating any rights.

We consider ourselves bound, for our part, to give full support to the activities of the I.L.O. so that its work may clear away the obstacles and difficulties of the present time, and open up a brighter prospect for the future generations.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Kolský	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Souza (substitute for Mr. Lescure)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. McKenzie (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Doyle	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Bolivia :</i> Mr. Pérez Mr. Torres	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Taylor (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Kayser (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Huberty (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mrs. Perkins (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCornick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Mouzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Rovira (substitute for Mr. Troitño)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Ochoa
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Mentsen	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño		<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	
		<i>Peru :</i> Mr. Leguía	
		<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Storch (Minister of Labour, Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (Saar), Mr. Boson (International Co-operative Alliance), Mr. de Ruijter (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions).

ELEVENTH SITTING

Wednesday, 18 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Conference will continue the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. KEYVAN (*Workers' delegate, Iran*) speaks in Persian.

Interpretation : Mr. KEYVAN (*Workers' delegate, Iran*)—The Report of the Director-General is a most valuable document from which we, the workers of Iran, can learn a great deal. We thank the Director-General sincerely and request that he should in his future Reports continue to pay unceasing attention to the conditions of the working classes in countries which are just setting out along the road to industrialisation.

Iran has been very much in the news during the past year. Previously noted for its literature and ancient culture, Iran is now world famous for demanding nationalisation of its oil industry. I know, of course, that the question of nationalisation is outside the scope of the International Labour Organisation and, therefore, of this Conference, and possibly that is very fortunate, for, judging by conflicting opinions in the world press, there seems to be little likelihood as yet of international agreement on that thorny question.

At previous I.L.O. Conferences the Workers' representative from Iran has nearly always started his address with a brief history of early Iranian trade union developments. It is perhaps necessary to do so in order to get a clearer view of the present position.

For many years trade unions were suppressed by political dictatorship—the same kind of dictatorship which, unfortunately, still exists in certain countries today. It was not until 1941 that the workers of Iran were allowed to organise for the purpose of improving their conditions. But absolute freedom has not yet been secured. One of the main diffi-

culties has been to keep the Iranian trade union movement free from political interference. At election times all sorts of political factions have promised the workers better working and living conditions in return for their support, but after the elections the workers found that those promises were not to be fulfilled and gradually they became disillusioned and lost faith in the new democracy. The trade unions which supported these political factions became discredited and ultimately lost the confidence of their members.

After a time the trade union movement in Iran resolved itself into two main federations—E.S.K.I. and E.M.K.A.—the first being a Government-sponsored organisation, the other trying to keep free of political domination. Both these organisations, working separately, tried to improve working conditions but eventually realised that they were not making sufficient progress.

In February 1951, after numerous meetings over a period of several months, the two federations decided to get together, and at a workers' congress a constitution was adopted for a new central trade union organisation, the Trade Union Congress of Iran, the object of which was to strengthen the trade union movement and co-ordinate trade union activities. The Congress is now the largest organisation of free trade unionists in the country. Under its constitution all genuine trade unions prepared to accept the main principles laid down in the constitution are welcomed as affiliated workers' organisations. The Trade Union Congress marked a new stage in the development of trade unionism in Iran. It was the first real symbol of trade union freedom—freedom for the workers to struggle for better working and social conditions. At present our freedom of activity is being restricted through the imposition of martial law in certain parts of the country but we are hopeful that this restriction will soon be removed.

Up till now the workers in Iran have had to rely upon the labour law for improved industrial working conditions, but the labour

law covers only industrial workers. Workers in the agricultural industry, which accounts for about 80 per cent. of the working population, have not yet received any benefit from it, though the majority of these workers are compelled to live at a bare subsistence level. Article 1 of the Labour Act of 1949 prescribed that the Government should draw up a special Bill for agricultural workers and submit this Bill to Parliament within six months. Three years have passed but that instruction has not yet been complied with. Our objective is to secure a law for the protection of agriculturists in general and not only of agricultural labourers.

The labour law provides, among other things, for a joint contributory insurance scheme, to which employers and workers contribute 4 and 2 per cent. respectively of wages and allowances paid by employers. This total of 6 per cent. covers sickness benefits and medical services, compensation for accidents, family allowances and all other items of social security. This contribution of 6 per cent. is not sufficient and must be supplemented by assistance from the State. Without this assistance it would not be possible to provide an adequate social insurance scheme for the Iranian people.

In Iran we have a Ministry of Labour, staffed with officers who are anxious to perform the social services assigned to them, but unfortunately they have not, in the past, received proper political support. The labour law is not enforced, except in the Government factories, and cannot be enforced until there is sufficient weight of public opinion behind it. Legislation by itself is not enough. Legislation which is not observed by common consent is of no significance in national affairs. I believe that the only certain way of making Governments move in the direction of social advancement is by enlightened public opinion and direct representation of the working people in Parliament. In Iran at present there is not one such representative. The international position shows clearly that the countries with the best social conditions are those in which trade unionism is recognised and respected by employers and Governments—where there is co-operation between these three elements to provide the highest possible standard of living for the working population commensurate with the economic position of the country.

The I.L.O. is a wonderful institution and its influence in world affairs is of the utmost significance. The adoption of international Conventions and Recommendations to safeguard and improve industrial and social conditions has been a challenge to Governments of the world. It is, therefore, very regrettable that Iran has not yet ratified any of the I.L.O. Conventions, but this has been due to political instability and consequent inconsistency of Government policy in the past. This deficiency must be made good in the future.

As Workers' representative I believe that a strong trade union movement is essential for hastening social progress, though of course I realise that the co-operation of employers and Governments is equally necessary. Working together great things can be achieved, and all the ideals for which this great International Labour Organisation stands can be established in every country throughout the world.

It is a great honour and privilege for me to be able to attend this great Conference and to have an opportunity of addressing it on behalf of the noble workers of Iran. Next year, I hope, the report from Iran will be much more favourable.

Interpretation: Mr. TESSIER (*Representative of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*)—At a time when everyone's nerves are in a state of high tension because of the prolongation of the cold war, general anxiety increases or, more seldom, decreases at the slightest shock. Thus, when at a recent press conference President Truman was reported to have said that he did not believe that a general armed war would occur during the coming summer, opinion became excited in various directions as regards the real meaning of this time limit of a few weeks given to the tranquillity in which we are living—a tranquillity which is in any case very relative because within it are certain centres of virulence which are quite capable of igniting a conflagration by themselves.

Nevertheless, the Disarmament Commission continues to sit in New York and to prepare a larger and, let us hope, more decisive conference. We have not heard that Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, has given up his 20-year peace programme, which we welcomed here for its generosity and for its practical value. In our social effort let us remain optimistic by conviction and by desire, in spite of the disappointments and disillusionment which circumstances too often bring.

This is the lesson which we can draw once again from the Report submitted to this 35th Session by the Director-General of the I.L.O. We see in it the hope that after the two coming years there might be a slackening of tension in the field of rearmament. We note particularly the conclusion, in favour of practical, constructive and pacifying international action to which the International Labour Organisation for the last quarter of a century has been making such a valuable contribution.

My own memories of the Organisation are contemporaneous with those of Mr. Pierre Waline, those memories which he summed up last Friday with so much elegance and emotion. It was in 1922 that I took part as a newcomer in a session of the Conference for the first time, and here I am again for the twenty-fourth time. How glad I was to hear the references to those two great personalities—so unlike but at the same time complementary—Arthur Fontaine and Albert Thomas, who stamped the Organisation at the outset and for ever with the seal of clarity, logic and enthusiasm, through which their national genius showed its desire for universality. It so happens that I met Albert Thomas twice in the hours preceding his death 20 years ago. Never did so lucid a spirit devote more energy, precision and realism to the service of a magnificent ideal.

The present Director-General of the I.L.O., Mr. David Morse, will allow me to say that under a different style we find the same fire in the impetus which he has been able to give, in spite of difficult, sometimes tragic, circum-

stances, to the complex machinery which he directs. The central problem which persists is to secure for the largest possible number of persons first of all the guarantees of a normal life and then the legitimate possibilities of betterment, of culture and of improvement. That in our modern world, where material progress has proceeded so quickly, there should still be masses of people crushed by unemployment, misery, and famine is a fact to which no person sensitive to justice and altruism can remain indifferent. It will have been an essential merit of the I.L.O. to have taken up the ancient tradition of social progress and spread it among peoples in the constitutional forms of legal protection and freedom of association.

In a period of emergency, more than ever, the question of vital resources and specifically of purchasing power arises in an imperious form. The idea of a minimum inter-occupational guaranteed wage was endorsed in France by the Act of 11 February 1950. Mr. Garet, Minister of Labour and Social Security of France, described before this Conference on Wednesday last the main aspects of the efforts now being made to secure, in an atmosphere of confidence in the currency, some stability, if not a lowering of prices. The Bill concerning the sliding scale of wages, adopted by the National Assembly and now pending before the Council of the Republic, provides that within a period of four months any increase in the price index equal to or higher than 5 per cent. shall lead to a proportional increase in the guaranteed minimum wage. There are two objections to this in the eyes of trade unionists, who, for lack of a better solution, had advocated the sliding-scale system. First of all, the index of retail prices, which is taken as the basis of the calculation, does not correspond to the index of the family budget. Secondly, by fixing the starting point on 1 December 1951 at a rate of 142 points, a wage freeze has in fact been introduced, since the index was 144.5 on 1 June last. A revision of the minimum wage in March 1951 had taken place on the basis of the price index of the previous month, namely 120.9. By applying to this latter figure the new increase of 15 per cent. in the minimum wage, effected in September 1951, an index of 139 is obtained, which should have been accepted as the base. In this connection, and whatever may be the relative value of statistics, I must say that I find difficulty in accepting with regard to France the accuracy of Chart IV in the Report of the Director-General, even having regard to the reservations formulated in the second footnote on page 17.

What is the position in regard to productivity, to the development of which so many hopes have been pinned, both for relieving the national expenditure and for improving the balance of trade and the living conditions by increasing real wages? Without—as often happens—confusing productivity and production, it can be said that the expansion of industrial activity has shown a slackening during the past few months which justifies some anxiety.

In its report of 10 May 1952, the European Organisation for Economic Co-operation recalls

that the rate of progress, which was rapid during the first six months of 1950, although it had stagnated a little in some countries, was suddenly speeded up after the outbreak of hostilities in Korea and remained high from July 1950 to the end of June 1951, production in that period having exceeded by 13 per cent. that of the previous months. Although production in the two last quarters of 1951 and the first two months of 1952 was still higher than in the corresponding periods of the previous year, it had to be admitted that from the fourth quarter of 1951 production fell below what it had been before the Korean hostilities. For all the States Members which are countries of Western Europe, the increase which, taking as a base 100 in 1948, had been in 1950, as compared with 1949, 12.1 per cent. during the third quarter and 15.1 per cent. in the fourth quarter, was, in 1951 as compared with 1950, only 8.3 per cent. and 3.6 per cent. in the corresponding periods. For January and February 1952 the increase was 4 per cent. as compared with the corresponding months in 1951. We are thus justified in asking, without showing undue pessimism, whether events will enable us to attain the objectives laid down by the inter-governmental declaration of 29 August 1951, which aimed at an increase in the total production of Western Europe between 1952 and 1956 of 25 per cent. compared with 1951.

Faced with these problems it is pleasant and useful to be able to emphasise the activity of the I.L.O. through its Industrial Committees. The Report of the Director-General, in noting the progress made in this field, includes a very judicious remark to the effect that “just as there should be no regional separatism, so it is important, in studying problems arising in one industry, to avoid any tendency to neglect those of others”. As regards the application of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, we also note this very sensible reservation: that it is not only a question of raising the level of production but also of improving living conditions, thus implying a parallel development of the social conscience; otherwise technical assistance would doubly fail to achieve its aims and the capacity to produce more cheaply and rationally would be liable to give rise to unfair competition against the advanced countries without improving the situation of the peoples to whom assistance is given.

The I.L.O. continues to accord great importance to the question of trade union rights, which are at the basis of its tripartite constitution. The Conference will have to take a decision at this session on a draft resolution concerning the independence of the trade union movement. Furthermore, the operation of the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association has been facilitated by setting up a Committee of the Governing Body. It is most desirable that by this means effective results should be achieved which will satisfy the legitimate impatience of those—all too many—who are concerned.

In surveying the world we cannot help seeing that very much remains to be done to secure freedom and the development of the trade unions. An opportunity for the free

constitution and free action of trade unions on lines of occupational and ideological affinity, the right of representation in relation to employers and public authorities as soon as the group has a minimum of consistency: these are the characteristics of genuine trade union freedom. It is essential that in the territory of each State, whatever its form and extent, every tendency towards trade union monopoly, whether direct or indirect, should be resolutely forbidden; and it is no less essential that up to the international level the leaders and representatives of trade unions should enjoy freedom and real immunity in the exercise of their normal activities within the limits of common law and public order interpreted in a fair and broadminded manner.

Mr. Ramadier, in his masterly opening speech, and Mr. Cassimatis, Minister of Labour of Greece, in his fine speech on 13 June, made penetrating analyses of the trade union movement. I think it is necessary, however, to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the hypothesis of the "compulsory trade union" formulated by Mr. Cassimatis. An occupational organisation which more or less has the character of a public institution, or an economic or social organisation of a general character, must not be confused with a trade union itself, which is by definition an association of wage earners freely associated for mutual fraternal help. The true solution is that of the free trade union in the organised occupation, which allows agreements and alliances for specific objectives among groups of various tendencies.

I should like, in closing, to congratulate and thank the Director-General for the fervent, resolute and reasoned hope of peace which is expressed throughout his Report. "If the risks of another world war are finally overcome" he says, "it will not be done by military measures alone. Peace must not only be defended in the military field but actively promoted by the positive and creative solution of mankind's problems." And again he says: "The ideal of social justice is a harmonising force, and in its service countries with widely differing economic, social and political patterns can live at peace with one another."

Yes, in a period when the world is torn by the ideological currents of ideas whose opposition involves the risk of war we must more than ever deepen the noble conception of universal brotherhood among all the members of the vast family of humanity. The comparison and confrontation of economic régimes and social experiences must and can be carried out by peaceful means, on condition, of course, that certain fundamental factors are respected.

Interpretation: Mr. GONZÁLEZ (*Government delegate, Colombia*)—It is particularly satisfactory for my delegation to comment on this fine Report which Mr. Morse, the Director-General of the International Labour Office, has prepared for the Conference. He adds his own brilliant qualities to those of his illustrious predecessors at the head of an Office which has deserved so well of us all. He gives us a Report which we appreciate particularly because of the profound comprehension which it shows of the general problem

facing humanity, of peace and of international economic collaboration, for the realistic optimism which he shows, and for his conviction that permanent peace and international harmony are in danger so long as there exist conditions of employment implying social injustice, poverty and privation, which foster discontent among the masses.

The people and Government of Colombia, identical in their objectives, strive to apply within their frontiers the principles of the Organisation, and outside their frontiers to encourage other countries to preserve and apply the same principles on the universal scale which is proclaimed by Catholic social doctrine. We have striven to apply these principles in fact and in law in Colombia and through our work we proudly uphold them abroad as the ambition of all young peoples who are aiming at general improvement, at a more just world, at a brighter outlook for the future, at the preservation of the liberties and rights which men have won for themselves in the last two centuries. These are threatened by ideologies which profit by and encourage bad economic conditions with a view to subjecting peoples and depriving them of the rights which the free world considers fundamental. While contributing with men and arms to the struggle for peace and for preservation of the principles of the Charter of San Francisco—particularly Article 55—on battlefronts thousands of kilometres from our borders, we are also defending inside our country the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia, which are common to all Members of this Organisation. As an instance, in the field of social security Colombia intends to extend to all inhabitants the services now provided for a considerable proportion. We have already efficient medical, hospital, surgical, obstetrical, pharmaceutical, preventive, X-ray and laboratory services. We pay sickness allowances, nursing allowances, funeral allowances, marriage loans, etc., in so far as our developing economy allows. Thus the ideals for which our soldiers are fighting in Korea will be upheld by tangible realities.

We are very glad to read of Mr. Morse's confidence in the efficiency and permanence of the I.L.O. and we accept our share of the responsibility for giving energetic support and guidance to the instinctive social movements of the peoples. We hope that this 35th Session will comprehend the spirit of the Latin American countries, the impetus of her peoples, the desire to be understood, to have their technical problems studied and to meet with appreciation of the generous objectives of the Organization of American States in which they have banded themselves with the intention of smoothing away the dangerous sharp angles of entrenched nationalism.

We wish also for a proper understanding of the specific function of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, whose scope is very large. My Government supports, and will support, this Organisation for it considers that it has a function to perform in one of the most important fields of present social policy.

Colombia fully approves of the endeavours made by the I.L.O. to develop more fully its technical assistance services as well as the

other activities of the Office. My Government considers that ordered social progress is impossible without resources, technique and determination, and the Office has these qualifications, as is shown from the analysis of its activities made in the Report. The social movement of peoples—especially young peoples—sometimes proceeds by empirical methods without having due regard to other essential factors. The Director-General comments wisely on the report of the expert on social security who says that the development of Colombian social security has been too fast for the economic development of the country. The I.L.O. itself has in its hands the cure for this defect, to some extent at least. It can provide a cure by putting forward more and better plans for achieving the objectives laid down in the Preamble to the Constitution, which we support without reservation. But the efforts made in this direction should not exceed the limits of what is reasonable, for there is no object in piling up Convention on Convention if the standards set are so high that many of the Members of the Organisation, indeed in some cases the majority, cannot ratify them.

My country in the last seven years has accomplished in the social field tasks which would astonish anyone who knows properly the problems involved in health plans, social security plans, training plans and other labour matters in Spanish-speaking America. I could tell you of the work done by the Governments of Presidents Ospina, Gómez and Urdaneta in Colombia, but I will simply make clear the attention given by my Government—identified with the people as rarely before in our history—to workers' welfare in all aspects. We strive to provide the workers with employment, with remuneration enabling a decent standard of life to be achieved, and to raise this remuneration whenever possible. We strive to protect the worker as much as we can against threats to his health, to his physical fitness and to his ability to work. We strive to make his employment stable, to make his life as tolerable as possible, to protect his health and that of his family so that his body may develop normally and that he may have due physical recreation to make up for the strain of his employment. My Government strives to improve the level of culture and to make the workers understand their responsibilities towards God, society, their country and their brothers in other countries. We wish the workers to understand that every day increases their responsibilities, that the future presents new aspects, and that they must appreciate these and understand them as fully as possible. With these aims in view we have done very much in the field of workers' housing, both urban and rural, in improving the condition of the peasant class and in providing minimum wage rates and social insurance.

The conscientious analysis of the world economic situation made by the Director-General in his Report when he reminds us that during and after rearmament social progress must be maintained points out the danger implied in not recognising the need for social progress because of the difficulties due to an intensive defence programme. We should

reflect on the international economic consequences which will arise and the problems of applying Conventions when these programmes are concluded. When investments in armaments come to an end there is likely to be unemployment in many parts of the world and then we shall have to adjust ourselves to these new economic factors. The International Labour Conference and the Office would then be able to put forward a generous plan of social aid based, of course, on a realistic view of the situation. The problem of the rural workers has been the constant concern of the Government of Colombia and my Government therefore supports a Recommendation of a comprehensive character based on a thorough technical study and on the desires of the Conference. We think it must be recognised that the agricultural workers have not received as much benefit from the I.L.O. as other groups of workers. Once the effect of this Recommendation has been examined and the fundamental studies required have been carried out by the Office, then we can draft a large-scale Convention which would raise still higher the reputation of this institution. Millions of persons do profit directly by the Conventions adopted by the I.L.O., but there are many millions of others who till the soil and by their hard labour contribute to solving the great problem of the feeding of the human race. Their post-war effort to make good the natural shortage of food has perhaps not been sufficiently recognised and Colombia cannot let this occasion pass without paying a tribute to these tireless fighters who face the great heat, the torrential rain, the hurricanes—not to mention unfair price levels. The Government delegation of Colombia will therefore foster studies on the possibility of extending to agricultural workers the benefits now enjoyed by industrial workers, in a sentiment of equity and so that the work of this group of workers may be sufficiently remunerative to stop their leaving the countryside for the cities, thus creating another grave social problem.

The Latin American peoples, which are only entering on the period of industrialisation, require special attention from the I.L.O. Indeed, the contribution of Latin America to general social progress is very appreciable and in various aspects we are more developed than industrialised countries. The hour has come when the Spanish-speaking people of America should have more to say in world decisions. The change of political equilibrium has already gone a long way and the same is true in the social field. Indeed, many Latin American States now have more advanced legislation than that of more industrialised countries. Therefore, Colombia hopes that the I.L.O. will deal with renewed ardour with American problems and thus contribute more positively to the international collaboration which is indispensable. We appreciate the fact that shortage of capital is one of the factors which has held back economic development most in the less industrialised part of the American continent, but it is no less true that the low productivity of labour was also a factor.

A recent study undertaken by the Economic Commission for Latin America on productivity in the textile industry in four Latin American

countries shows, contrary to what is generally believed, that human factors have a great effect on productivity—an effect almost as important as that of capital itself. Unfortunately, scientific investigation of the causes of low productivity of the workers is only starting today and so some Latin American countries require technical assistance from abroad in order to study and apply modern methods for increasing productivity among our workers in general and in certain embryonic industries in particular, such as the steel industry. The I.L.O., owing to its tripartite composition, its long experience in productivity questions and the experts whose services are available to it, is the agency most suited to render technical assistance of a scientific and practical character and to help in the application of modern techniques. I would therefore like to take this opportunity of supporting the I.L.O. in this and to suggest that it should intensify technical assistance in this field which, in my opinion, is one of the most important for countries like ours which are in full development.

The Government delegation of Colombia wishes to declare in the most solemn terms that it considers the maintenance of the principles of freedom of association to be one of the main tasks of the I.L.O. It believes that the Organisation should continue to regard supervision in this field as the most important of its functions so that the principle of freedom of association may be respected, upheld and spread still further.

Before closing, I would like to express my keen interest in the important work which the Director-General tells us is to be done in Latin America with a view to raising the standard of life of the indigenous populations and improving their cultural level. This praiseworthy effort on the part of the I.L.O. will receive the support of Colombia and we see in it a hope of civilisation for many persons now on the far fringes of human progress. Certainly, this study would be useful for my country and I am glad to announce that Colombia will contribute to it with its experience and hopes to benefit from that of others through this new I.L.O. mission.

The fine work of the I.L.O. is more necessary today than ever. Colombia considers that its work will live and that inspired by such noble principles the I.L.O.'s endeavour to contribute to a fruitful peace will eventually be crowned.

Mr. MAUNG (*Government delegate, Burma*)—It is indeed very stimulating to study the Report of the Director-General, stimulating because it deals with problems relating to labour in a manner which is both fascinating and absorbing, and at the same time, gives much food for thought. I have been much impressed by the scientific approach the Director-General has adopted in dealing with matters relating to the economic background affecting the workers' standard of living.

The danger of war has not yet been eliminated in this world and while unsettled conditions prevail nations are unable to give all their attention to overcoming the real enemies of man, such as poverty, ignorance, disease and inhuman living conditions. It has been

rightly pointed out that while the dominating characteristic of the modern world is insecurity and while the threat of war overshadows every other issue, we must be alive to the great and pressing social problems that lie behind such conditions.

The most formidable practical difficulty in ensuring world-wide social justice is the existence of the gap between the developed and the underdeveloped countries. A preliminary knowledge of the social standards prevailing in various countries of the world is needed if we are to tackle this problem scientifically. While on the subject of social standards I feel that both the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations, which are committed to the principle of upholding social justice among peoples of the world, are still in need of a common measure to gauge the social standards of various countries. It is a difficult task to evolve such a measure, but it is not an impossible one if only the experts in this field could make a united effort. The comparison of real income *per capita* based on equivalent standards of living, for example, might provide a satisfactory measure for this purpose.

It has also been pointed out that of the many difficult tasks confronting the underdeveloped countries none is more important than the task of creating and maintaining conditions in which capital, both domestic and foreign, will be attracted to productive uses. To my mind it seems also equally important that capital, whether domestic or foreign, should take a more humanitarian outlook than that of profit-seeking and should avoid the attitude of patronage. On the other hand, foreign capital should assist not only in the exploitation of raw materials in underdeveloped countries but also in manufacturing finished products in the countries where raw materials are produced. Equally important is the fair deal which should be given to indigenous labour.

It has also been rightly stressed that it would be unrealistic to regard the progress of ratifications as the sole yardstick with which to measure the effect given to the International Labour Code. The Government which I represent is ever anxious to honour the international instruments of the International Labour Organisation which it has ratified, and not to assume a false position in the world by ratifying Conventions which it cannot apply with all sincerity. We have not ratified any more Conventions since we became an independent country, but we have made definite progress in our uphill fight against poverty, disease, ignorance and inhuman living conditions. I do not, however, think that such action as our Government has taken to achieve social progress can be best appreciated without reference to the adverse circumstances we have to encounter. The second world war left Burma economically bankrupt. During the war the evacuating forces had followed the scorched earth tactics, the occupying forces had squandered the natural resources of our country, while the re-occupying forces had damaged it still further. A large quantity of arms and ammunition had been left scattered about when our

country became independent. It is under such adverse conditions that we have had to rehabilitate the country. Progress has been slow and much remains to be done. The main enemy of progress is internal strife and I am glad to say that, due to the untiring efforts of the Government, this situation has much improved.

I think it appropriate now to mention to what extent we have been successful in improving labour conditions in our country since the 34th Session of the International Labour Conference. With regard to labour legislation the Parliament of the Union of Burma has recently passed the Leave and Holidays Act, the Shops and Establishments Act, the Oil-fields (Labour and Welfare) Act, the new Factories Act and the Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Act. All these Acts are now enforced to the advantage of the working classes, in matters relating to leave and holidays with pay, working hours, rest periods and weekly rest, conditions of work and safety and to more liberal benefits in cases of accidents arising out of and in the course of employment. To ensure that the provisions of the labour laws are properly observed the labour inspection service has been reconstituted and strengthened, in conformity with the principles laid down in the international instrument of labour inspection.

With effect from 1 February 1952, we have put the Dock Workers' (Regulation of Employment) Scheme into operation, by which a large number of stevedore labourers have been decasualised by assuring them guaranteed minimum wages and fair rotation of employment.

One more labour welfare centre has been opened and steps have been taken to have more centres opened in Rangoon and in some selected towns.

Technical assistance has been sought from the International Labour Organisation and the first group of experts has arrived to explore the possibilities of introducing social security schemes in our country. We have been much impressed with the sincerity and goodwill with which they have tried to approach the subject, and it is hoped that their findings will be of practical help.

To encourage increased cultivation and thereby to ensure fuller employment in agriculture, loans have been granted by the Government. Relief works, especially in the oil-fields area, have continued to give some sort of employment to those unemployed who were formerly engaged in industries. There is more underemployment than unemployment in our country and, believing that problems of underemployment could best be solved by the development of cottage industries in order to provide supplementary occupation to many persons, this development has been greatly encouraged.

Our Government has recently embarked upon a "joint venture" enterprise with the Burma Corporation Limited and negotiations are still being conducted for another joint venture with the Burma Oil Company Limited. We have received scarcely any reparations for the damage done to my country during the second world war and we have therefore

accepted economic aid under the Mutual Security Aid programme without any political commitments. Such action on the part of our Government has been taken to create conditions to attract capital for productive use and thereby to ensure fuller employment also.

Shortage of housing accommodation is acute in Burma. This problem is one of considerable importance to our country and consequently a Ministry of Housing and Labour has been set up under the charge of a Minister who has been actively interested in these subjects for the past several years and who, at the same time, is associated with the International Labour Organisation. Active steps have been taken to encourage the construction of private buildings and the National Housing Board has been supplemented by executive staff in order to push forward the preliminary housing programme. On the other hand, the Rehabilitation Brigade has already started training young men for a housing construction programme.

I have stated briefly the problems we have had to face and also the measures we have taken to alleviate the working and the living conditions of workers. Such conditions are generally similar in most of the underdeveloped Asian countries which are much in need of means within their reach to raise their social standards. To these countries the doctrine of self help will hardly be of practical use to narrow the gap that already exists between them and the developed countries.

Economic aid in the right direction is the necessary preliminary condition in these countries for the application of the doctrine of self help.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Mr. Figueras, Minister of Labour of the Philippines, who is honouring this Conference with his presence.

Mr. FIGUERAS (*Secretary of Labour, Philippines*)—I am grateful for this opportunity to take part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report. This part of the proceedings of the Conference has developed over the years into a most vital institution. Here we have the only world forum on labour problems in which representatives of Governments and employers' and workers' organisations can speak their minds freely and on equal terms. We owe this development not only to the fact that every year the Director-General's Report has afforded an excellent basis for discussion, as exemplified in the document that is now before us, but also to the good sense of the vast majority of delegates who have persistently striven throughout all these years to maintain the discussion in a spirit of fairness and objectivity. This type of discussion has not precluded the airing of divergent and even contrary views. This we know is not only inevitable but even to be desired and welcomed, for often in the clash of ideas we see the sparks of enlightenment.

It is perhaps inevitable that the fervour with which some people hold and cherish their ideals should make this forum a scene of ideological conflict to a certain extent, however much we like to avoid its becoming so, but

there is a vast difference between the advocacy of ideas or principles which are claimed to be the most efficacious means of attaining desired objectives and turning this forum into a springboard of propaganda. I think it is agreed that the Conference should be receptive to ideas and principles which have been found in any country to be effective in bringing about the objectives of the I.L.O.; the fact that such a country operates under a system which we do not like to see established in our own countries would appear unimportant, but we need something more than the mere statement of a claim to some quality or merit before we can act upon such ideas or principles. We object to such statements being made as if they should be taken at face value. In that way they amount to nothing but propaganda, pure and simple.

It would appear essential that full information on how these ideas or principles work and on the circumstances in which they are applied be made available to all who would be interested in learning about them. Access to the very sources of such information would be the most effective way by which we could gain knowledge from each other's experience. Perhaps in no other sphere of international action is accessibility to information more important than in the field of social policy. There is here no trade secret, no military information which needs to be shielded by an iron curtain. We are only concerned with improving the conditions of workers everywhere, in every land or clime. To this end, nations have evolved various techniques in different conditions and circumstances. To apply any such technique elsewhere we need to take account of these differences. This is impossible when a country shuts itself off from one part of the world.

I wish at this point to commend Mr. Morse for having chosen at this time to deal with the larger aspects of social policy. The I.L.O. has gone a long way since it was founded in 1919, and notable events have occurred since the Declaration of Philadelphia was adopted in 1944. A restatement of the aims of social policy within the frame of the I.L.O.'s work thus appears to be in order, a task which the Director-General has so ably fulfilled in his Report. Moreover, such a restatement appears of particular significance for underdeveloped countries, having regard to their preoccupation with economic development programmes during the post-war period. Because the effective prosecution of these programmes is of vital importance, we are often led to give to it the whole of our attention and energies. It is good to be reminded that we cannot forget the claims of the workers for social improvement and that we cannot postpone too long the necessary measures for social progress.

The fact, however, needs to be emphasised that it is much more difficult to make social progress in the underdeveloped than in the industrially advanced countries. There are greater economic difficulties; there are the barriers of traditions, cultural beliefs and man-made institutions which are often more difficult and take more time to overcome. It is particularly in underdeveloped countries where those cultural values and social institutions are to be found which place the workers in an

inferior position in society, the elimination of which requires a long process of information, education and training. It would be unjust to criticise the Governments of underdeveloped countries for slowness in making social advances without taking these facts into consideration; they need not only assistance in carrying out programmes of social improvement but, perhaps just as important also, sympathy and understanding.

It is gratifying to note that in taking account of the peculiar social beliefs and structure of a country which is the recipient of technical assistance, the I.L.O. has been a leader in the field. It would indeed be tragic if the experts sent abroad by the I.L.O. should not be able to appreciate local needs and conditions, to adopt an attitude of sympathy and understanding for the people they are supposed to help. Nothing would be more tragic than for them to come with fixed ideas about what is proper to be done, based on the experience of their home countries or on abstract principles which may have no basis in local circumstances and requirements. The giving of technical assistance is a very practical problem and, to enhance its value, it may be necessary for experts to stay longer in recipient countries in order that they may be able to have a fuller knowledge and understanding of the factors relevant to their work.

The I.L.O. has become for the Republic of the Philippines a beacon light to a brighter horizon of peace and happiness. Not only has it given our labouring class the necessary social consciousness that for years had been interred in the deep labyrinth of selfishness and greed of those who imposed upon us the burdens of a feudalistic era but it has pushed into the forefront of our domestic frontiers the true value of labour in our national economy. The Filipino working man has been struggling for 50 years for social amelioration, and the period since our liberation from the enemy in the last war has been characterised by an upsurge of a national movement to give the working masses a wider latitude of freedom in its pursuit of happiness. Social amelioration has been given the impetus that has been denied it before, and employment and continuity of work of the wage earner have been pledged by our President, His Excellency Elpidio Quirino, who firmly believes that a hungry stomach is a veritable powder keg that can easily touch off social unrest.

Last year the Philippines entered into a new era of industrial relations when the Minimum Wage Act went into effect. Four million Filipino labourers in private firms became the happy beneficiaries of this progressive labour measure. Next month the employees of the Philippine Government will also receive its benefits. This is another forward step in our blueprint to extend to our workers the material rewards in their honest pursuit of the better life.

Another phase of our social life that is now being given proper attention is that of human relations. No one can deny that the common man, in his humility, seeks not only provision for his primary needs but also the comfort of knowing that he is accepted as a human being, worthy of dignity and respect, in the com-

munity in which he lives.

The Philippines feel deeply attached to the I.L.O. because this body has helped us ease away the roadblocks that have for some time impeded the attempts of labour to rise from the depths of ignominy. The entrenched unconcern over the welfare of the working man by those who regard him as a means to achieve the ends of capital to amass more wealth has already given way to the new postulate of social justice that today provides the motive force for industrial progress where man respects the true worth of his fellow human being. The world will continue to remain disturbed and perturbed if we do not come together as we do today in order to discuss our immediate problems at conference tables instead of in the battlefields. The I.L.O., therefore, is a ray of salvation for a confused humanity because it provides the clearing ground for the ills of the common man. Certainly we cannot expect to stem the tide of poverty, hunger, and possibly the collapse of peace if we do not seek positive solutions to our common problems.

The Philippines being an agricultural country, we are naturally confronted with various tenancy and agrarian difficulties. We have, however, tried to solve these difficulties with the passage of a law in 1946 which grants to the tenant 70 per cent. of the crop and the landlord the remaining 30 per cent. This is a radical reversal of the century-old practice by which the sharecropper received the minimum dividend and the landowner the lion's share. We expect very soon to extend the application of our Workmen's Compensation Act to all agricultural workers.

It is gratifying to note that at this session of the International Labour Conference the question of maternity protection for women workers is among the items on the agenda. On this particular point we have just approved a law which gives greater protection to the Filipino woman worker. This law grants to our women workers vacation leave with pay for six weeks prior to delivery and six weeks after the blessed event. Another provision of this law is that concerning the principle of equal pay for work of equal value which is legislation inspired by the I.L.O.

The trade union movement in my country has just observed its golden anniversary. The movement has not only enjoyed the encouragement of our Government but has also won the respect and confidence of employers. President Quirino has bolstered trade unionism in the Philippines as he is fully aware that the solution to the problem of internal peace and order lies in the working masses being kept free from fear and want. Freedom of association has been maintained and the scope of collective bargaining has been enlarged to conform with the present-day trends. Every possible concession has been or is being placed within the reach of the worker because it is in elevating his status that we can hope to make him a responsible and self-sufficient member of society, loyal to the cause of his country's progress and zealous in protecting its integrity and prestige.

We will continue to cherish the hope that, with the goodwill and understanding of all

nations of the world, the I.L.O. will be able to continue to perform its sacred mission of preserving peace through a collective solution of mankind's social cancers. There is no problem so great that we cannot solve it if we all put our hearts to it, if we decide to subordinate selfish individualism to the common good.

We now live in a one-world concept where nations must be willing to labour in an atmosphere of goodwill and amity, where all the peoples of the world must embrace with full faith the ideals of democracy and social justice. So long as there are among us those who seek to perpetrate their evil designs, so long shall we continue to live in apprehension and distrust. There can then be no lasting peace; there can only be hate and rancour and a constant threat to the peace and happiness of mankind. Let us strive in earnest and in solemn devotion to build here an enduring monument to freedom through our collective efforts in the I.L.O., so that the working masses the world over can forge together a formidable chain of friendship vital to lasting peace.

Mr. DELANEY (*Workers' delegate, United States*)—I should like first to compliment the Director-General upon the clear and thorough statement of the problems and issues confronting this body, which he has submitted to us for discussion at this Conference.

The Report gives, I believe, an active picture of the economic environment which surrounds our deliberations. It is not a very pleasant picture. It shows only too clearly for comfort or complacency the grave economic and social consequences of world unrest, strife and fear. It calls our attention again to the many serious and difficult problems which must somehow be solved before the objectives of this Organisation can hope to find fulfilment. No matter how we may choose to interpret facts and figures, we cannot escape the knowledge that our present rate of progress towards a solution is dismally slow.

In their essential nature, scope and intensity these problems are much the same as they were a year ago. Inflationary pressures still regulate the course of our respective national economies; scarcities have yet to find alleviation; serious dislocations in the distribution of basic resources remain to be corrected.

At previous Conferences I have made certain observations on these problems, stating the position of the trade union movement of the United States with respect to such matters as economic stabilisation, production and manpower utilisation. Circumstances have changed so little in the interim that any further comments which I might make with reference to the economic sections of the Report would be repetitious.

I prefer to devote the limited time now at my disposal to a much more fundamental question—one which has been raised by a series of events which need to be brought to light and ventilated here. For I believe that the ability of the International Labour Organisation to continue to function as an effective instrument of progress, not just in the immediate present but in the years which lie ahead, hangs largely upon the answer to this question.

For some time past this has been a matter of deep and growing concern not only to myself but also to the organisation which I represent. I was therefore very gratified when the Director-General, in the section of his Report devoted to a discussion of social policy, took occasion to review and to restate the fundamental role, the ideals and the purposes of the International Labour Organisation. In the United States, at least, that role and those ideals and purposes have lately been made the object of a new and searching challenge from a quarter in which we who believe in the I.L.O. might reasonably have expected to find support rather than condemnation.

The basic role and purposes of the I.L.O. are set forth in its Constitution. They have been accepted and endorsed by each and every nation, and by representatives within nations, which have agreed to participate in its operations. They have been reiterated and reaffirmed time and time again during the course of many sessions and conferences of the past. Should we not, therefore, by now have the right to feel that these principles and ideals are firmly established, and to assume that those who participate in the work of this Organisation subscribe to them although they may differ on specific issues?

In view of the events of which I am about to speak, I believe that the discussion contained in Chapter II of the Director-General's Report is the most timely matter before this Conference. What is the nature of those events and why do I speak of them here? I am speaking of a calculated and determined attack now being waged by a certain section of management in the United States against the integrity of the International Labour Organisation as an institution and against its principles and methods. I am reluctantly compelled to bring to your attention my simple belief that those who are part of an institution which is under attack should be among the first to know of the nature of the attack.

These attacks to discredit the I.L.O. are most regrettable, and I would say at the outset that my remarks are not directed against my opposite number, the acting United States Employers' delegate to this Conference, but against the campaign carried on in the United States by one of the United States Employers' advisers.

I would like to have an explanation of a problem which has been puzzling me: which most accurately represents the true motives, sentiments and intentions of the United States Employers' delegation and its principles—the lip-service which some of the United States Employers' advisers occasionally pay to the I.L.O. when they meet with us here in Geneva, or the attacks against the I.L.O. which they have lately delivered at home?

Let me be more specific with a concrete example in point. Last summer the American press carried an account of an interview with a United States employer who has participated in the last three sessions of the International Labour Conference. The story which this individual circulated through this interview has since been widely quoted and was picked up and inserted in the *Congressional Record*

by one of our most extreme isolationist Senators.

In his story this employer is reported to have stated that: "Americans have found a new way to hand over their freedom—without firing a shot and with the United States Constitution nodding approval.... Uncle Sam has found a new way of cutting his own throat... we can—and do—legislate ourselves into collectivism by international treaty. For treaties... are now being cooked up to control our everyday lives and make a joke of the Declaration of Independence...." He further stated, and I quote from the article: "Treaties are now being dreamed up by international dreamers which would regiment us if we sign them... and only half of our Government—the Senate—votes on a treaty."

Now where are these dangerous "international dreamers" to be found? Right here where we are meeting now! We are, according to this employer, sinister international dreamers bent upon regimentation. Think of it! This International Labour Organisation, which has been so scrupulous in its means and methods that many of us have looked upon it as a snail, moving at a slow and tortuous pace, has suddenly been transformed into a green-eyed monster with jet propulsion. This democratic assembly, in which employers have fully as potent a voice as any other group, is now characterised as an engine of oppression. This Organisation, which exercises such a careful regard for national forms, national sovereignty and national sensitivities, is presented to the public by this employer as a colossus, a super-State, riding roughshod over the rights and liberties of Member nations.

The United States has been a Member of the International Labour Organisation for many years. If our national forms and freedoms were ever to suffer as a consequence, one would think that this would have happened long before now. One would think that an individual who takes it upon himself to paint such a grisly picture would try at least to present some concrete evidence from the record of the past, particularly when he says flatly—as did this employer—that the United States actually does legislate itself into "collectivism by international treaty". But the best that this one can do, when it gets down to cases, is to point a trembling finger at vague phantasms of the future, having substance only in the dark and clouded recesses of his imagination.

What are these formless horrors which he has summoned up for the edification of the American public? Here is what he says, and I quote: "Some of the proposals being pushed at the I.L.O. include ideas like nation-wide collective bargaining (which would mean actual communism with a small 'c'), abolition of all private employment agencies, and legalisation of the closed shop. In the latter case a treaty to this effect could, theoretically, slip through the Senate alone and create a law that Congress as a whole has rejected."

I am sure that the delegates here must be interested and enlightened to know that they are "pushing" proposals which would force nation-wide collective bargaining and a universal closed shop upon all the Member nations.

I did not know it, although I have made every effort to keep up with what goes on here. So far as I have been able to determine, this Employers' representative is the only one who seems to be privy to this obscure design.

If logic is the guide, the process of elimination would tell us that, if he is the only one who knows about these so-called proposals, then he must be the one who is "pushing" them. Yet that I refuse to believe. I have, as I say, no knowledge of any effort by this body to dictate the closed shop to industry and employers in the Member nations. In fact, the only time that I can recall the issue of union security being debated at any great length in relation to any specific proposal was back in 1949. At that time, the Employers' delegates made a concrete effort to use the I.L.O. as a means of forcing a compulsory open shop upon an unwilling world, through an attempt to insert an anti-union security provision in Convention No. 98. I suppose they do not regard such tactics as at all high-handed so long as they are the authors.

As to the mention of an alleged proposal to abolish all private employment agencies, I assume that this refers to Convention No. 96, which does no such thing. It provides for two alternative methods of dealing with the problem: their progressive abolition, or their regulation. A country ratifying this Convention may choose either method. I believe it would not be unfair of me to point out that the United States Employers' delegation voted in favour of this Convention in 1949.

Now some of you may wonder why I am particularly concerned about what you may regard as, at most, a not unprecedented display of irresponsibility on the part of an individual having rather extreme isolationist views.

I am concerned, first, because of the source—an Employers' representative who has attended enough of these Conferences and who should be sufficiently familiar with the operations of the I.L.O. to know that his statements constitute neither a fair nor an accurate representation of the facts. Such a statement could not have been made without some purpose. I believe that purpose to be alien to the purpose of this Organisation and to the obligations of membership in it.

I am concerned, secondly, because I believe that this statement has all the earmarks of being an integral part of a careful and studied campaign to discredit the I.L.O. and to defeat the ends of United States participation in this Organisation. I know, and I am sure that the United States Employers' delegates know, that such a campaign is now under way.

The Senator who inserted this gentleman's story in the *Congressional Record* has sponsored a piece of legislation in the Congress of the United States which is unmistakably designed to hamstring the power of my Government to enter into treaties and to make their terms effective, so as to fulfil its international responsibilities in this day and age. This legislation follows closely the pattern of thought outlined in the statement from which I have just quoted, namely, that the procedure whereby international labour Conventions are ratified under the United States Constitution may jeopardise the rights of States or may override

existing legislation, owing to the fact that only the Senate in the United States votes to ratify.

Considering the absurdity of its premises—the idea that two-thirds of the Senate can be persuaded to do something which one-half of the House and Senate could not be persuaded to do—this legislation has attracted a surprising amount of support. Much of this support can only be attributed to blind, unreasoning fear, stirred up by fallacious propaganda of the type found in the scare story which this United States employer has put into circulation.

Finally, I am concerned because, to the best of my knowledge, this legislation and the attitudes, distortions and dangers which they represent have not yet been disavowed or repudiated or otherwise counterbalanced by United States Employers' representatives to the International Labour Conference or by the employers' organisation for whom they speak here. Yet, if they are sincere in their service as full and equal participants in the work of this body, I believe that it is their plain and simple duty to do so. Otherwise they are compounding a fiction.

Let me emphasise that I am not concerned because United States Employers' representatives have differed with us and argued against us on particular or specific problems which have come before this Conference. That is their democratic right and their function—where their objections are sincerely held—just as it is our right to do likewise when the occasion demands, and I would be the last to question it. But, when these issues come up for debate and vote, I believe that this Organisation has the right to know whether the Employers' position is taken in good faith, with a genuine belief in the aims and methods of the I.L.O. as attested by membership in this body, or whether it stems from a deep-seated opposition to and rejection of the basic philosophy of the I.L.O. itself and the ideal of international co-operation for economic and social progress, as might be deduced from the statements and events which I have just related to you.

The keynote of the Director-General's Report, as I see it, is the necessity for a greater degree of co-operation—co-operation among nations and co-operation among groups within nations. Voluntary and wholehearted co-operation is the primary obligation which attaches to participation in the International Labour Organisation, an obligation which we all share and from which none of us is exempt by virtue of our position.

The foundation stone of the I.L.O. is the idea that representatives of workers, employers and Governments can work together successfully as equals and can, through the methods of free discussion and democratic decision, co-operate effectively in the furtherance of those mutual aims which are expressed in the Constitution of this Organisation.

A genuine belief in those high aims and a willingness to accept and abide by those methods is essential to that type of co-operation. Equally necessary is the sincere desire to co-operate, shared by all parties, without which the system must break down completely.

Tripartitism is more than just a matter of form; the substance must be present as well.

Where the substance does not exist, tripartitism is a fiction. It cannot exist where any Member uses its position not to help but to handicap, not to promote but to obstruct, the work of this Organisation. It cannot exist where any Member desires to exercise all of the advantages of participation—the right to have its views expressed and its influence felt in all the actions and decisions of the Organisation—but is unwilling to accept and to exercise the corollary responsibilities of membership. Among those responsibilities I believe that it can be fairly said that one of the most important is that every party, if it cannot conscientiously support and actively promote the work of the I.L.O., should at least refrain from misrepresentation.

I am not pleading for any special interest of American labour, or making a case for any particular item or matter before the Conference. I am pleading for a renewal of the strength, integrity and vigour of the tripartite structure of the International Labour Organisation itself. I am seeking to defend and promote that structure by asking that it be given a new and more active life.

Speaking for the trade union movement which I represent, and for myself, I wish to state in closing that we sincerely believe in the instrument of tripartite co-operation. We strongly desire to co-operate and to work together with employers' and Government representatives, as well as with other representatives of labour, in the promotion of our mutual aims and the furtherance of the aims and objects of the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation: Mr. van den DAELLE (*Government delegate, Belgium*)—It is always with the greatest interest that we read the Report of the Director-General. This annual review of economic and social world events is indispensable to all those who are concerned with progress and social justice. We particularly appreciate, in this year's Report, the survey of the operational activities and of the life of the International Labour Organisation.

For, if the solution of social problems, in the first place, is a matter for each country, it also depends on the international organisations, and, in this connection, we must not underestimate the considerable part played by the I.L.O.

It is satisfying to note that the I.L.O. is fully conscious of the importance and grandeur of its mission. The survey of achievements, so vigorous and realistic, to be found in Chapters III and IV of the Report, is a tangible demonstration of this. It proves that we are here pursuing a steady, concerted, international effort and that the social policy which is being promoted at the international level is an essential contribution to world peace. Above all, I think it is to its tripartite form and to the active collaboration of employers and workers that the I.L.O. owes the soundness of its foundation and the efficacy of its action.

In the periods of economic difficulties and general unrest through which we are passing, it would be tragic if the I.L.O. were to disappoint the hopes of social justice which the workers of the world have placed in it.

To ensure social progress, which has just as many moral as material aspects, Governments certainly have their own tasks to fulfil, but the spirit of understanding and active co-operation of the employers and workers is essential.

Since the Liberation this spirit has asserted itself nearly everywhere, and particularly in the International Labour Organisation, where it is as vigorous as it is beneficent, and it is more than ever necessary that it should continue and develop.

We cannot but endorse the remark in the Report that "lasting peace can only be achieved if positive solutions are found to mankind's social and economic problems".

I should like to deal briefly now with some of the questions raised by the Director-General, either so that I may add some details to his analysis of world events or in order to voice some of the thoughts and suggestions which have occurred to me on reading the Report.

The economic instability which is characteristic of our age and which is one of the causes of our troubled international situation, gives rise to economic and social problems with new aspects which cannot be explained by classical theories. The world has been caught up in a hurricane which gives us the impression that we are living at a very great speed. The ink is hardly dry on the Director-General's Report and the economic situation has already changed. One of the dominant features of the year under review, as emphasised by Mr. Morse, was the dangerous rise in prices, and today this rise is over and a fairly steep fall has set in. This fall in the price of raw materials has such repercussions that it, in its turn, gives rise to new economic and social problems with which our various countries are now having to contend.

However, in spite of the economic difficulties which make rearmament more difficult and burdensome, we must press on with social progress.

The Belgian Government has always been conscious and convinced of this need. Because it has to import much of the food required by its very dense population, because it lives by its exports and lacks most of the raw materials necessary for its manufacturing industry, Belgium is perhaps more sensitive than most countries to the movement and shocks of international economic development. So far, however, thanks to the increase in production and productivity, our country has managed to share out its national resources fairly harmoniously between rearmament, economic development and raising the standard of living. The purchasing power of wages and social benefits of every kind has improved during the past 18 months to an extent which, in the circumstances, may be regarded as very satisfactory.

I hope the Director-General will allow me to correct the view he expresses in his Report that during 1951 the improvement in the unemployment situation in Belgium was disappointing. The documents submitted to this Conference concerning social security standards will, I think, confirm what has already been stated from this platform, *i.e.*, that the Belgian unemployment benefit scheme is the most

generous in the world. One of the results of this is that it reflects the extent of unemployment in statistics more faithfully than in other countries. Furthermore, our unemployment figures are swollen by physically handicapped and aged workers who, in other countries, would not be covered by unemployment statistics. These persons, who are difficult to place, represent 30 per cent. of our totally unemployed, and women beneficiaries almost 40 per cent. of all our unemployed, a percentage which is out of proportion to the importance of female labour in Belgium.

The I.L.O.'s conclusions regarding unemployment in Belgium have been reached on the basis of global figures. An analysis of these figures shows that in reality in 1951 the employment situation was far better than in previous years. This does not mean that there is not in Belgium an unemployment problem with which the Government is concerned. I think it is interesting to point out in this connection that the improvement in our productivity has led to a certain amount of technological unemployment which can only be absorbed by creating new opportunities for employment.

The Director-General will also allow me to point out that the action initiated by the Federation of Belgian Industries in October 1950 in order to lower the cost of living, action which was taken in co-operation with the trade unions and the Government, was far from being a failure. Actually, not inconsiderable results were achieved during the last quarter of 1950. I make these two small rectifications for the sake of complete accuracy, but that does not in any way affect the value of the analyses contained in the Report.

In the chapter dealing with economic development emphasis has rightly been placed on the fact that it is in the underdeveloped countries that investments for economic development are most important.

This seems to be quite obvious, but we must not forget that investments made in these countries will have important effects on the level of activity of some of the industries of the developed countries. These effects must be carefully studied so that investments in the underdeveloped countries may be made in a rational and harmonious manner. Furthermore, the industrially developed countries must also make investments which will direct their activities along lines that will not result in duplication of the equipment introduced in other regions of the world.

This seems to me to be a problem with which the competent international organisations should concern themselves and one which interests us here because its social incidences are most important.

In this Report the Director-General has very appropriately stressed the fact that the assistance given to underdeveloped countries can, undoubtedly, enable them to raise their level of production but it will only enable them to improve their living conditions if there is a parallel awakening in the social conscience.

In other words, the industrialisation of underdeveloped countries must lead to human progress, and in this connection attention should perhaps be drawn to the grave dangers of disruption of family life involved in the general-

ised employment of mothers in gainful occupations. Consideration should be given to measures which will ensure the economic and social security of the family in such a way that women, and particularly mothers, will really be able to choose between paid employment and looking after their homes.

An improvement in the standard of living would not represent social progress if it were accompanied by a disruption of family life, because this would lead to such cultural, moral and social disorder as to constitute ultimately a step backwards socially. There cannot be any sound and vigorous social progress without the protection and encouragement of family life. This ancient social truth, which is still too neglected, has been illustrated by recent scientific and psychological studies published by the World Health Organization and by economic studies on the importance of domestic consumption and domestic economy in the total consumption and the economy of nations. It is our duty to help the underdeveloped countries to avoid those social mistakes which three-quarters of a century ago were the disgrace of our Western European countries and the consequences of which are still felt today. I have no doubt that the I.L.O. will make a point of paying special attention to this important social problem.

The chapter of the Director-General's Report dealing with the operational activities of the Organisation shows at once the vastness of the task to be carried out, the variety of activities already undertaken, and the merit of those countries, public and private institutions, and experts co-operating in this great work. Nevertheless, only a long period of peace can secure the realisation of the generous objectives of these great technical assistance programmes. It is on war or peace, on rivalry or mutual help, that the fate of more than half of mankind depends.

The function of the I.L.O. in this collective action consists in ensuring more or less parallel progress between economic development due to private investment on the one hand and the creation or improvement of social institutions capable of protecting local and immigrant populations against the inevitable friction resulting from too rapid a transformation of material living conditions on the other. The limited resources of the free peoples compared with the magnitude of the task to be carried out are in themselves a sufficient reason for the Belgian Government to give its full support to the efforts to solve the economic and social difficulties which, if they are heightened, may prove fatal for all of us. Belgium has, in fact, traditionally contributed its capital, its techniques and its skilled labour to underdeveloped countries.

We have warmly supported most of the organisations set up for this purpose either by the United Nations or by the specialised agencies, and we have participated generally in the implementation of all these programmes.

It is without hesitation that Belgium has agreed to contribute to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1952 a sum of 13,500,000 Belgian francs, this being equal to the sum paid for the previous period of 18 months. Actually, therefore,

my country has increased by 50 per cent. its contribution to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

Belgium believes that a time when all peaceful projects for the social and economic development of the underprivileged peoples are most essential, and when rapid solutions are necessary, is no time for reducing the resources of the international organisations which are working effectively for universal peace by abolishing poverty.

But the urgency of the technical assistance tasks before us must not lead to a limitation of the legislative activities of the Organisation.

The Belgian Government continues to believe that the double objective of the adoption of international instruments and their ratification by States Members is still the essential justification for our efforts.

The direct action of the Organisation must identify itself with the standards laid down by the International Labour Code. The assistance given to underdeveloped countries will not fulfil the permanent objectives of our Organisation unless it ensures a higher standard of living and increased labour protection and thus allows the effective application of international labour Conventions and Recommendations.

During the past year Belgium has established even closer legal links with the other States Members by ratifying eight Conventions and thus raising the total number of its ratifications to 46. The new commitments undertaken by my country deal with safety provisions in the building industry, food and catering for crews on board ship, the certification of ships' cooks, medical examination of seafarers, the certification of able seamen, freedom of association and protection of the right to organise, night work of women employed in industry, and equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.

I hope also that during the coming year the Office may be able to register ratification of four other Conventions concerning the organisation of the employment service, labour clauses in public contracts, migration for employment, and the application of the principles of the right to organise and to bargain collectively.

In closing, I may say that we have read with interest the part of the Report devoted to those little international labour conferences represented by the Industrial Committees.

The growing number of countries participating in these Committees and the requests for the creation of new Committees are proof that they meet a real need. I think I may say that the representatives of our employers' organisations just as much as the representatives of our workers' organisations in Belgium appreciate the work of these Committees, in which they participate.

The resolutions of the Committees are regularly submitted to our Joint National Committees, which consider them with the desire to give effect to them.

This new machinery of the I.L.O. seems to have justified its existence, and I do not doubt that it will be possible to perfect it so that these Committees become more and more effective.

Belgium, which from the outset has been closely associated with all the work and with the life of the International Labour Organisation, is determined to continue its most active collaboration because it believes that the contribution of the I.L.O. to justice and social progress is irreplaceable.

Interpretation: Mr. PUENTE (*Government delegate, Argentina*)—Mr. Morse's work as Director-General and as the author of this fine Report deserves the warmest praise and I add mine to that given by preceding speakers, not as a mere formality but because it undoubtedly deserves that praise. I would also like to refer briefly to Mr. Morse's great personal merits. It is rare indeed to find a man who earns such friendship on all sides. The I.L.O. is in good hands.

No objection can be made to the Report.

It is true that I find that some significant facts regarding Argentina have been omitted, but this is no doubt due to the late arrival of our statistics and not to any fault on Mr. Morse's part.

I wish to speak particularly of our industrial progress, which is probably unique in the world, and to comment on it briefly both for your information and because this may bring us the right to a permanent seat in the Governing Body, in accordance with Article 7 of the Constitution. I shall simply give you a few figures. In 1946 the total wages paid to industrial workers amounted to 2,000 million pesos. In 1951 this had increased to 8,500 million pesos. In the same period more than 20,000 new factories were built. Industrial credit, which in 1945 amounted to 130 million pesos, totalled 3,500 million pesos in 1951.

I do not think that any parallel with this industrial progress can be found anywhere.

I would like to reflect, as a representative of the Argentine Government, on some considerations arising from the Report, since I have no observations to make on it itself. Furthermore, the Memorandum on the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference tells us that the discussion of the Report gives us an opportunity "for the consideration of some general problems in the social field". I propose to consider them.

Mr. Morse says that "lasting peace can only be achieved if positive solutions are found to mankind's social and economic problems. Basic human needs like food and clothing"—I would add housing—"and human aspirations for better living must be met."

This has been done in Argentina.

Social justice is the flag of the Peronist doctrine, which we call *Justicialismo*.

Argentina will make its contribution to the solution of the problems mentioned in the Report, as an expression of solidarity with all peoples, since Peronism means peace and a love of humanity.

This is an appeal from Argentina to the countries of the world not to waste their energies in preparing for war, in order to recover from which they will have to waste yet more energy. The fulfilment of social justice is aimed precisely at avoiding such wars.

The Constitution of the I.L.O. says : "Whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice ; And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled... the High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world..." etc.

Argentina firmly believes in what is said in the Preamble to the Constitution. Read it again, gentlemen. Let Governments read it ! Let it be taught to men, women and children ! Let it not be a dead letter but a living reality, and then the work done in Argentina by our far-sighted General Perón will be attained in all parts of the world.

Argentina is a living example of the realisation of the ideals of the I.L.O. We have applied fully the provisions of Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, in which the Parties undertook to promote higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of economic and social progress and development. That is why we are living in peace, why our children are happy, why they are privileged. For us work is not a misfortune but a social function. The people are joyful as they work. Capital, also, is not an instrument of profit or an arm for subjecting others but performs a social function. The benefits of social security, thanks to Perón and that other visionary, Eva Perón, do not come to human beings as the gift of charity but as a social function, jointly performed by Governments, men of capital and men of labour.

How have we achieved this ? I have used the words "men of capital and men of labour", for Peronism has deflated the abstract concepts of capital and labour which have been played with by theorists throughout the centuries. History is a struggle between capital and labour, between the powerful and the dispossessed, between the patricians and the plebeians, between the feudal lords and the serfs, between aristocracy and democracy. Hundreds of political and social doctrines have been announced as solving these problems but none has succeeded, because they have started off with abstract concepts. Perón has taken the man, the human being : he has put the human being who is a worker face to face with the human being who possesses capital. He takes them both, with their anxieties, their needs and their preoccupations, in order to solve everyday problems without prejudice and without reserve. I have seen employers surprised at finding that the workman is not a thrower of bombs, but a man with a wife and children, only wishing to find a better way of living. I have seen workers surprised to find that their employer is not a bloodsucker or a bird of prey, but also a man with a wife and children, with worries about reserves, about maintenance and about equipment, all things which guarantee continuity of employment for the worker. Then, as men, they always do, and they always will, understand one another, because man is naturally good, as Rousseau said. I do not believe the dictum *homo homini lupus*.

How is it possible that this agreement between the parties should have been achieved ?

I will tell you. One of the premises of the Peronist doctrine is that a Government must support the workers. Why is this ?

You know the old economic principles : capital alone cannot produce wealth. Nor can labour alone produce wealth. Union of the two in production is indispensable. Why should capital take the whole profit and only give a crust to labour ? If both are indispensable it is necessary to share the wealth produced more justly between them. "Justly" does not mean in equal shares, because capital has claims that cannot be denied. It must make provision for the future and for the stimulus of profit in order to continue to exist. "Justly" means giving the worker what he requires so that he can live decently with his family.

As you see from this, Peronism is not and cannot be an enemy of capital. It regards capital as equally indispensable with labour. What it has done has been to secure equality of conditions for labour, to discuss its common interests with capital and to divide the wealth produced in an equitable form. How has it done this ? This is the key to the problem. In each case the Government has put its whole weight on the side of the workers when they called for something just which had been refused to them. The Peronist Government is not neutral in the struggle for social justice. It is on the side of the workers, but it is on the side of the workers for reasons of "justicialism", in order to adjust the balance between men of labour and men of capital. Why is this ? Because the worker is always the weaker when opposed to capital. He is always the weaker because he has to ask, and he who has to ask is always less strong than he who can refuse. If the Government does not support the worker, however well organised he be we shall only produce a situation in which the worker may have to have recourse to violence, in which case we shall all lose.

I do not agree, as Mr. Ramadier said at an earlier stage, that trade unionism in young countries requires years of organisation, the years which the British and French trade unions have had to obtain independence and efficiency. I do not believe that problems are solved by this concept of trade unionism. Anyway, let us look at the facts. Europe remains as convulsed as ever she was. The conception, of which Mr. Ramadier boasts, of a trade union movement which he calls perfected and totally independent of the State is like a family in which the children have nothing to do with the father. What occurs if disagreements arise between two of the children ? Should the father not intervene in their solution ? In the Peronist view he should intervene, because the State and the people are one, just as father and children form a single family. And the State intervenes to support the weaker party because harm to the people hurts the State, and vice versa.

I believe in a trade union movement and in those Governments of America which desire social justice not in tiny doses but fully and completely, as has been achieved by Peronism

in Argentina. If we had not this living proof we might believe that there was no other solution than that recommended by Mr. Ramadier, but after the experience to which he refers other paths must be sought, paths not of ideals—for those of the I.L.O. are magnificent—but other paths of achievements and procedures to secure achievements. However well organised workers' organisations are, they will not achieve full social justice unless they are supported by Governments favourable to the workers. I repeat that Governments favourable to the workers does not mean Governments unfavourable to the capitalist. If it were merely a question of seniority and organisation, the workers of the British trade unions and the French organisations would live in the best of all possible worlds, and unfortunately, as we all know, this is not the case.

I know of millions of workers who would like to come to Argentina; I do not know a single Argentine worker who would like to come to live in Europe as a member of the working class. This means that in Argentina people live better because social justice, which is peace, has been achieved. On the other hand, war—which, as is indicated in the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., is due to lack of social justice—threatens Europe despite the wonderful organisations of workers to which Mr. Ramadier refers and which he contends are to be found in Europe and not in the young countries.

Thus it is not so difficult to put the constitutional programme of the I.L.O. into full effect. You have the formula and the facts. A time should therefore come when we can all come to this Conference and say "We have put your principles into effect". Then the black clouds on the horizon would disappear and we would only have to perfect this Organisation, which would fully justify its existence. This is not a dream or a Utopia. Anyone who believes that it is a dream or a Utopia must believe that this Conference is a farce. I tell you that war, as is said in the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., can be avoided by means of social justice. Social justice has been achieved through Peronism in Argentina, which lives in peace. It has been achieved by putting capital and labour on an equal footing—that is to say, by supporting labour, which is the weaker of the two. You also should establish Governments favourable to the workers, and that does not mean communist Governments. What Peronism has done is to achieve a genuine equilibrium which in capitalist democracies is only apparent and appears in the form of legislation which is not applied.

It is dangerous to boast of laws which are a dead letter. We also had such laws before the Peronist revolution. We had, likewise, charitable societies giving shameful charity until there came into being the Eva Perón Foundation, flexible, human, giving to those in need—the old, the women and the children—not charity but material aid and Christian solidarity, without uniforms, without institutions, without petty rules. The Foundation extended its reach to the boundaries of my country and lowered the barriers, because Argentina is solid with the whole world, solid

for peace, owing to its own peace. This is the Christian concept of Peronism and we are proud of it.

I would like now to reaffirm my faith in the I.L.O. and my support for the concepts set out in the Director-General's Report. All that is proposed is now achieved with us and all we have to do is to aim at a maximum of perfection. I have told you the formula, explained how we are doing it. We have nothing to hide. I do warn you against bad journalism, against newspapers which seek to hide our achievements behind a disfiguring curtain. But this is not an iron curtain—merely one of paper which falls to pieces as soon as it is viewed without evil prejudices, as it has been by more than one of you who have visited us. Mr. Morse himself was able to see with his own eyes what my country is like, and I appeal to his testimony as a man of goodwill. The same has occurred with workers who are compatriots of the President of this Conference, who recently, after returning from their visit to Argentina, expressed their jubilant surprise at what they saw there.

I would like to appeal to the representatives of other States and of workers and employers to whom I have shown that the Peronist doctrine is a doctrine for good. It benefits the worker materially and gives him a better status in society, and it benefits the employer because greater purchasing power in the hands of the worker makes business profitable.

But the terms of the problems must be restated so that there shall be no misunderstanding. It is claimed that the worker should produce more so that he may receive better conditions of life. The Peronist Government has done the opposite; it has given the worker better conditions of life so that he may produce more. A worker without anxiety is a profitable man; and the better life which he now enjoys is due to a more equitable distribution of the wealth which he and capital produced together.

Other problems also can be solved if they are properly restated. So, in my country, a solution is being found for the problems of the land. Man is tending more and more to leave the land, and some people try to lecture him back. This is impossible. In agriculture man is still the slave of the land and this is the reason why he tries to leave it. He is the slave of the land because he works from sunrise to sunset and so do his wife, children and parents. When he needs additional labour he has to pay dear for it because no one is keen to do such painful work.

Today, in the twentieth century, men should work as masters of the land. To make this possible there are machines, which strange to say are not plentiful—extraordinary machines, which no doubt are not built on an extensive scale because the necessary time and effort go to making guns or bombs. I would like to explain the marvellous performance of some of these machines.

A man who is transplanting young plants can deal with a hundred or perhaps two hundred, with hard work and enthusiasm. Do you know how many plants a certain machine can transplant in an hour? The answer is ten thousand!

This machine exists and I have handled it myself. I have also handled one which can sow a hectare with potatoes in a few hours, and in not much longer can harvest potatoes from a similar area. There are machines to sow and reap maize, wheat, cotton and sugar-cane. It is necessary to do as my country is doing today, through the Eva Perón Foundation, namely, to provide agriculture with machinery, to humanise labour, and to make man the lord of the land. Then production will be multiplied to an incredible extent, there will be abundance of everything at a low price, everybody will be happy, there will be no difficulties in the way of allowing holidays with pay to agricultural workers, and we shall not have to spend so many days discussing problems which will solve themselves. But to achieve all this it will be necessary to stop making so many machines of destruction and to make machines of production instead. I would like to tell you also (because it relates to a matter now being discussed in committee, a matter of importance for the future which we hope is near, happy and peaceful) how the problem of children has been solved in my country. Children, whether they are to be workers later on or not, all belong to a people which aspires to social justice. In Argentina children are the only privileged class, because the whole force of the State is there to protect them. This is done because we regard it as a Christian and a human obligation, millions of pesos are invested in it, and thousands of millions will be invested if this is necessary. There is no need to stress the moral foundation for this work; I should merely like to tell you that it is also an incredibly profitable investment.

The children of today are the men of tomorrow. Young persons who are well fed and well cared for, physically strong and morally healthy, will grow up into strong and healthy men, who will work on usefully for many years and set up decent, efficient homes to the incalculable profit of the national economy. The prisons and hospitals, which figure so largely in the budgets of all countries, are full of men who once were young and of children who did not receive all the care to which they were entitled. By means of the work which Peronism is now doing for children in my country we have ensured for ourselves a satisfactory future in so far as human material is concerned. This is enough to ensure our national greatness, also. It is necessary to invest less in arms and more in children: perhaps this may help to avoid war. Why not try it?

My country ought to be the favourite child of this Organisation, because it has most faithfully complied with the principles proclaimed here, because Perón has proved to the world that such principles can be put into immediate effect. Some day the purity of our intentions and of our spirit will be recognised, and we shall only claim the privilege of a place in the front rank of the struggle for the good of humanity.

Interpretation: Mr. HORMAZÁBAL (*Workers' delegate, Chile*)—I am very honoured to be able to take part in this discussion of the Director-General's Report at the 35th Session

of the Conference. Mr. Morse may be sure that the value of his Report, which provides information on and an analysis of the most important economic events of the last year, is recognised by all the delegates to this Conference who express an impartial view on its contents. Similarly his account of the activities of the I.L.O. during the same period calls forth our gratitude to the I.L.O. for its efforts on behalf of social justice and universal peace.

However, I would have wished the analysis of the economic situation contained in the Report to have been more closely and directly related to the social problems with which the I.L.O. is specially concerned. Furthermore, I do not think that the Report should hesitate, because of a mistaken anxiety to be objective, to take up a clear and definite stand regarding the negative effects—prejudicial to most of the workers—of some of the events or economic policies which it analyses. Moreover, as a Latin American, I would ask the Director-General to give our countries the attention due to them in his Report. I make this request, even though I am aware that one of the fundamental characteristics of Mr. Morse's policy, since his appointment as Director-General, has been to develop a greater interest in the problems of the Latin American and Asian peoples. We know how sincere Mr. Morse is in his desire to introduce practical improvements for the Latin American working classes, but I would like to warn him that sometimes this intention is not very visible and that he appears at times to lose his way on the road he must travel for its execution.

It is a pity that lack of time prevents a thorough commentary on the Report. I am forced, therefore, to confine myself to general remarks. I would like to use this opportunity to tell the delegates of some of the aspirations and anxieties of the sector which I represent in so far as these relate to some of the points in the Director-General's Report.

The Chilean working class is passing through a period of difficulties. In many cases these have been of an external nature because they have been due to economic factors beyond our control. Others are of an internal character. For the solution of the former we are doing our patriotic best. As regards the latter, we are trying to ensure that everyone assumes his proper share of responsibility both as regards the occurrence of these difficulties and as regards the obligation to contribute to their disappearance.

There is in the Latin American countries a marked disequilibrium between wages and the cost of living. In some sectors this state of affairs is so grave that the workers' wages are not sufficient to meet the most basic needs of workers' families, and one of the constant battles of our trade unions has been for wage increases. Although justly claimed, these increases have been evaded by the employers and sometimes by the public authorities on the pretext that they would contribute to inflationary pressure. We consider that this is a false pretext. It is rather the speculative rise in the price of agricultural produce and manufactured goods for popular consumption that causes inflation. The freezing of wages will not help to reduce inflation, and has proved ineffective

both as a short-term and as a long-term policy. The Director-General himself acknowledges in his Report that this measure has always failed as a result of the rapid rise in prices. We go further still : we believe that rational periodical wage increases are beneficial to the economy of a country—particularly one in the process of rapid economic development like Chile. They act as a sort of injection to the economy because they expand and strengthen the consumers' market through the increased purchasing power they give to the workers.

Everybody knows that our country is having to contend, in unfavourable circumstances, with a very adverse balance of payments. The Director-General himself says that the standard of living of the workers depends not only on the economic situation within a country but also on its commercial relations with foreign countries. Two external events caused a tremendous distortion of the Chilean economy : the world economic crisis and the introduction of synthetic nitrate in foreign markets. We workers suffer most from this situation. The strong economic sectors always have means, including political means, of defending themselves.

The workers are fully in agreement on the need for a policy to solve the grave problem of our adverse balance of payments, by means of a constant increase in national output. We believe that this increase in national output can only be achieved, or at all events can only be consolidated, if we have a strong domestic consumers' market, which can only be achieved through raising the standard of living of the majority of the workers. This means higher wages, better housing, greater culture, better social security systems and a fairer share for the workers in the national wealth.

We agree to support a policy of increasing national output. We wish to industrialise the country ; to develop our iron and steel and petroleum industries ; to make better and greater use of our hydro-electric resources, the reserves of which are estimated at 10 million kilowatts and which are being used to a greatly increased extent ; we wish to increase our agricultural and stock-raising output, etc. But we require this whole policy of recovery and economic reinforcement to be supplemented by a social policy which will remove the injustices now being suffered by the majority of our people and which will prevent the occurrence of others as the result of the transformation of our economic structure.

Our industrial workers should obtain benefits corresponding to the increasing profits of the undertakings which they serve. Our miners should live better having regard to the higher prices obtained for our minerals in the world market. Our agricultural workers must emerge from the economic and moral prostration in which they have been kept by a feudal system of land-owning and by primitive production methods, and consequently we shall struggle tenaciously for agrarian reform.

The Director-General speaks in his Report of the progress made by the I.L.O. in its efforts to guarantee freedom of association. Despite the Director-General's goodwill, we consider that instead of progress there has been retrogression since, in the representative bodies

of the I.L.O., representatives of those Governments which deliberately trample on this fundamental right of the peoples have a strong influence. This applies particularly to one Latin American Government which, despite the fact that it is common knowledge that it repeatedly violates trade union rights, not only has refused to comply with the objective and cordial appeal made by the I.L.O. but aims at securing representative posts in the various meetings of the I.L.O. It believes that in this way it can conceal or rebut the accusation made by the workers of Latin America. It only succeeds in diminishing the prestige of the I.L.O. because we workers cannot understand how an institution required to ensure the protection of trade union rights can give representative posts in any of its organs or offices to the delegates or friends of Governments which infringe these principles. We defend freedom of association as an inalienable right of the workers to organise in their struggle for economic improvement, social and cultural betterment, and for the establishment and strengthening of democratic institutions. Those who use the trade union merely as a Trojan horse to attack democracy have no right to speak about freedom of association, nor have people who profess to totalitarian philosophies and act as agents of a foreign power where the political régime is the very negation of the aspirations of the free workers of the world.

The democratic trade union movement of Latin America belongs to the Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (O.R.I.T.), of which the secretariat is provided by the powerful International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. We wish O.R.I.T. to be a strong bastion of American democracy against all sorts of totalitarian threats. We wish it to storm the last forts of feudalism and capitalism in America which keep the workers in poverty. We wish it to be a democratic instrument for all free workers of the western hemisphere in their struggle against economic imperialism.

I wish, in the name of the Chilean workers, to greet all the delegates to this Conference. I should like to congratulate the Director-General for the wonderful opportunity he has given us of discussing the problems that concern all men of goodwill, particularly the workers' problems, which must be solved if we are to establish the world of justice, peace and liberty which we all desire.

Mr. WIJEMANNE (*Workers' delegate, Ceylon*)—The Director-General must be congratulated on the very comprehensive survey he has made of world affairs. He refers in particular to movements affecting the welfare of the worker such as wage trends and the cost of living, and their resulting consequences on the well-being of the worker.

There is no doubt that the cost of living has risen considerably in recent years, far more than the rise recorded in the war years. This has been brought about by a spate of buying, releasing into the market large sums of money, while supplies of essential foodstuffs have continued to be scarce. This rise in the cost of living has been more evident in some countries than in others where the cost of living

has been kept down by a system of subsidising essential foodstuffs. In this respect Ceylon has been very successful. Among the Asian countries as a whole, this upward trend of prices has created chaotic conditions for the workers who, because of the fact that they are unorganised or that the organisations are rather weak, have not been able to get their wages raised so as to meet the increased cost of living. It must be remembered that in these countries wages were already low and the increase in the cost of living has been felt all the more severely.

In the underdeveloped countries, if the best is to be had from the worker it is very essential that a general survey of wage scales should be undertaken with a view to their improvement and to providing the worker with a wage on which he can live comfortably, and which would provide him with the necessary food to enable him to put forth his best. At present it is no exaggeration to say that he is undernourished and is therefore incapable of sustained effort. Governments must realise that this social disease has repercussions on the national wealth.

While at this Conference I have noted the considerable amount of bargaining that goes on before the worker makes a little headway in his march of progress. This is perhaps due to a lack of human understanding on the part of the employer, perhaps due to the existence of a society that pays scant respect to religion. My own religion, namely, Buddhism, extols the virtues of Dhara—that is, giving—and, if the employers would learn to practise it a little, the misery that exists in our world today could be greatly mitigated. Like the quality of mercy, the quality of giving blesteth him that gives and him that takes.

One other factor that I noted was the emphasis given to the Occidental view. Those who do this are perhaps not to blame. The fault perhaps is ours because we have not presented our point of view with sufficient force. Where we need a Convention in Asian countries because the workers are unorganised, perhaps a Recommendation would be sufficient in the west where the bargaining power of trade unions is strong due to their organisation. Perhaps, like the west, we would wish to depend on ourselves alone, without Government interference, but unfortunately we have not reached that stage. It is true, however, that Government is no foreign body but ourselves.

It would be in the best interests of everybody if there were a change of heart on the part of everyone concerned in the welfare of Asian workers, if they desire the development of democracy in those countries. It is particularly desirable that the employers in those countries should take careful note of this fact, since it is quite possible that the force of public opinion, whipped up by nationalism, may compel Governments to interfere materially with the employers, since the employers in those countries are, for the most part, foreigners. The case of Iran should serve as an object lesson, if an object lesson were necessary. It is better to give in gracefully rather than be compelled to do so.

A change of heart is also called for in the

case of the executive officers of those Governments, who, accustomed to a colonial outlook, fail to grasp the significance of the freedom which their people have won for themselves. I refer to no particular country but merely to a psychological fact. It is no doubt difficult to change a role one is used to, and particularly for a master to realise that he is no longer a master but is now in the position of a servant.

We are grateful to those countries that have extended their help to us under the Colombo Plan. The most recent is a generous gift of £250,000 to Ceylon from New Zealand. I would have wished, however, that we could settle our problems without outside aid, but perhaps the magnitude of the task is such that, left alone, we would have taken a considerable number of years to make any progress. The world being small, it is perhaps difficult to permit "sick" men to exist in the community of nations. It is also no doubt true that the raising of the standard of living in Asian countries will bring about an upward trend in world trade, from which the world as a whole is bound to benefit.

The I.L.O. has also extended its hand of friendship to us. It has helped us in a number of ways, in particular giving us much needed technical advice. Ceylon suffers greatly from a lack of technical data. This is a specialised field in which the I.L.O. could be of great assistance.

We trust that in the future we shall receive the help of the I.L.O. in greater measure and that the usefulness of the I.L.O. will begin to be appreciated more and more by the various States Members.

Interpretation: Mr. TROITIÑO (*Workers' delegate, Uruguay*)—We come from an American democratic country to the great democracy of Europe. People sometimes call us the American Switzerland, and we are proud of that. In our country, luckily for all of us, there are no men of destiny, though, of course, capitalist exploitation still exists, as well as the social problems which result from it. Democracy being susceptible of perfection, we seek paths towards full political liberty in order thereby to achieve social democracy.

As Workers' delegates we have not come all this way in order to flatter from afar the ears of those who govern us. On the contrary, I may say that there are serious differences between us regarding problems of labour, and I would like to speak briefly on these on the present occasion.

We are very glad to be able to be present at this session of the Conference in which Governments, capital and labour join forces to achieve the results for which the I.L.O. was established. Only achievement can justify the existence of the Organisation and the hopes which the people have placed in it. It is therefore a serious responsibility, and we must express frankly the feelings of peoples who are struggling for a way of life in which they will receive at least a minimum share of the benefit which technical progress has enabled the common labour to achieve. The resulting wealth should go to the many and not to the few, as too often happens.

The Director-General's Report is a most important document. It covers the manifold complex forms of social mechanics, ranging from general considerations of economic and social policy to the practical tasks of the I.L.O. I would like to make a few suggestions in regard to it.

First, I will refer to the recent formation of the Uruguayan Trade Union Confederation, affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its Inter-American regional organisation. It includes most of the workers' organisations of our country. Its democratic structure, its independence of intervention by the State, the employers, political parties and religious influences, enables it to work with others for the objective of the workers—a democratic basis for Government and the creation of conditions which will enable us to lead our Republic towards social justice. With this object we are extending the trade union movement so that the peasants and rural workers may enjoy the same benefits as industrial and commercial workers. We are working for the passing of an Agrarian Act which will reduce the great injustice due to a system of great estates in the hands of people who are insensible to new social currents and are still apparently cradled eternally in the Middle Ages.

We aim at the reorganisation of the National Labour Institute, which must meet new and urgent requirements, and at the revision of the Wage Board Act, giving the wage board power to control prices so that increases in remuneration may not lose their value in the face of growing inflation. We consider that women should be able to retire with a pension after 25 years' work. We are endeavouring to bring about the extension of unemployment insurance now enjoyed by some industries, and to secure due attention to the new problems of industrial disease, the representation of the unions on the governing bodies of the pension funds and other welfare institutions, and the repeal of Article 165 of the Penal Code prohibiting strikes by public officials; and we are examining the best means of promoting the industrialisation of the country so that this may lead to a higher standard of life and the economic progress of the country.

In Uruguay the railways, some of the other transport arrangements, telephones, electricity, some commercial and industrial establishments and the chief banks belong to the State. The same is true to a larger or smaller extent in the other Latin American countries. But, as my comrade, Joaquin d'Alessio, said last year, the officials and employees of the State have neither the same rights nor the same guarantees as workers in private employment. This situation gives rise to difficult problems, which undoubtedly impede the normal development of relations between the State and the workers and prevent these from going forward in an atmosphere of mutual comprehension. This occurs even in countries where the Government and the governed pay public tribute to democratic methods of administration. In Uruguay, only some eight weeks ago, as a consequence of the strike by public health officials, we were surprised to hear a declaration of "immediate security action", just as if the Government

was really faced with public disorder. Such action would have had tragic consequences for our Republic if democratic faith and the vocation of democracy had not been deeply rooted in the most typical sectors of our people. We think that it is the duty of the I.L.O. to hasten to catch up with events, to promote a better understanding of these problems, and to stimulate their solution by the legislature.

The Director-General rightly says that in no country are the cost of living and the wage level dependent only on internal factors, for in most cases they are affected largely by the development of the international situation reflected in the fluctuations of foreign trade and the balance of international payments. We in America feel profoundly these consequences, which are a fundamental product of the conditions in which our foreign trade is carried on. The political and economic situation of the disunited southern countries, split into 20 nations, makes us the victims of the colossus of the north. North American undertakings have found in our countries the Eldorado of legend. They can invest their capital here and obtain enormous profits, thanks to cheap labour and backward social legislation. My colleague, Luis Alberto Colotuzo, at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O. very rightly said: "I should add that as a consequence of this situation the raw materials exported from Uruguay are exported at prices and under conditions fixed by the buyers themselves, for markets which are directed and monopolised by these very buyers. On the other hand, we have no power whatever to influence the prices of our own imports and are often indeed unable to limit these to what we really require because to do so may prevent us from disposing of our surplus products on the foreign market."

This total dependency of a country which has other interests and which is confronting a world power situation will undoubtedly cause unforeseeable difficulties unless some fair settlement is found, either through the unity of the Latin American peoples or by a better understanding of those countries whose inhabitants also have the right to live. But this economic domination of foreign undertakings also involves political domination, which is reflected in most of the dictatorships existing in Latin America. This does not mean that we shall not utter a warning against developing South American imperialism which is already exerting considerable political and economic influence and threatening the fundamental freedoms of various countries.

There is, therefore, a crisis of democracy, particularly in those countries in which these companies or Governments have economic interests. In an atmosphere of freedom their imperialist ambitions and economic abuses would be prevented and the poverty and ignorance of the peoples would therefore disappear progressively.

We have tens of millions of illiterate Indians living in a Stone Age of poverty and misery. For them there is no Marshall Plan nor any kind of substantial help, because Latin America is regarded with indifference and receives only a minimum amount of aid under "Point Four" which is hardly appreciable. We have

contributed to the triumph of the democracies not only by our cheap raw materials but by our ardent support of the cause of justice and freedom in the world. We believe that we workers in industry and on the land need a change in our system of life and we claim the right to help our Indians to be treated like human beings. A glance at the statistics of the different countries supplied by the I.L.O. shows that wages in Latin America are extremely low. There is an enormous difference, for instance, between the earnings of a North American miner and a Latin American miner. We believe that this cannot continue. Democracy will gain ground day by day as the leading nations of the west show a sense of fairness in the economic field and particularly in the form in which the United States develops its economic and political relations with our countries.

According to statistics published by the Pan American Union, there are in Latin America 67 million illiterates who are, of course, living in inhuman conditions. Although this problem is the direct responsibility of another specialised agency, U.N.E.S.C.O., we emphasise it here because the political and social conditions of peoples depend very largely on their education. At the same time we believe that the efforts to secure literacy and raise the cultural level will contribute towards the solution of social problems.

We urgently need schools available to all, so that those who have been victims of social inequality and of the greed and insensibility of egoistical men may have access to the benefits of civilisation. In this age of atomic energy, when scientific knowledge must be applied to the service of humanity, we must not let the present conflict between material progress and the level of culture of the peoples lead the world to the tragic disintegration of all its values.

We do not think that we can feel very much pride when we look at the picture of what calls itself an advanced world. Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, at a seminar on literacy held at Quitandinha in September 1949, said that when we speak of human rights it would be wise not to forget the tragic fact that out of every thousand persons only five hundred, even in politically favourable circumstances, can demand in writing the respect of their rights. He added that U.N.E.S.C.O., which was created to defend peace in the mind of man, should ask itself for what peace it should prepare, the peace of the slave educated only in the school of renunciation or the peace of the free man, redeemable through the consciousness of his destiny and through intelligent, active participation in freedom. These words need no commentary and we support the I.L.O. in promoting the work of U.N.E.S.C.O. by improving the economic and social conditions of peoples.

The Director-General rightly says in his Report that it is still true that, as stated in the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O. in 1919, "conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of peoples as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled". We also agree with the

Director-General that peace cannot be won on the battlefield but by leading mankind along the road of progress and political, economic and social prosperity, because peace cannot exist in a world full of social injustice.

I am rather less optimistic than the Director-General as regards recognition by Governments and employers of the importance of the "condition of the people problem" and as regards their efforts to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development. Our Governments, which are in the main not the product of the will of the people but are imposed by foreign capital and the big landowners, have a grave fault. They do not carry out what they themselves have endorsed or promised unless they are forced to do so. We believe that the I.L.O. should become an effective instrument for the realisation of social justice at the service of the working class, and that its actions should be directed towards securing the application of Conventions and Recommendations. The action of the I.L.O. should be felt by the peoples. In attaining this important objective, the I.L.O. will be carrying out the important task assigned to it by its Constitution and taking measures of positive benefit to the working classes.

This hope cannot be realised if the I.L.O. continues to treat every State as though it were a castle, guarded by the high wall of sovereignty. Committees of enquiry have not been able to fulfil their task and it has been shown that respect for this principle has defeated the intentions of the I.L.O. We would like to see the I.L.O. armed with powers equal to its high intentions. When a Government which is a Member of the I.L.O., such as Venezuela, refuses to facilitate its enquiries, it defeats the purposes and frustrates the aims of the Organisation and creates confusion which results in disillusion for the workers.

As regards the ratification of I.L.O. Conventions, I do not share the optimism of the Director-General. Out of a total of 100 Conventions, which should produce 6,700 ratifications, only 1,267 ratifications have been registered, or about 20 per cent. This means that the majority of Governments are not paying due attention to the work of the I.L.O. and it shows the small degree of importance which they attach to the International Labour Code. Countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Panama and so on, have not ratified a single Convention. Others, like my own country, after a leading start, have now declined into indifference. We urge the I.L.O. to impress upon Governments the importance of paying great attention to the ratification of Conventions so as to promote the objectives of the Organisation.

The I.L.O. should attach full importance to the question of freedom of association. If it is a tripartite Organisation, it is natural that each party, the State, capital and workers, should choose freely its own representatives. Otherwise we should have a body without a proper trunk, head or limbs—in any case, a monstrosity which could not fulfil its proper purpose. It so happens that these abnormalities occur solely in the case of the workers. Very often in Latin American countries the Governments

appoint persons who do not represent fully the feelings or the aspirations of the workers, with the result that the workers are frustrated, whereas under different conditions they would be a powerful factor of collaboration. This obvious abuse of trade union freedom must be faced boldly by the I.L.O. if it is going to fulfil its functions. We want to draw attention to a fine theory which has in vain attempted to gain ground in the last few years in the trade unions: that trade unions can exist without civil liberties. This we workers emphatically deny. Trade union freedom is only possible in those countries where such freedom is respected. We agree with Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, when he says that there can be no trade union freedom without civil liberties.

The interesting Report of the Director-General has suggested these general considera-

tions to us and we ask the I.L.O. to take them as expressions of the aspirations of the workers we represent.

In conclusion, let me express our confidence in the International Labour Organisation, in its positive work for social progress in the world. We wish to affirm our faith in the democratic way of life and our desire to live in peace and freedom, because only thus can man develop his greatest faculties and achieve the finest objectives of life.

In the striking words of a man of action, who is at the moment deprived of his liberty, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, we affirm that we do not want bread without freedom or freedom without bread.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. André (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Saxer (substitute for Mr. Rappard) Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Bounous (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele Mr. Troclet Mr. de Bock	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substi- tute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. DüNDAR Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mrs. Krier-Becker (substi- tute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Huberty (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Drummond Mr. George
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Roberts
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemaune	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Mr. P. Stokman (substi- tute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Miss Perkins (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle) Mr. Lacroix	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substi- tute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Mentsen	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Parisca (substitute for Mr. Montoya) Mr. Velutini Mr. Hernández (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alangir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik. Mr. Veber
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Fernandez	
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mrs. Andrzejewska (sub- stitute for Mr. Wandas)	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Figueras (*Secretary of Labour, Philippines*), Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

TWELFTH SITTING

Thursday, 19 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

NINTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I shall first call on Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Ninth Report of that Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Ninth Report of the Selection Committee, which has already been circulated, be adopted.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, the Ninth Report of the Selection Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL : DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now continue the discussion on the Director-General's Report.

ISMAIL Bey (*Government delegate, Egypt*)—Once again I am privileged to represent my Government at a session of the International Labour Conference. It is a great honour for me to participate in the work of such a distinguished gathering, attended by so many delegates of Governments, employers and workers who assemble every year in this beautiful city to help in the common effort, laying the foundation of a better world based on social justice and lasting peace.

I am also privileged to convey to you the best greetings of the Egyptian Minister of Social Affairs, Radi Pasha, who for many years used to take part in the deliberations of this Conference. He regrets so much not being able, due to his heavy responsibilities, to pay

personally his warmest tribute to the International Labour Conference and to the Director-General. He expresses his best wishes for the success of the 35th Session of the Conference and hopes that the Conference may contribute to an even greater extent than in the past to the welfare and happiness of all peoples of the world.

I would like, first of all, in the name of the Egyptian delegation, to express our gratitude to members of the Governing Body, the Director-General and the International Labour Office for the sympathy and understanding which they have shown towards the difficulties of my country. We are greatly indebted to the representative of the Director-General and his legal adviser for their cordiality, understanding, neutrality and strict propriety in conducting their mission in Egypt.

I should like to express my great appreciation of this year's Report of the Director-General, which he has submitted to this session of the Conference. In this Report the Director-General has strongly emphasised the international co-operation in all fields of activity of the International Labour Organisation. We are all convinced that the world needs today, more than ever before, universal co-operation and international understanding. But can countries of the same ideological background reach the desired standard of international co-operation if they still live in political tension? I agree with Mr. Morse when he says in his Report that unless there is a great easing of political tension we cannot look forward to substantial relief from economic strain during the coming years.

I think that all my fellow delegates will agree with me when I say that it is really a tragedy that many democratic countries have not yet been able to find positive solutions to their political differences.

It is also true, as Mr. Morse so eloquently says, that "Peace must not only be defended in the military field but actively promoted by the positive and creative solution of mankind's problems".

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

I am really happy to notice that these views are shared by most of the speakers who preceded me on this rostrum. In this respect may I recall the words of Mr. Öksnes, Government delegate of Norway: "For democratic nations freedom and national independence are just as essential as material progress and well-being."

Mr. Bergenström, Employers' delegate of Sweden, expressed the same view: "Thus the unsettled international situation compels [many] countries to live at a lower standard than would be possible in peaceful conditions. . . . It follows, therefore, that the relaxation of political tension, which it is one of the aims of the International Labour Organisation to bring about, is of direct concern to these countries in their efforts to raise the standard of living of their peoples and to pursue a progressive social policy."

I am very impressed by the noble words of the Director-General in his Report regarding the equality and liberty of all States Members, which are entitled to choose in full independence the means by which they may reach their social objectives. As the Greek Minister of Labour so rightly said before this Conference: ". . . the history of the world is a continual march towards liberty—human liberty, political liberty, racial liberty, liberty of faith and social liberty."

The world's conscience no longer tolerates inequality between nations. The world is moving irresistibly along the path to world unity and we live already in the era of social justice. Therefore I agree with the Government delegate of Brazil when he says: "One conclusion cannot be escaped. It is that the end of the inequality of countries must come. The concept that some nations can be regarded as inferior to others has been swept away by events and by the triumph of democratic ideals; all must go forward together on the path of social progress."

A brilliant review of the world's economic developments and of the principal factors affecting workers' standards of living during the past year is given in the Director-General's Report. The Report also gives a broader survey of the world's needs of social policy and pays special attention to the problems of technical assistance to less developed countries.

I would like to refer briefly to the situation in Egypt and the measures taken by the Egyptian Government to secure economic stability and to achieve a high standard of social security.

It has always been the policy of the Egyptian Government, since the rise of modern democratic Egypt, to plan and to speed up the execution of large economic development programmes. The aim of these programmes is to increase the productive capacity of the nation, to multiply work opportunities for the accumulative surplus of the steadily increasing population, and to raise the standard of living of the masses. Many of the constructive schemes of irrigation, land reclamation, exploitation of mineral resources, electrification and industrialisation in general, which were scheduled for the pre-war years and which were forcibly postponed during the second world war, have already been put into operation.

Neither the post-war problems nor the latest political developments have hindered the following-up of this indispensable policy. The decline of raw material prices, which proved to be a world-wide trend, at present threatens Egypt with a great depression. It may be said that such a depression has already started in raw cotton exports and also in the textile industry. Since cotton is the major crop of Egypt, its cultivation, commerce and the industries connected with it are the backbone of our national economy. The Egyptian Government is therefore devoting the most serious consideration to these problems, providing every reasonable and available help to cotton cultivators and textile manufacturers. It was also planned not to allow this depression, if extended, to have any serious reaction or repercussion on textile workers. Instead of standing off some of their workers, most employers have agreed to keep their working force in full and also to maintain their wage bills unreduced. It was only allowed, in cases where there is a real threat of an entire stoppage of production, to reduce either the daily hours of work or the number of working days per week, as a temporary measure to be taken with the consent of the workers.

All efforts are being concentrated on improving the techniques of Egyptian industry and increasing the productivity of Egyptian workers. Employers are encouraged to renew their plants and to apply up-to-date methods of production.

The Egyptian Government is struggling on three fronts to raise the level of productivity. These fronts are: raising the health standard, launching an intensive campaign against illiteracy, and propagating vocational training all over the country.

On the first front public health authorities are developing, in co-operation with the other public bodies concerned, vast programmes for providing free medical treatment for all citizens. New hospitals, health units and clinics of the Rural Social Centres are spreading at a rate that will cover the entire country in the very near future.

On the second front the Egyptian Government is doing its utmost to achieve its nationwide programme of abolishing illiteracy. Such efforts will help vigorously in raising the productivity level, as illiteracy and a low standard of health were and still are the two main factors of low productivity.

On the third front a Government committee was set up to plan the most appropriate measures to propagate vocational training with the co-operation of employers and trade unions. This committee is concerned with the general policy of vocational training and the most effective methods of co-operation between the public authorities concerned. The execution of the training programmes will be handled by the Manpower Administration of the Labour Department, which is actually operating in close co-operation with both partners of production. A new non-governmental society has been formed, under the name of the Egyptian Society for Vocational Guidance and Training, to propagate vocational training in Egyptian industry as a real background for higher productivity. The society

is about to start its activities by establishing a vocational training centre in Kalioub, near Cairo, where unemployed hand-weavers will be retrained for working in construction and the allied occupations. Another vocational training centre is to be established by the same society in Mehalla El-Kobra.

The policy of the Egyptian Labour Department as regards vocational training could be summarised as follows: first, propagating training within industry on a private enterprise level by encouraging employers to establish their own training machinery either for training new recruits or for improving and increasing the productivity of old workers; secondly, increasing the number of technical schools of the Ministry of Education, along with supplementary training courses given for certain occupations by the branch institutes of the Popular University; thirdly, establishing general training centres in important industrial centres, directed by the Government under tripartite supervision; and fourthly, establishing rehabilitation centres for re-educating and retraining disabled workers for jobs which fit their abilities.

In planning this policy the Labour Department consulted Mr. Rouse, Special Assistant to the Director-General on Manpower, who visited Egypt in 1950 for this purpose. Another I.L.O. expert will visit Egypt in the near future under the Technical Assistance Programme to help in laying down the practical measures, machinery, programmes, etc., for executing a nation-wide vocational training policy.

I take this opportunity to express my deepest thanks to the International Labour Office for its most valuable co-operation in this field, as well as in other fields of labour and industry.

These efforts to raise the productivity of the Egyptian workers have been accompanied by others aiming at improving working conditions through labour legislation. A Consolidated Factory Bill has been drafted and it is hoped that the relevant Act will be promulgated in the very near future. It is worth mentioning that this Bill was drafted in accordance with the *Model Code of Safety Regulations* as regards safety regulations, health accommodation, ventilation, lighting, etc.

The Individual Contract of Labour Law is currently under amendment. The Law will increase workers' benefits such as paid holidays, period of service indemnity, sick leave, etc. These amendments have been proposed to coincide with the general principles of I.L.O. Conventions. A Bill concerning seamen's individual contracts has been worked out in accordance with the I.L.O. Seafarers' Conventions. These Bills, together with an employment service Bill, which was recently approved by the Advisory Council of Labour, are making their way to the legislative bodies for final approval. I hope that after the enactment of this legislation, Egypt will be in a position to ratify a further number of I.L.O. Conventions.

The Social Security Act which was promulgated in August 1950 has been gradually applied in all provinces and districts. Since February 1951 its application has been extended to one

province after another so that now it actually covers all Egyptian territory, providing assistance and relief to many needy persons.

Sufficient funds will be provided in the new budget for speeding up the execution of the popular dwellings project aiming at providing healthy dwellings for classes of limited income.

The co-operative societies in Egypt have also launched a more intensive campaign to reduce prices of essential goods. The necessary funds for this purpose have already been appropriated.

I should like, in conclusion, to express my grateful thanks to the International Labour Organisation for having rendered my country the technical assistance for which we asked. Special appreciation is due to the Director-General and his assistants for carrying out such a tremendous programme.

I wish also to state in this connection that even before the United Nations and the specialised agencies launched their Expanded Programme Egypt had, as far as possible, taken the initiative in the field of technical assistance. Egyptian universities have provided educational facilities for thousands of students from our neighbouring Arab countries and hundreds of Egyptian teachers and professors are working in the schools and universities of our sister Arab States. Egypt has also placed at the disposal of the international agencies many of her sorely needed experts. Holders of study fellowships sent by international organisations have also been received in my country.

I wish here to express my appreciation of the definition of technical assistance given by Mr. Philip Kaiser, Government delegate of the United States, in his speech to this Conference. He said technical assistance is co-operation—co-operation freely sought and freely given. Its aim is to help those who want to help themselves. Therein lies its strength. It rests on a base of goodwill, on an appreciation of the achievements, as well as the problems, of others, and on a recognition that each country has achievements that others can benefit from in the context of their own ideals, traditions and institutions. No one country has a monopoly on achievement. We all have much to learn from each other. If we have the desire and the freedom to implement it...we can apply what we learn to our needs and circumstances."

I should like to express my gratitude in this connection to the United States of America for the assistance rendered to my country through the Point Four Technical Assistance Program. Hundreds of young Egyptians are benefiting from technical training in the United States in social and economic fields. Soon they will return to Egypt to help their country to achieve its economic and social objectives.

Several days ago the President of the United States, Mr. Truman, outlined in a speech the desire of the United States citizens to reach a fuller understanding of the brotherhood of man. Here, also, I feel that his distinguished remarks deserve quotation in my speech to this Conference. He said: "Technical skills and knowledge that have been brought to such perfection in our country depend upon scien-

tific discoveries that have come to us from all over the world. We have used this knowledge to build for ourselves a prosperous and happy country, but we know we hold these skills in trust for all mankind.

"It is not our way to use a power that has come to us to oppress or victimize others. Our way is to use a power which has come to us to lift up the weak and downtrodden.

"In many countries of the world misery, poverty and poor health are widespread. Some of these countries were formerly possessions or colonies. The people are now determined to improve their wealth and to preserve national independence, and we can help those new countries to reach their goal.

"One of the means to do this is our Point Four Program, through which we are helping to bring better health, more education, more and better food to millions of people . . .

"Americans are working together with other countries, regardless of race, creed or ancestry, to help the progress of mankind. . . .

"We should realize that much of the trouble in the world today is the result of false ideas of racial superiority. In the past the conduct of democratic nations has too often been marred by racial pride that has left its scars on relations between east and west."

May the echo of these truthful words find its way into the hearts of all men everywhere in the world. It is only through this way of thinking that our struggle for a better life for all peoples in a world at peace can achieve the greatest possible success. It deserves to be mentioned in this respect that a wider economic exchange between east and west will undoubtedly contribute to an easing of the present international tension and to a better standard of living for all countries.

May I close with the following words of the Director-General? "Lasting peace can only be achieved if positive solutions are found to mankind's social and economic problems. Basic human needs like food and clothing and basic human aspirations for better living must be met. The full satisfaction of these needs and aspirations may have to be delayed but they must not be neglected. Countries must decide for themselves the relative importance of conflicting claims on resources and the order in which they are to be satisfied; but they cannot go back on their declaration that 'all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity'."

Interpretation : Mr. AGUILAR (*Government delegate, Mexico*)—The Government delegation of Mexico, through myself, wishes to comment briefly on the Director-General's Report.

Permit me first of all to emphasise the very real value of the Report, although that does not mean that we are satisfied, any more than the Director-General is, with the events of the present time and the solution given to many of the problems of today.

We share his point of view regarding the imperative need for an increase in productivity. In this respect I would like to say, in order to fill some of the gaps in the Report in dealing

with productivity, that in Mexico the volume of production has increased in all sectors. Output in the industrial field, which was valued at 2,113 million pesos in 1949, reached 16,794 million pesos in 1950. The national income has increased, due principally to this greater industrial activity, the index figure, of which rose from 192.3 in 1950 to 205.6 in 1951, taking 1929 as 100. Mr. Morse speaks of the increase in our mining production. I will give two other instances. The output of petroleum reached 78.8 million barrels in 1951 against 73.8 million in 1950. The capacity of our electric generating plant reached 1,400,373 kilowatts in 1951, *i.e.*, more than double the figure of 1943 and 10 per cent. more than in 1950.

Without incurring the dangers to which Mr. Morse refers when he says that plans for industrial and agricultural development must not involve a neglect of the need to maintain social progress, the Government of my country has made big investments—more than 5,000 million pesos during the present administration—which, by increasing our capital goods and our agricultural and industrial equipment, are increasing the national wealth and productivity. This makes possible an increase in consumption.

As a complement to our policy regarding productive investment, for which Mexico has a high reputation throughout the world, both in the governmental and in the private sectors, we are applying moderate taxation systems and adequate customs protection.

We agree with the Director-General that there should be a better standard of life for the peoples of the world as a solution of the problems of our time. As the President of my country, Miguel Alemán, told the workers on 7 December 1951, "We are entering firmly the period of industrialisation of our country, while retaining intact the guarantees which the Revolution caused to be inserted in the Constitution to protect the working class. This class is a natural and exclusive consumer of what industry produces, provided it receives fair wages.

"Our Constitution expresses the principles of social justice which the people and nation of Mexico have made their own, and our democratic representation system guarantees that by means of laws deriving from the Constitution we can take measures which stimulate the creative force of new sources of wealth and enable trained workers to take opportunities of improvement in the economic and cultural field, the opportunity for which is provided by a country in progress.

"The Mexican workers' movement is as old as the revolutionary struggles and its history is in great part the history of the Mexican revolution. Mexican industrialisation during the revolutionary Government has not, in striving to achieve the object of greater welfare for all, shown the tendency visible in other countries of subjecting and exploiting the workers. The factors leading to industrialisation have understood this and legislation confirms the principle.

"It is not merely a question of better wages but of better conditions of life in general, better health, greater security against unem-

ployment, physical incapacity and old age, better facilities to acquire instruction and to benefit from human knowledge, and finally, the certainty we have in Mexico that there is ever-greater equality of opportunity to share in the fruit of achievements in all fields where character, honesty, intelligence and love of work count.

"The Mexican workers' movement also has the responsibility of sustaining the principles of human dignity, of equality of rights for all, of social and economic justice for all and of that political liberty which flows from a democratic life."

With regard to the reference in the Director-General's Report to economic development and over-all plans to develop the resources of the Latin American countries, I would like to refer briefly to two great schemes which are now being put in force in my country: that of the Tepalcatepec zone and that of Papaloapan. These will provide a full solution for the problems of these two regions, which will be scientifically developed, their various needs being at the same time settled by means of pre-established plans.

The economic policy of the Government of my country has been carried out without neglect for spiritual values and has encouraged at one and the same time the cultural progress of the nation and respect for individual liberty and human dignity.

Although other delegates have already spoken of some aspects of technical assistance I would like to add that the Government delegation of Mexico recognises the great importance of this part of the activities of the I.L.O. Mexico has received from the I.L.O. aid in various cases and we hope to be able to continue to count on experts when we have concluded an agreement regarding technical assistance. I think that the work of the Office in this field should be more rapid and up to date, because bureaucratic procedures tend to negative the possible benefits of technical assistance plans. In the same way the central services of the I.L.O. in this field should be improved and amplified and we hope that the result will be fruitful in benefit for all, including the so-called developed countries, which often require technical assistance.

By way of supplementing the Director-General's Report, and without leaving the field which it covers, I would inform you that last year in Mexico we revised the collective agreements in most of our industries and this had led in most cases to an increase of not less than 15 per cent. in wages, together with a considerable increase in additional allowances. Furthermore, last year our compulsory minimum wage was raised throughout the Republic by about 20 per cent.

As another example of the full freedom of association existing in our country, I may say that in April of this year a new workers' centre, entitled the Revolutionary Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Mexico, was founded. It consists of four organisations with a total membership of over half-a-million workers; these are the National Proletarian Confederation, the National Confederation of Workers, the Confederation of Workers and Peasants and the United Workers' Confederation.

In response to the appeal made by the Director-General in the latter part of Chapter II of his Report, concerning social policy, I assure you that my country proposes to continue its determined support of the work of the I.L.O. and of the application of the principles of the Constitution and the Philadelphia Charter. Mexico's collaboration in international affairs is already well known; it includes the services of several of our most distinguished men in the activities of international organisations.

In connection with what the Director-General says about migration, I would point out that Mexico has continued its collaboration with the United States under a bilateral agreement and—making sure that Mexicans receive equality of working conditions and of wages with the United States workers—has allowed Mexican agricultural workers to help temporarily with the harvest in the United States. Our excess labour is permitted to leave the country only when all our internal requirements have been met.

The Director-General mentions the action of the I.L.O. in our continent with respect to social security, both directly through its own intervention and by means of its relations with other international organisations, including the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, which is most important for us who live in America. We come from a continent which is in course of development. We are progressing upwards, at a pace not as quick as we could hope but which is faster all the time, and we are preparing for further advances by combining our efforts in the physical field and in the psychological field.

In the physical field this means effort and in the psychological field it means knowledge. Both are important. The effort we have to make ourselves. In the psychological field the result must be achieved with the aid of those who have worked out technical standards, who have explained principles and have drafted scientific laws which must be applied to our particular problems—social as well as psychological. Problems do vary, but not in their essential character; only in regard to different objectives and conditions. In our continent the problem is a practical one; in Europe it is more one of scientific developments, by which we would like to and can profit.

We have at the same time a desire, a duty and an intention. It is a duty to work for progress, for a higher standard of life for the American people—those of today by an effort on our own part and those of tomorrow by our effort added to that of the future generations. Our mountains which isolate us and our forests which restrict us are an incentive to move mountains, to pierce the bowels of the earth, to dominate the forests. We have to perform these mighty tasks ourselves. It is our intention to do so and we assure you that we will.

It is with a view to this achievement—not of Titans but of human beings, of men of America—that we require organisation, co-ordination and concentration of our efforts, means of directing our action, organs and institutions which will guide us and help us to apply our strength to our own definite problems. For this purpose the Inter-Ameri-

can Conference on Social Security is fundamentally ours, an American organisation which co-ordinates our efforts and enables us to perform the task which faces us in the field of social security. That is why the whole of America supports the Inter-American Conference on Social Security and it is the reason why my Government supports it and will continue to do so.

Therefore we ask all organisations throughout the world which seek an improvement in the lot of free men to lend their aid to us, the free men of America, who will never cease to be free, for freedom is the very breath of life to us. We formally request the I.L.O. to give us its frank and unreserved assistance in this matter.

It would be most satisfactory for all the American peoples and for my Government if the Conference were to applaud the work being done by the I.L.O. for social security institutions in the American countries, if the action taken by the Director-General in this regard were to be confirmed, and if an express and definite decision were taken to support the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, which is the appropriate means of obtaining social security in the continent of hope.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—Like many other speakers, I congratulate the Director-General on his excellent and comprehensive Report. I am glad to note on this occasion—as the Director-General himself must be—that the majority of speakers have addressed themselves to the subject matter of the Report. This is a welcome change and, I hope, a precedent for the future.

Throughout the first three chapters of the Report there is the constantly recurring theme of increased production and productivity as the prerequisites for social and economic progress. There is a tendency on the part of some people to regard production and productivity as one subject when in fact they are quite distinct and apart from each other. There is also a tendency—particularly on the part of employers—to regard greater production and higher productivity as ends in themselves rather than a means of raising social standards. Increases in production can be obtained by employing more workers, whilst higher productivity generally means the reverse—at least for the time being.

In the concluding part of Chapter I of his Report, the Director-General has stressed the importance of higher productivity. I am glad to see that he has also emphasised (on page 90) that “the I.L.O. has a special responsibility for ensuring that full attention is paid to the social and human factors as well as to the technical factors involved”. What are these social and human factors?

In the first place, technological improvements and new working methods should not be imposed upon workers by managements without consultation and discussion. They should be introduced with the agreement and participation of workers in accordance with agreed procedures which will safeguard the interests of workers.

In the second place, workers are entitled to a reasonable share of the gains of higher

productivity. It is now four years since the United Automobile Workers concluded an agreement with General Motors in the United States, under which wages were to increase annually in accordance with an “improvement factor” whereby workers automatically shared in the benefits of higher productivity. Since then similar agreements have been concluded in certain other branches of United States industry, but I have not heard of any similar agreement in any other country.

Thirdly, there is the whole question of the relationship between productivity and employment. Workers' fears of working themselves out of a job—fears for which there was every justification during the 1930's—are beginning to revive in certain countries with the increase in unemployment that has been experienced in recent months. The doctrine that an increase in productivity is in the common interests of all sections of the community presupposes that there is full employment. If increased productivity leads to unemployment, this doctrine is simply not true. Workers have shown their willingness to make sacrifices for the sake of higher productivity, provided their interests are adequately safeguarded. Let Governments and employers realise that continued support by workers for productivity drives depends upon the acceptance by Governments and employers of their responsibility for maintaining full employment.

In his survey of the activities of the Organisation the Director-General has dealt briefly with the work of the Industrial Committees. I propose to devote the remainder of my time to this very important subject.

This session of the Conference is discussing the first item which, I believe, has ever been brought before the Conference as the result of a suggestion by an Industrial Committee, namely, the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines.

So far 27 sessions of the different Industrial Committees have been held and they have only brought one item before the Conference—which points to the conclusion that their work has been a great relief to the Conference. They have dealt with a multitude of problems which otherwise would undoubtedly have come before the Conference. Before the war there were a dozen Conventions for separate industries and there was a growing tendency for the Conference to be asked to deal with items of this nature. Since the war there has not been one Convention applying to an individual industry, except the Conventions for seamen and the Convention on minimum wage-fixing machinery in agriculture. I often wonder what would have happened if this Conference had had to deal with the post-war problems arising in the big international industries, as well as all the other matters which have come before it, and I hope the Conference will take serious notice of the fact that it has been relieved in this way.

By dealing with the problems of some of the most important international industries, the Industrial Committees have also made an immense addition to the achievements of the I.L.O. in the post-war years, a contribution which is no less striking than the work of the

regional conferences or the operational activities which the Organisation has been developing in different parts of the world.

Many people—and I am one of them—expected the Industrial Committees to achieve even more than they have so far been able to do. But if we look at what has been achieved, even in this short space of time, despite the fact that the field of competence of the Industrial Committees and the range of subjects which they have been allowed to discuss has been narrowed down to a greater extent than some of us expected or desired, we can form an idea of how the work of the Industrial Committees can be developed and how their practical utility can be increased.

In the future much greater emphasis will need to be placed on the action taken in the individual countries. The workers will expect concrete results from the work of the Industrial Committees as they do from every other form of I.L.O. activity, and these results must be seen and felt in the conditions of their working lives. The results will have to be achieved by voluntary action wherever possible, but with the aid of Governments whenever necessary.

This means that effective action must be taken first of all at the actual meetings of the Industrial Committees. Continuity of action and purpose is essential. We need a certain amount of continuity in the composition of the delegations. There must be continuity also in the discussions, and meetings must be sufficiently frequent for this to be possible.

On the basis of the work done at the Committees themselves, there must be effective action taken also in the individual countries. Here some encouraging results have already been achieved. But a new impulse is needed so that Governments and organisations of workers and employers may pay more serious attention to the possibility of this work. International co-operation must be a living reality in these great industries and this co-operation must be inspired and fostered by the International Labour Organisation through the medium of the Industrial Committees.

Governments, employers' organisations and trade unions should keep the reports and resolutions of the Industrial Committees at hand and should consult them frequently, just as they refer to the Conventions and Recommendations. When problems arise that are not covered by these reports and resolutions they should ask the Industrial Committees for help and advice. They should be willing and anxious to stimulate international discussion of these problems for the benefit of all concerned. They should suggest subjects for study and investigation by the I.L.O., so that facts may be made available to help them in their own treatment of these problems.

The potentialities of the Industrial Committees have not yet been fully realised, but the foundations have been laid and the constructive work can now be accelerated.

There is no country, be it industrialised or underdeveloped, which cannot benefit in some way from the stimulus, the experience and the suggestions of the Industrial Committees. It is, however, the underdeveloped countries which have most need of this help and it should

be our endeavour to shape the work of the Committees so that it may be more and more useful to countries of this kind.

During this debate a great deal has been said about the subject of technical assistance. I would like to suggest that the work of the Industrial Committees be tied in more closely with the Technical Assistance Programme. As the Director-General has pointed out on page 44 of his Report, "Assistance to underdeveloped countries may be expected to result in higher levels of production, but it will only bring about improved standards of living if the development of the social conscience keeps in step.... Side by side with improvements in productivity must go advances in social policy... otherwise the assistance given to underdeveloped countries will fail of its main purpose." Technical assistance in many cases resolves itself into assistance in a particular industry. There is no reason why we should not endeavour to use the experience of the Industrial Committees to bring about improvements in the conditions of particular industries as part of a definite policy.

One possibility would be to take a given industry and, with the co-operation of the employers, the workers and the Governments, to develop a programme for that industry. This programme could consist of technical assistance in dealing with methods of wage fixing, regulating industrial relations—including the human element in industrial relations—establishing machinery for avoiding and settling disputes, settling conditions of labour within the industry, and showing the contributions which employers and workers can make respectively towards increasing efficiency, raising output and improving conditions in the industry concerned.

As I look forward I can see the Industrial Committees growing in usefulness and adding still more to the work of this Organisation. They have immense possibilities for increasing the amount of information at the disposal of employers, workers and Governments, for developing the exchange of experience, for promoting the knowledge and understanding of the problems of individual industries and for making advice and assistance available in dealing with these problems. If full use is made of these possibilities, the Industrial Committees will be of invaluable assistance in fostering good relations in industry. As the Director-General has pointed out on page 81 of his Report, "The suggestions made by the Committees for the solution of problems dealt with by them more often take the form of recommendations for action to be taken by agreement between employers and workers than of proposals for legislation." The workers have always appreciated the value of the Industrial Committees; I sometimes wonder whether the employers have done the same.

At all events, the significance and the potentialities of the Industrial Committees have not been taken seriously enough by this Conference and by the individual countries. The time has come for all concerned to be conscious of the part which can be played by the Industrial Committees, just as they are conscious of the importance of the International Labour Conference itself.

Article 38 of the Constitution provides that the Organisation may convene regional conferences and establish regional agencies to promote the aims and purposes of the Organisation, but there is no such provision for the Industrial Committees. At the moment they are simply Committees set up by the Governing Body but it is my opinion that eventually they will have to find their due place in the Constitution of this Organisation.

Later in the year the Governing Body is undertaking a new review of the work of the Industrial Committees. The Workers' group on the Governing Body agreed to this review with some reluctance because we thought that the purpose of those who suggested it was to curtail the activities of the Industrial Committees and limit their effectiveness. I want to make it clear, however, that we shall press for increased effectiveness and wider opportunities for these Committees. Our endeavour will be to bring out concrete and positive suggestions for giving full play to these new bodies in the work of the I.L.O. Our aim will be to further the usefulness of the I.L.O. in the individual industries and to make the I.L.O. a living reality to the employers and workers who spend their lives in industry and commerce and who have so much to learn from each other and so much need to help each other.

This International Labour Organisation—to which the workers have consistently given their full and loyal support—can look with pride upon its achievements.

We, as free peoples, are today facing the greatest challenge of our existence, a challenge which is bound to influence the future of this Organisation. In the determination to defend our freedoms we must never forget that social and economic progress is an integral part of those freedoms.

But this challenge cannot be met if any one of the three main elements of this Organisation seeks to initiate and pursue partisan aims inimical to the interests of the Organisation and its objectives. Only by mutual determination to work in close co-operation within this great Organisation of ours can we hope to play a major part in contributing to the solution of the world's manifold problems and ensuring that peace and justice shall prevail for all our peoples for all time.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I have much pleasure in calling upon the Right Honourable Sir Walter Monckton, Minister of Labour and National Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to address the Conference.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter MONCKTON (*Minister of Labour and National Service, United Kingdom*)—I am very happy to be present at this year's session of the International Labour Conference, and to be given this opportunity to speak on the Director-General's Report. I am happy not only on personal grounds but because I can thus reaffirm the continuing support which successive Governments in the United Kingdom, whatever their political party, have wholeheartedly accorded to the International Labour Organisation during the past 30 years. While I myself am

a newcomer to the Conference, the work of the I.L.O. is certainly not new to me. I have long been an admirer of the Organisation's objectives and achievements, and I earnestly hope to see those objectives steadily and progressively realised in the future. It is in that spirit that I should like to speak to you this morning.

When I read the Director-General's Report I was particularly struck by the care which he had taken to consider the work of the Organisation in the setting of the current world situation. That in my view is quite essential. However noble our objectives may be, they can only be made effective if they are translated into terms of current needs, and assessed in the light of current difficulties. The Director-General has drawn for us a picture which, though illuminated by faith and hope, and by a record of notable achievements, is sombre enough. Against a background of hardship and privation, fear in some countries and mistrust in others, he has emphasised at the outset the severe strain to which many national economies are subject today; he has pointed out firmly the potential dangers to social progress; dangers, I would add, which threaten not only social progress, but even the standards of social justice so far achieved. That, as I understand it, is the keynote to his Report.

In the United Kingdom the salient development during the past year has been the serious deterioration in our balance of payments which occurred in 1951. This involved heavy drawings on our gold and dollar reserves. If we had allowed the process to continue, we should soon have found ourselves unable to pay for essential imports of food and raw materials. This would have led to a continuing reduction in production, in exports and imports, and in consumption; and we should have faced widespread hunger and unemployment.

The restoration of our balance of payments is therefore the overriding immediate objective of the economic policy of Her Majesty's Government. It is an objective which it will not be easy to attain. We have had to restrict our imports, and we must rapidly increase our exports to non-sterling countries. We must produce more without consuming more. We must exercise restraint in regard to wages, salaries and profits.

There is no doubt that our economic strength cannot be restored without sacrifice. The Government is determined to do its utmost to secure that such sacrifices are equitably shared. But some temporary sacrifices there will inevitably be. The Director-General has pointed out that "It is now widely accepted that economic activity should lead to the satisfaction of the people's needs—in other words, that economic policies must have a social purpose". Certainly the predominant concern of any modern democratic Government in framing its economic policy must be the welfare of the people. But a Government is not only concerned to ensure for the people the highest possible standard of living in the immediate present; it must also be concerned for their future welfare and for the welfare of generations to come. It cannot promote or encourage immediate improvements of standards of living if that would result in the

community living beyond its means. We in the United Kingdom are proud of the standard of living of our people. We want to improve it still further, but for the present the need to safeguard and build up our reserves must take first place. Any other policy would not only endanger future progress but would jeopardise the standards we have already secured. Nevertheless, it is our firm intention to sustain in the future, as in the past, our role as leaders in the march of social progress both for our own people and for the peoples of the world.

I have spoken to you of national solvency. Bound up with it is the question of national security. The Director-General has rightly called for the striking of a "wise balance between the requirements of defence, of economic development and of social justice". For ourselves our defence programme is making large claims upon our resources. All of us regret that this should be necessary. But few, I think, question the need to be adequately prepared against a possible threat to our security.

In the forefront of the I.L.O. Constitution it is proclaimed that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice". Now as ever among the principal enemies of peace are injustice, hardship and privation. But we must face our problem squarely. While we may, while indeed we must, strive to build social justice throughout the world, we cannot expect to see social justice universally established tomorrow. The danger that overhangs us today is the danger of what tomorrow might bring for this Organisation and for all it has achieved. I am thinking not only of war but of the peace which might follow it—a period of penury and impotence based on world-wide devastation and exhaustion. Such a peace would not be the "lasting peace" of which the Constitution speaks, but, to those who were called upon to live through it, it might seem a long night without end. Social progress is, indeed, as the Director-General points out, "no hothouse plant to be cultivated only by those who can afford luxuries". Equally, it is not a phoenix which rises unscathed from the ashes of modern war. Her Majesty's Government will continue both at home and through this Organisation to give practical and effective support to the aims and objectives of the I.L.O. At the same time we should not apologise if, in the very pursuit of this policy, we seek to insure against the destruction, perhaps the permanent destruction, of everything that we and this Organisation hold most dear.

I have dwelt for a while upon our situation in the United Kingdom. I have done so because our own difficulties and preoccupations find their parallel in other countries. They must inevitably have an effect on the conduct of all international organisations. The Director-General's chapter on social policy indicates in some detail the economic and social principles by which we as Members of this Organisation should be guided. He does not, however, refer in this passage to the methods whereby, in present circumstances, the essential objectives of the I.L.O. ought to be pursued within the Organisation itself.

The truth is that the material resources of

the Organisation are, for the present, unequal to all the tasks which it might usefully undertake. This, I am sure, is not due to any weakening of faith or slackening of interest in the I.L.O. on the part of Member Governments. So far as my own Government is concerned, its belief in the Organisation stands firm. But we are face to face with hard economic necessity. We shall be doing the Organisation a disservice if we shut our eyes to these facts, and to the conclusions which inevitably follow from them.

In easier times we can, and we should, interpret liberally the distinction between the essential and the desirable. In such times we can afford, without detriment to the Organisation, to pay less attention to the relative urgency of our various activities, to their timing, and to the methods by which they should be undertaken. But in times of stringency these problems of priority are forced upon us, and if we meet them courageously we may gain more than we lose.

Much of the Organisation's work forms part of a continuing process. All the same we must do our utmost at all times to concentrate our efforts and our available resources on those tasks which we judge to be most essential. Apart from technical assistance there will obviously be some new tasks which will have to be undertaken, and which will call for immediate action by the I.L.O. On the other hand, other tasks may sometimes be suggested which are of less urgency, or which are really unripe, or even unsuitable, for international treatment. The I.L.O. will, I know, always strive to carry out the expressed wishes of its Members. But, in return, the Members owe it to the Organisation to exercise judgment and discretion in the calls they make upon it. If its resources are unduly dispersed, or its machinery overburdened, then tasks more immediate and more pressing will, inevitably, be less well done. In planning our programme of action we must tackle first things first. I do not believe we can approach this problem by attempting to apply any sort of rigid formula. There may be legitimate differences of view between the groups, between Governments, between different regions, on the relative emphasis to be accorded at a particular time to different subjects and different kinds of activity; and the programme of the Organisation should be one which commands the greatest possible common measure of agreement. Moreover, when we are deciding that a job is to be tackled, let us at the same time consider carefully the question of method and technique. Is it, for instance, a matter for action by the Conference, or would it be better approached through technical assistance or by some other method? It is only by a proper adjustment of means to ends that we shall produce the most effective results.

I am glad that the Director-General has included in his Report a chapter on the operational activities of the Organisation. Technical assistance is a field in which we in the United Kingdom can claim a great deal of knowledge and experience. The policy we have followed in our territories overseas for the progress and welfare of their peoples has always been founded on the application of modern know-

ledge and scientific techniques. That policy we are still pursuing and, indeed, intensifying today.

In the United Kingdom the advice of experts in every field of scientific and social knowledge is available to provide a fund of technical skill and experience upon which the territorial Governments can draw in tackling their problems. The United Kingdom at present sends out each year well over a thousand trained technical and administrative officers to work in the territories. In addition, the training of the people of the territories to be their own experts is an integral part of our plan; there are at present thousands of students at universities in the United Kingdom, and in the universities and colleges established in the territories themselves, who are preparing themselves for such service.

To the work of international technical assistance, therefore, Her Majesty's Government comes as an experienced partner. We are ready and anxious to contribute to the best of our ability to the success of the I.L.O. programme in other parts of the world, and to welcome what that programme can do in supplement to what we are already doing in our own territories.

But technical assistance by itself is not enough. For economic development not only skilled men but money and materials are needed. Our Colonial Development and Welfare Acts have made available a sum of £140 million. Individual territorial Governments have been able to draw up comprehensive long-term development plans for economic and social development, by drawing upon this fund, upon their local revenue and upon what they can borrow from outside. There are now 32 such plans involving expenditure of over £456 million.

Primarily these plans are concerned with the provision and expansion of basic public utilities and other essential economic and social services. But these services require a firm economic basis to sustain them for the future; and social progress in the territories is only possible by expanding production, by diversifying economic activities, improving agriculture, developing natural resources and promoting external trade. All this is an essential part of our conception of development, and the increased national incomes and buoyant revenues of many of the territories indicate the success that has been achieved. We are doing all we can to try to overcome the problems of economic development to which the Director-General has called attention—to see that, despite other calls on money and goods for capital development, our territories have their due share of the finance and materials available; to encourage private investment; and to promote the production of those food-stuffs and raw materials for which the territories are naturally fitted, while trying to avoid the dangers of a one-sided economy.

We must not forget that, in many places, the task is to bridge in a few decades the centuries which normally lie between the simplest forms of society, and the complexities of modern life. The Director-General has remarked that the demand for social reforms and a better standard of living is inextricably linked with the urge towards political inde-

pendence. That is true, and it is important to realise how the links are connected. True democratic, political independence—which means, in practice, the difficult job of managing one's own affairs as a country in an increasingly difficult and troubled world—political independence, I say, cannot exist and grow unless the social and economic foundations of the community are soundly laid. We believe that there must be a balanced relationship between political progress and social and economic progress. In our territories constitutional development does not lag behind economic and social development. It is our aim to see that political progress keeps pace with that development so that democratic political institutions may take firm root in a sound economy and adequate social standards.

I turn now to the question of the I.L.O.'s own operational activities. There is a good deal of discussion in international circles about the higher administration of technical assistance. I sometimes think, however, that we have in the past been rather inclined to overlook the detailed practical problems upon which, in the last resort, the success of our operational activities depends. The Director-General has, of course, to live with these problems from day to day, and I am glad that the Conference now has the opportunity of discussing them, and of pointing a way to their solution. The Director-General goes to the root of the matter when he points out that "Governments have corresponding responsibilities, and these are, perhaps, even more important than those of the I.L.O." I want to endorse his view that "the building up of administrative services, and particularly of labour administrations, is a task of primary importance, and one on which effective social progress must, to a large extent, depend". I understand that next year the Conference will be discussing the question of the organisation of labour departments, and I am sure that this is most opportune at a time when, both for reasons of internal policy and because of the allied expansion of the I.L.O.'s own operational activities, labour departments are being called upon to bear heavier and more complicated responsibilities than ever before.

The sort of difficulties to which the Director-General refers inevitably give rise to corresponding difficulties in countries such as my own, which are trying to co-operate through the I.L.O. and the other international organisations in making technical assistance fully effective. We, on our side, have our own troubles to contend with. Suitable experts are scarce and they are often fully engaged in important activities at home. Industry has its inescapable commitments, and facilities for training and study can often be arranged only with careful planning and even with some sacrifice. We in the Government must necessarily depend very largely on the co-operation of others, and I am happy to say that a great deal of co-operation has been readily and generously given. Confidence and goodwill may, however, all too easily be dissipated by uncertainties and changes of plan. Indeed, the success of technical assistance must largely be based upon the interdependent efforts of all participating Governments.

Before I close there are one or two general observations which have struck me as a newcomer to the International Labour Conference, and I should like, if I may, to refer to them.

First of all, there is the tripartite structure of the Organisation. The participation of workers and employers as well as Governments gives a unique importance not only to the decisions reached in the I.L.O. but also to the discussions themselves. The value of these discussions, as it seems to me, does not rest solely or principally upon the concrete decisions reached. The discussions have a high intrinsic value of their own. They afford an opportunity to each one of us, from whatever region and whatever group, to adjust and accommodate our individual views in the effort to hammer out general agreement. If we are always prepared to make this effort it will, in my judgment, add inestimably to the value of the Organisation's work. I earnestly hope that this spirit will inspire not only the Conference itself but all I.L.O. meetings. The Industrial Committees, for instance, which have already done a great deal of good work, stand to gain much by a further infusion of this spirit of individual co-operation and mutual accommodation.

Our task here is no simple one. We have not just to study the economic problems of the more highly developed industrial countries and the solutions so far found there, and then to conclude as a matter of course that these solutions can be applied to the problems of countries not yet so fully developed. Even my own experiences of the countries of Asia, limited as they have been both in space and time, have taught me that their traditions, their background and their conditions are so different from those of the west as to forbid so simple an answer. Indeed, how stupendous are the human and economic problems in many countries which now have to shoulder the responsibilities of independence in a shattered world!

All of us, from wherever we come, must study and understand how we differ one from another before we presume to propound solutions, or to suggest remedies. It is by the generous and willing co-operation of all that we can help most to promote the welfare of those whom this Organisation exists to serve. The truth is that we have, every one of us, our own experience, our own hard-won knowledge to offer for the common good of all. Let us see to it that this experience and this knowledge are generously offered and effectively applied.

Interpretation: Mr. JOUHAUX (*Workers' delegate, France*)—I would like, as briefly as I can, to tell you of some ideas and suggestions that occurred to me on reading the Report of the Director-General.

It is clear that everyone would benefit from reading the Report, for it gives us a true picture of the situation, it shows up the weak spots in our activities and, in doing so, points to the need for extending the activities of the International Labour Office. This is, in my opinion, the most important feature of all, for in all countries—in the most developed countries—there is constant reference to the need for further social progress, for the application of social justice, for the promotion of greater

well-being and for a rise in the standard of living of the peoples. But when I look at the actual situation I see that poverty has not diminished, that in some parts of the world it is even increasing, that in other parts of the world there appears to be, in the minds of some people who, just because of their greater development, have greater responsibilities, a desire to restrict international assistance, to which so much reference has been made lately and to which reference will no doubt be made in the future.

Let me tell you frankly that this is an error, an error which history has registered again and again in the past and which has led to recourse to force, violence, and to brutality instead of to peaceful development. There are problems which cannot be held up in their development. They are problems for which solutions must be found rapidly and audaciously if we are to hold off the dangers that threaten us. Boldness should be one of the decisive characteristics of those whose responsibility it is to act in order to give the world a basis on which further development may proceed normally, but this does not seem to be the case. In his own Report—and this is what I reproach him with—the Director-General seems to me to be too timid in his statements. I know that he obeys a tendency to conciliate and that he does not want to offend those who, at this Conference and in the world, consider that we should not go too fast and that we must stop for a breathing space before we get tired. I wish to tell you that he is wrong. It is only by moving that we can continue. This Organisation need not fear criticism when it goes forward at a normal pace, when it faces up to its difficulties and attempts to find a means of solving them. But the Organisation has everything to fear if it marks time and if, by its failure to act, it nurtures the seeds of general discontent among the working classes.

For, after all, it is the needs of the masses that we have to meet. Part XIII of the Peace Treaty of 1919, which embodied the I.L.O.'s Constitution, contains the axiom that peace can be established only if it is based on social justice and that all Governments which do not act in that spirit act against peace. That is an axiom which should not be forgotten.

It is obvious that it is not sufficient merely to declare oneself in favour of a principle. It is also necessary to see that the principle is applied. The Director-General should not hesitate to say this and to proclaim it, for, according to the great philosopher Nietzsche, it is only the ideas which are startling, which rouse the mind and which win its attention that have the force to secure action. Others do not count; they pass unnoticed. Perhaps they touch lightly the hearts or minds of some people, but they are not capable of rousing the mind, making it think and making it express itself.

It is essential, therefore, that a report like that of the Director-General, which, in fact, dominates the general discussion at sessions of the International Labour Conference, should be such as to give rise to confidence, faith and action. Perhaps—let me say it once more—the Director-General has been too cautious,

and so perhaps have many of those who have come to this platform, thinking that they have done their duty because here or there they have effected some improvement, given some freedom (but very parsimoniously) and secured some advance in national social legislation. Good though that is, we have not yet completed our task, for the world cannot be based on a political system, on an economic system or on the conditions of a few nations; it is only in the association of all nations that the world can develop, achieve a balance and become really free. That is why I consider that there are two essential problems in the activities of the I.L.O. Obviously, the I.L.O. must concern itself with all the problems brought before it, both primary and secondary problems. But still, underlying the activities of the I.L.O., its life and its development, there are two essential problems. First of all, the problem of security through the admission of the various kinds of freedom and secondly the problem of freedom of association without which there can be no development, for political reasoning cannot take the place of economic reasoning; these must go hand in hand and must be associated; one cannot take precedence over the other.

It is true that freedom of association has found in the world a development unprecedented hitherto, but it is equally true that this same freedom is still far from meeting all the hopes of the masses. There is hardly a country where the Government does not think it is authorised to interfere in the administration, operation and development of the trade union organisations, and all countries justify this intervention by saying that it is in the interests of the security of the State *i.e.*, they think that politicians can make up their minds when such intervention is justified. There is no freedom of association where the State assumes the right to determine whether an organisation is *bona fide* or not, where the State assumes the right to say that an organisation may or may not develop further. There is no freedom of association, no trade union movement at all, if those whose duties have been proclaimed have not also corresponding rights and are not free to take decisions respecting their own affairs.

It is a fact that the I.L.O. was established above all to promote the development of trade union organisations. It is a fact that the I.L.O. should supervise respect for freedom of association. Timidly it has tried to do this. Immediately it faced a buckler of resistance based on State authority—even States with an advanced political order resisted it. All States have considered that they cannot let the I.L.O. intervene in the administration of trade union affairs and in the supervision of respect for freedom of association without this intervention infringing on the authority of the State itself. Nevertheless, for some time I think it has been considered that part of national sovereignty would have to be abandoned in order to constitute the international authority which any organisation of peace requires. Since that was decided, since we have laid it down as a great principle before the eyes of a satisfied humanity, every means has been employed to prevent the I.L.O.

from effecting this supervision which has been entrusted to it. Now, if it is really impossible to obtain this security, if the workers cannot have confidence in the natural development of their right to organise, how can peace be established within nations, and how can it be established between nations? One of the essential elements of peace is lacking, the indispensable cement for the edifice of peace, and that is one of the gaps over which humanity has stumbled for so long and over which it will continue to stumble if it is not made good.

It is essential, therefore, that all of us—Governments, employers and workers alike—should reflect on this matter and that, through this Organisation, which should reassure us all, which is in itself a guarantee, through this tripartite Organisation, the International Labour Office should be enabled to accomplish its task.

There is another problem to be placed side by side with that of freedom of association, which represents security in the minds of the workers and faith in their own activity. It is a question which has been much discussed lately and which was the subject of Point Four of President Truman's inaugural speech, namely, assistance to economically weak countries, the raising of peoples out of poverty, the provision of access to greater well-being and a more worthy life—an admirable principle which, I am sure, we have all applauded. But the efforts made in this regard have not been such as to meet the requirements. Of course, as my friend Ramadier said in a discussion at the Office, expenditure should not be incurred unless absolutely necessary, unless there is a problem which must and can be resolved. But the wisdom of this remark is too deep for full appreciation by the nations or by the International Labour Office. We must be daring, we must be bold, for I believe that in boldness there is a possibility of success—a possibility which does not exist where there is continual hesitation.

And then perhaps there is another factor which you have not taken sufficiently into account. I refer to the hope which you have aroused in the hearts of millions and millions of human beings who, up until recently, lived in the greatest poverty, unconscious of their dignity because their lot was too miserable. You have inspired hope in them and you have no longer the right to reject their appeal. I remember an occasion which has remained in the minds of all Frenchmen of my generation, namely, a debate in the Chamber of Deputies when, in reply to questions, our great Jaurès said "You have ceased to sing the old lullaby which rocked human misery to sleep, you have aroused claims for improvement; you cannot draw back now". That is what Jaurès said more than 30 years ago and it is still true today. You have awakened hopes; you cannot now refuse to fulfil them. You would be condemning yourselves and our whole civilisation if you destroyed these hopes.

I know that we are all going through a period of financial difficulties; I know about the deficit in the balance of payments of each country. But between the deficit in your balance of payments—which is only a passing difficulty—and the catastrophe which would

occur if we did not satisfy the hopes we have aroused in the working classes, there is a difference as great as that between day and night—and it is a proper image, for if we cannot act we shall go from the daylight of this moment to the black night of catastrophe. History has revealed this truth so many times that it seems inescapable. Yet it appears that, after having understood the situation and registered the need for action, we are incapable of taking action and allow events to run away with us and to submerge us.

It would not have been worth while establishing the United Nations Organisation if, once again, we were to prove unable to deal with this inescapable state of affairs. I believe that developing justice may enable us to give satisfaction to a large extent to the masses of the population who still do not know happiness except as reflected in the lives of others. I am certain that we can reduce poverty by a common effort. But, for that, all of us must agree to make the indispensable sacrifice. Financial efforts already made are praiseworthy, but they are far from corresponding to the effort which we need to make. Nevertheless, we see at the present time more and more being spent on armaments, while expenditure on peace is being restricted.

I would like to quote one or two figures. In the general budget of the United Nations for 1951, that is to say, for all the agencies concerned in promoting peace, there is an expenditure of \$47,798,600. Expenditure on armaments in 16 countries amounts to nearly \$90,000 million. Therefore only two thousandths of the amount spent on war is spent on peace. And these figures could still be subject to certain reservations for they are official figures. I remember that at the Disarmament Conference in 1932 and 1933 I learned that some war expenditures were hidden in the other items of the nations' budgets, and that even in the budgets for education and health, sums destined for military uses were inserted in order to escape supervision and control. How many countries hide, in budgets other than those for national defence, figures which are really for military expenditure?

I appeal to your conscience; I appeal to the goodwill of all those who wish to see the well-being and liberty of all in the development of humanity, so that once more reason will not surrender to force. If reason does not prevail and does not help to bring forth liberty, force will remain the midwife. And we shall be partly responsible because we could not at that time shift our responsibilities.

Those are the points to which I wished to call the attention of the International Labour Conference so that in future sessions of the Governing Body we shall not be halted by secondary considerations preventing action being taken in these important matters.

We must save humanity! In the Preamble to Part XIII of the first Treaty of Peace in 1919 it is stated that freedom and confidence are the first conditions to peace. Because we forgot that, we had 1933, and then because we hesitated too much, we had 1939. We are in danger of having other 1939's if we do not act. This is why, at the present time, I think it indispensable that each one of us

should examine his own conscience and decide that it is better to prevent than to cure. Prevention means giving the I.L.O. the weapons it requires, the means by which it can reduce poverty, save human dignity and restore confidence, without which there cannot be any peace, and above all any lasting peace.

I hope that the I.L.O. in its future work, in which perhaps I shall no longer share, will remember what I have said: either we shall act to avoid the dangers before us, or we shall remain inactive and allow these dangers to develop further until they overwhelm us and drag us, every one of us, towards the catastrophe in which we shall disappear.

Interpretation: Mr. RAPPARD (Government delegate, Switzerland)—After the very fine speech that we have just heard and applauded, my own part is very modest. My task is an ungrateful one—and it is one of the most difficult I have had to carry out. I have to excuse and, if possible, explain the absence from this room and from this platform of Mr. Rubattel, Federal Councillor and Chief of our Department of Public Economy.

It may have seemed regrettable and surprising that he should not be here, when large countries from across the Channel and across the seas send us their Ministers of Labour—that Switzerland, which has the privilege of being the home of the I.L.O. and whose capital is only two hours away by train, cannot allow us to benefit from the prestige and the presence of Mr. Rubattel. But I should like to assure you that no one regrets his absence as much as does the Swiss delegation. We hoped until yesterday that he would be able to come but we have been informed by telephone that it cannot be done.

I have to express his regret and to give you two reasons for his absence. The first is the reason I have given on a previous occasion: Switzerland is a very small country but it is a self-governing country, and therefore has a great many problems. According to the Constitution which we have had since 1848 the Government consists of seven members. Since 1848 the functions of these members have increased tenfold, but the number of members remains seven. Of these members, Mr. Rubattel is the one who deals with economic life. He acts not only as a Minister of Labour but as a Minister of Trade—and is therefore responsible also for our foreign trade policy—and as a Minister of Industry and of Agriculture. That is one of the reasons why he is unable to come to this meeting as he would have desired, and as we would so much have wished, too.

The other reason for his absence is still more purely Swiss. Our democracy is so constituted that it does not allow its principal servants to be absent from Berne during a session of Parliament. I speak from experience, and quite freely. I have never been a member of the Federal administration, but for over 20 years I have had the privilege of co-operating with political men in their work in international organisations. For many years I had the duty and the honour of accompanying Mr. Motta at the League of Nations. Mr. Motta played a large part in that institution. He was often chairman of important commit-

tees, but nevertheless, to our despair, he was constantly obliged to leave Geneva for Berne to attend meetings of the Government and Parliament. When we expressed our surprise and explained to him that it was difficult for other countries to understand he replied (and I am sure Mr. Rubattel would say the same thing) that the worst service that a Swiss statesman could render to an international organisation would be to lay that organisation open to the reproach that it obliged members of a Federal Government to sacrifice their national duties for their international tasks.

Mr. Rubattel would be very happy to be here. I do not know if he is very happy to be in Berne. From what I read in the newspapers this morning I rather doubt it. However, he would have been happy to have congratulated the President of this Conference on his election and the Director-General on his Report. He would no doubt have said, with greater authority and eloquence than I can, that the Director-General has succeeded in the task of making a report which is interesting to read—as I think we all agree—but which has provoked no violent reactions from the 66 States represented here. It is not easy to be interesting when one is free, and it is not easy to satisfy the workers, employers and Governments of 66 countries even when one is boring. But to be interesting *and* conciliatory—that is a miracle! I know that Mr. Jouhaux has just told us that he did not find the Report fully satisfactory. I think that had the Report fully satisfied Mr. Jouhaux it could not have pleased all the members of this Conference. In the balance which Mr. Morse has maintained in his Report Mr. Rubattel would certainly have seen a further proof of his suitability for his functions.

May I repeat my regret on behalf of Mr. Rubattel and hope that you will not bear a grudge against him, knowing as you do that he is serving the cause of the I.L.O. better by refusing to give himself the pleasure of being here than by permitting himself that pleasure.

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Patrick Shaw, the Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, to present the Committee's First Report.

Mr. SHAW (*Government delegate, Australia; Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives*)—I have the honour to present the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives. This first report deals exclusively with the request of the Government of the Republic of China, under paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, for permission to vote. In accordance with paragraph 1 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders, the question was treated by the Committee as a matter of

urgency and the Committee's report is submitted in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 4 of the same Article.

I should add that the Committee in four lengthy sessions gave very full consideration to the request of the Government of the Republic of China, and that there was a wide exchange of views on all aspects of the application.

The following resolution was adopted by the Committee, by a vote of 31 in favour to 7 against, with 6 abstentions:

"The Finance Committee of Government Representatives, after considering the request of the Chinese Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the Conference by letter of 5 June 1952, finds that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member, and thinks fit to propose to the Conference that the Member should nevertheless be permitted to vote in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution."

Mr. YÜ (*Government delegate, China*)—The report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives is now before us, and on behalf of my delegation I come to appeal to you for its immediate adoption. It deals with a matter of vital importance, and I say with all sincerity that the decision affects not so much the interests of my country as the interests of the International Labour Organisation upholding the principles and the provisions of the I.L.O. Constitution.

Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution reads as follows: "A Member of the Organisation which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contribution to the Organisation shall have no vote in the Conference, in the Governing Body, in any committee, or in the elections of members of the Governing Body, if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years: Provided that the Conference may by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the delegates present permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member."

In accordance with this provision, my delegation has made a request the substance of which is contained in a letter dated 5 June 1952 addressed to the Secretary-General. The text of the letter appears in the report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives and to save time I am not going to read it to you, but I request that it be put in the record.¹

The case has been thoroughly scrutinised by the Finance Committee, and after many long hours of deliberation in which the representatives of 18 Governments spoke eloquently in favour of our application, the Committee adopted on a record vote, by 31 votes to 7, with 6 abstentions, the following resolution:

"The Finance Committee of Government Representatives, after considering the request of the Chinese Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the Conference by letter of 5 June 1952, finds that the failure to pay is

¹ See Third Part, Appendix V.

¹ For the text of this letter see Third Part, Appendix V, p. 459.

due to conditions beyond the control of the Member, and thinks fit to propose to the Conference that the Member should nevertheless be permitted to vote in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution."

After careful analysis the Committee found that our application was also in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

I do not wish to repeat in detail the reasons in support of our just request which my delegation presented at the Finance Committee. At the same time I fully realise that many Government delegates and all the Employers' and Workers' delegates were not present at the sittings of the Finance Committee when the matter was discussed. Consequently, may I invite all delegates to examine carefully the proceedings and the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, which speak for themselves, and to give due consideration to the following major points?

In the first place I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to appeal to you to consider the case from the point of view of constitutionality, objectivity and impartiality. The relevant provisions of the I.L.O. Constitution are crystal clear and, no matter how one interprets them, both their letter and spirit indicate that our request should be granted. My delegation believes—and I think that most delegates will agree—that if these provisions were not applicable to China in this case, whose failure to pay is due to conditions beyond her control since most of her national revenues are for the time being not available to the Government, it would be difficult to visualise another case where they could be applicable. To grant our request is to give life to these provisions, and to refuse it would be tantamount to making them devoid of meaning.

Secondly, from the standpoint of finance, we have to admit that the issue involved is not whether my country will or will not make the contribution—it is a question of whether we can or cannot do it. Since, due to conditions beyond our control, we cannot do it, then the only issue involved is whether or not the Conference will grant us the right to continue to vote in accordance with the Constitution. As you will see from the report of the Finance Committee, my Government will continue to make the maximum effort to meet its financial obligations to the I.L.O. If our application is rejected it will deprive the I.L.O. of the partial payments that we are prepared to make as the financial conditions of my Government improve. Those delegates who have the soundness of the financial position of the Organisation at heart should realise that it would be against the practical financial interests of the Organisation to refuse us the right to vote.

Thirdly, it is in the enlightened interest of the International Labour Organisation to have China's voice represented in its various deliberations. My country is anxious to see that the I.L.O. is not deprived of that opportunity. Some people might say that to exercise the right to vote is not of much importance and might ask why my delegation has taken the trouble to ask for it. The answer to that question is that if paragraph 4 of Article 13

of the Constitution of the I.L.O. exactly covers our case, the duty of observing the Constitution as a Member of the I.L.O. compels us to make the request. It was the desire of the framers of the Constitution to enlist, through that paragraph, the views of the employers, workers and Government through the delegates who vote, when the failure of the Government to pay is due to conditions beyond its control.

Fourthly, the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation has provisions regarding the financial contributions of Members similar to those contained in the Constitution of the I.L.O. In accordance with its constitutional provisions, the general conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. last year granted my country the right to vote. Consequently, a refusal to grant my country's application by the I.L.O. would be contrary to the spirit of international co-operation, to say the least. May I add that our financial indebtedness to U.N.E.S.C.O. is much greater than to the I.L.O.? While the proportion which the total amount of arrears due by China bears to the contribution due by China for 1952 to the I.L.O. is 265 per cent., the proportion in respect of U.N.E.S.C.O. for the year 1951 is 380 per cent., a much bigger percentage. U.N.E.S.C.O. has been generous to us; my delegation hopes that the I.L.O. will be equally generous. Due to financial stringency my Government has withdrawn from several international organisations, such as F.A.O., W.H.O., I.T.O., and I.C.A.O., and others which are in the same or a similar category as the I.L.O. In reviewing the case, let us compare China's position not only vis-à-vis the United Nations, but also vis-à-vis these organisations.

Fifthly, it has been said that to grant my country's request might establish a precedent, but to give life to constitutional provisions we should not fear to set up a precedent and should consider each case on its merits. The world knows the painful fact as to how my Government, through events beyond its control, has lost most of its resources and revenues, and I pray God that there will be no repetition, for which another country might cite our application as a precedent.

Lastly, may I emphasise that in considering this case there is not the least conflict of interests between Government delegates and Employers' delegates, between Government delegates and Workers' delegates and between Employers' delegates and Workers' delegates? There is no boundary line to be drawn among the tripartite delegations. The polestar of all of us should be the enlightened interest of the International Labour Organisation in the observance of its Constitution.

With these few inadequate words, on behalf of my delegation and in the name of a faithful Member of the I.L.O. for over 30 years, I appeal to every one of you for your affirmative vote in support of the recommendation of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

Interpretation : Mr. LICKI (Government delegate, Poland)—To think that this is the second time during this Conference that we have been forced to deal with the Kuomintang! The first

time it was a question of validating the credentials of the so-called Chinese delegation. Today the question has come up again in a somewhat different form, but the fact remains that it is a continuation of the same problem.

According to the Constitution of the I.L.O., the expenses of the Organisation are borne by the Members (Article 13, paragraph 3).

At the same time, Article 13, paragraph 4, says that a Member of the Organisation which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contribution to the Organisation shall have no vote in the Conference, in the Governing Body, in any committee or in the elections of members of the Governing Body, if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years.

Since the beginning of this session of the Conference, according to the official information provided by the Office, it has been clear that this was the case of the so-called Chinese delegation.

In spite of that the Kuomintang representatives have voted without any check or hindrance in every committee and in the groups of the Conference, until the Polish delegation in the Social Security Committee made a statement drawing the attention of the Chairman to the fact that the Kuomintang delegation did not represent China and to the unconstitutional situation created by the participation of the Kuomintang delegation in the voting in that committee. At the same time, the Polish delegation asked that the procedure for voting in the Social Security Committee should be in accordance with the principles of the Constitution.

It will be noticed that it was necessary for the initiative to be taken by the Polish delegation in order that the provisions of the Constitution should be respected, whereas in other cases of arrears of contributions which are well known to us very energetic and rapid action was taken *ex officio*.

Of course, it was not financial or legal considerations that were involved, but purely political considerations in both cases. The facts are so eloquent that the most solemn assurances intended to persuade us that political considerations were not in question, given both in the debates in the Committee and in the report itself, are quite useless. I have no doubt that those thanks to whom the report was adopted in the Committee are fully appreciative of this fact.

We have before us a report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, dealing with a request by the so-called Chinese delegation that they should be authorised to vote.

I note with regret that the report submitted to the Conference does not correspond even to the most modest of the conditions for submission of such documents required by the Standing Orders or by the principle generally followed. For instance, no one who was not present at the Finance Committee's proceedings would guess that the decision favourable to the Kuomintang got only one vote more than the required majority. No one who was not present could realise that the seven countries which voted against were, in

addition to Poland and Czechoslovakia, India, Burma, Indonesia, Finland and Yugoslavia, or that the six which abstained were the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden and Ceylon.

While giving a great deal of space to the arguments of the majority, the report does not say a word about the arguments submitted by the countries which opposed the proposal. There is no doubt that the report is not objective at all but weights the scales on the side of one of the views expressed during the discussion, *i.e.*, that favouring the Kuomintang.

Neither does the report correspond to the requirements of paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders of the Conference. According to that article the report must explain the nature of the conditions beyond the Member's control, give an analysis of the financial relations between the Member and the Organisation during the preceding ten years, and indicate the measures which should be taken in order to settle the arrears.

As regards the explanation of the circumstances beyond the Member's control and the analysis of the financial relations for the past ten years, the report refrains from mentioning that since 1950 the huge territory of continental China, with a population of more than 450 millions, has rid itself—following years of fighting—of the Kuomintang Government. The report fails to mention that the question of the arrears is closely linked with a much larger problem. These arrears are not chance or temporary but are due to the fact that these people who are in the service of a foreign power appear here, in this Organisation, as the representatives of China, whereas in reality they have nothing in common with the Chinese people and are permanently barred from power and from control of the national wealth.

It is obvious that Article 31 of the Standing Orders means by "conditions beyond the Member's control" circumstances resulting from a natural calamity such as floods, droughts or other natural catastrophes. It does not refer to a situation in which a group is maintained in the international community by force and has no value within its own country.

The stubbornness with which the truth is denied leads to strange results. Listening to the discussion in the Finance Committee it would be easy to imagine one was in a realm of fantasy, of unreality—in fact, of "*chinoiseries*"! For instance, we were told that China is so impoverished that it cannot bear the cost of the contributions to the I.L.O., and that China, which was a permanent Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office as one of the Members of chief industrial importance, has suddenly ceased to be an industrial country. It has also been said that if paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders had not been applied to the Kuomintang, it would have been necessary to ask to whom it could be applied.

It follows that if a real State and not a mere puppet were to suffer a real catastrophe and found itself in circumstances in which Article 31 would logically apply, that State would be deprived of these facilities.

This leads us to absurd conclusions: one must be chased out of one's country by one's

own people and must be supported by a foreign power against the will of that people in order to enjoy the benefit of paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Constitution.

The question would not arise, if the truth were admitted, that the Kuomintang exists thanks only to the protection it receives from a foreign power—a protection which, however, cannot avert its destiny—from a State which keeps it, while China itself, now it has got rid of corruption and exploitation, China, whose Government is in Peking, is proceeding with its development peacefully and by giant strides, now that it has undergone this profound transformation.

May I draw your attention for a little while longer to the question of the recommendations of the Finance Committee? These recommendations are profoundly immoral. They are based on the promise of the Kuomintang to pay the arrears as soon as the conditions beyond its control cease to exist. Nobody here is so naive as not to understand that the acceptance of such an argument puts this Organisation into the camp of the warmongers. The acceptance of the Kuomintang's promise means that this Organisation is putting itself in the camp of those who want to change by acts, by provocations, by military aggression, irrevocable facts.

In conclusion, my delegation strongly opposes the proposal before you. It knows that China has one Government only—the Central Government of the People's Republic of China—and that the Kuomintang represents only an American base at Taiwan. My delegation likewise notes that this is simply a case of an attempt to transfer to the other Members of this Organisation the expenses of a puppet Government of the United States. I understand quite well that the United States should wish to economise; it has spent billions of dollars in an unsuccessful effort to sustain the Kuomintang and it now wants to keep, without cost to itself, the creatures of the Kuomintang.

Permit me to mention one more aspect of this problem: we raise this question out of concern for the good of the International Labour Organisation, so that it may benefit from the collaboration and the help of the great Chinese nation.

My delegation will vote against the proposals contained in the report, and it calls on all the delegations which really wish for peace to vote against it, too.

Mr. LIANG (*Workers' delegate, China*)—As a Workers' delegate I should, of course, like to see that my Government pays its full share of contributions regularly to the International Labour Organisation. I am, however, convinced that default of payment is entirely due to inability and not to unwillingness. My Government has already reluctantly withdrawn from several international organisations on account of financial stringency. We Chinese workers appreciate the policy of our Government which tries its best to co-operate with this great Organisation which is not only a lighthouse for workers in free China but also a symbol of hope for millions of oppressed workers on our mainland. As you are all aware, my Government, in spite of great financial difficulty,

still contributes every year to the I.L.O. to the best of its ability. Its loyalty to the I.L.O. is further evidenced by the fact that it has regularly sent a tripartite delegation to the International Labour Conference throughout these critical years. As the Chinese Workers' delegate I will on my return to Taiwan continue to urge my Government to do its level best to make the maximum contributions possible.

In the interests of the free workers of the free world I appeal to you to vote for the adoption of the report so as to ensure full-scale co-operation between China and the International Labour Organisation. I should like to express my deep gratitude to the members of the Finance Committee and to the Chairman of that Committee, who have manifested their willingness to support our cause.

I would like to ask the President of the Conference to request that the abusive language used by the satellite delegates against my delegation be ruled out.

I appeal to you on behalf of the Chinese workers. When I say I appeal to you on behalf of the Chinese workers, I do mean that I represent the Chinese workers. I was elected many years ago by the Chinese workers in Shanghai, the greatest industrial centre on the mainland of China, many years before these satellite countries yielded to the yoke of their Soviet masters. May I repeat again that I am appealing to you on behalf of the Chinese workers to support our request?

Mr. DRAVID (*Government delegate, India*)—When this subject was considered in the meetings of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives the majority of the members of the Committee took the view that we are at present concerned only with the financial issue and not the political issue.

Confining the term "political issue" wholly and solely to the question of the representative character of the Chinese Government, whose delegates are present at this Conference, India's representative differed from this view of the majority. The rules of procedure of the Conference provide that the issue as to whether certain delegates are true representatives or not is not discussed except in cases where the Credentials Committee is not unanimous in its findings. It would be incorrect, therefore, to assume that on this occasion every Member here has accepted the view that the Government of Nationalist China—I use this term to distinguish it from the other Government, that of the People's Republic of China—represents the country of China. If I were to vote in favour of the report now under consideration, I would, by implication, be admitting the representative character of Nationalist China. This I regret I am unable to do.

My country is satisfied that the truly representative Government in China is the People's Republic of China. To hold any other view would, in our opinion, be totally unreal. If anything, the causes underlying the request of Nationalist China to invoke the provisions of Article 13 of the Constitution afford, we consider, further proof in support of our view. What are the reasons beyond control which have compelled Nationalist China to default in payment of her contributions? One main

reason must be that she is not in control of the administration or the revenues of the country.

I hope the Conference will appreciate how unreal it will be if, in such circumstances, we were to consider the matter wholly on the limited financial question.

Let us, however, now turn to the strictly financial issue. From the information available it is clear that China has not paid her contributions promptly in the past. Her total arrears are substantial. The only definite offer of repayment is a sum of 15,000 dollars a year, and, at this rate, it will take about 48 years to clear off the arrears. There is no mention of whether current contributions falling due during these years are to be paid, but it may be assumed that if the capacity to repay is only 15,000 dollars a year it will not be possible to pay any part of the current contributions in addition. Incidentally, 15,000 dollars are equal to only about one-twelfth of China's annual contribution at the current rate of assessment. Unless the Conference seriously feels that the present conditions will alter in the foreseeable future, it is obvious that the result of the acceptance of the recommendation will be a growing piling-up of large arrears. I submit that a settlement of this type is contrary to the spirit of what is required under Article 31 of the Standing Orders relating to repayment of arrears. Instead of arrears decreasing, they will, in this case, be progressively increasing from year to year.

I would now request the Conference to consider what will be the effect of accepting the recommendations of the Finance Committee. Nobody would seriously suggest that Nationalist China is in a position at the present time to enforce the decisions of the Conference in its own country. Yet, by allowing the power of voting, Nationalist China will be able to influence decisions in respect of countries other than her own. It seems to me wholly unreasonable that a country should have the power to influence decisions in respect of other countries which it is not in a position to enforce in its own. Except that we will be conferring such an unusual power, there is no direct advantage which I can think of that Nationalist China is likely to derive under existing conditions in respect of her own country.

I have placed before you the main issues involved in the case as they strike me. I am not discussing any political issue in the wider sense but have only explained what the realities of the situation are.

To sum up, acceptance of the report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives will, first, involve admitting as true representatives of China those who admittedly have no control over the finances of the country, and by inference, over the administration of the country. Secondly, concessions will be allowed to a country which will lead only to a progressive increase in the already large accumulated arrears of contributions. Thirdly, the Government will be placed in the position of having the power to influence decisions in regard to other countries which it is unable to enforce in its own. These are the consequences which will follow if the recommendation in the report now before you is adopted. My country regrets that it cannot

support the recommendation and will vote against the proposal.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—This is the second time that this Conference has had to deal with the rather superfluous problem created by the fact that a group of completely unrepresentative persons pretend to be what they are not. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, and in the name of the whole Czechoslovak delegation, I do not propose to speak about the so-called Chinese delegation to this Conference. These persons are a mere shadow of something which, in itself, has only a shadow existence.

This whole Conference knows perfectly well that it is of no benefit whatsoever to the I.L.O. that it permits these persons to be present here. On the contrary, it only spoils the reputation of this Organisation and it only makes it crystal clear that in this respect this Organisation is subservient to the power politics of one of its Members which has a vested interest in keeping internationally alive the exponents of a régime which is already dead. As Ibsen says in one of his tragedies: "Gentlemen, it seems to me that we carry a corpse with us."

We do not propose to discuss the dead man, or the corpse in the cupboard of the I.L.O., but we do propose to discuss the report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives and its recommendation that the right to vote should be given to the agents of a clique which does not fulfil legally, morally, or financially, the obligations of a Member of this Organisation.

We all of us know—and I deliberately say all of us, as this knowledge is not absent even from the minds of those who deny it—that this group would have no right to vote at this Conference even had it paid the prescribed contributions. The recommendation accepted by a majority of one vote only in the Finance Committee is a deliberately provocative move based on a deliberately provocative request. The representatives of those 18 States Members of the I.L.O. which have recognised the truth about the will of the Chinese people, and consequently have established diplomatic relations with the Central People's Government in Peking, have tacitly agreed not to ask for a discussion on the Second Report of the Credentials Committee, among other reasons because they wish to spare this Conference the possibility of having to listen to another completely irrelevant speech by one or other of the exponents of the Kuomintang. One would have expected that a mere feeling of decency would induce those who are pulling the strings behind the Kuomintang puppets not to provoke those 18 Members into raising this question. The majority of the Finance Committee has recommended the granting of a request, the implications of which are a direct affront to all peace-loving people. Whatever can they think about a recommendation which accepts a statement daring to claim that most of the national revenues in China are for the time being not available to the Kuomintang?

Clearly, the majority in the Finance Committee is trying to drag the I.L.O. and this Conference into a position in which it would appear as having approved this absurd claim.

Thus, one of the objectives of this recommendation, which has the impudence to declare itself non-political, is to put the weight of this Conference behind the remnants of a discredited régime. Furthermore, the majority in the Finance Committee, when making this recommendation, has complied with the request, which contains an outrageous promise to settle the payments in arrears as soon as the conditions beyond the control of the Kuomintang clique cease to exist. The meaning of this promise is obvious. The whole world knows that the only attempt which the desperadoes could make for gaining control over China's national revenues would be an attempt to unleash a war against the People's Republic of China and its population of 450 millions. It is more than fantastic that this Conference should contemplate the acceptance of a recommendation conditioned by a promise which involves a threat of unleashing such a war. No amount of drafting skill is able to conceal this immoral feature of the Finance Committee's report and its recommendation.

Quite apart from the plain fact that any attempt to conquer the territory of the People's Republic of China and to subject its population to a terrorist rule would be an adventure doomed to utter failure in advance, it is obvious that this adventure could not be undertaken without the open participation in it of one of the great powers which has the same conceptions in this matter and which is pursuing a policy aimed at an aggressive intervention against the People's Republic of China. All of us know that power.

There is, however, one thing which is completely and for ever beyond the control of this power and its Kuomintang puppets, and that is the Chinese land and the Chinese people. This Conference would be well advised if it took note of this certainty, instead of trying to do the impossible and attempting to serve the puppets of the Kuomintang. It is not

possible for this Conference to be mistaken on the nature of the Finance Committee's recommendation. Under the pretext that it is not concerned with the political aspects of the Chinese Republic at this Conference, this recommendation is in itself a *prima facie* political move, trying to entangle this Conference in a political act of the most doubtful character.

There is within the scope of this political meaning of the recommendation submitted by the Finance Committee another aspect. Having itself had experience of wasting money on the Kuomintang, the United States, realising that this investment did not pay its expected dividends, attempts to create a situation by which all the States Members would maintain the puppets of the United States of America. This aspect of the recommendation, as well as other relevant considerations, has been fully exposed by the statement of the Polish delegate so convincingly that it does not need any further elaboration. We fully support it.

In view of the fact that the mere presence of this unrepresentative group at this Conference is in itself a violation of the Constitution of the I.L.O., the Czechoslovak delegation feels it to be its duty to draw the attention of this Conference to the fact that the granting of a vote to this unrepresentative group would be illegal from the constitutional point of view.

For the above-mentioned reasons the Czechoslovak delegation asks the Conference to repudiate the report of the Finance Committee and to reject the recommendation submitted by it, as otherwise this Conference would bring itself into disrepute and would incur a severe injury to the I.L.O.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—This discussion will be continued at the next plenary sitting.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

Argentina : Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Valera (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	Denmark : Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Larsen Mr. Nielsen	Ireland : Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. Doyle	Portugal : Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
Australia : Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	Dominican Republic : Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	Israel : Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel	Sweden : Mr. Björck Mr. Heinrici (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Bergenström Mr. Sölvén
Austria : Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	Ecuador : Mr. Paredes	Italy : Mr. Bounous (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	Switzerland : Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
Belgium : Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	Egypt : Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	Japan : Mr. Ebitsuka (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Tachibana (substitute for Mr. Teramoto) Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	Syria : Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias
Brazil : Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	Finland : Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	Liberia : Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	Thailand : Mr. Krairiksh
Burma : Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	France : Mr. Ramadier Mr. Chachuat (substitute for Mr. Hauck) Mr. de Hulster (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Jouhaux	Libya : Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	Turkey : Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
Canada : Mr. Maclean Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Ross (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	Federal Republic of Germany : Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	Luxembourg : Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Huberty (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Leick (substitute for Mr. Krier)	Union of South Africa : Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
Ceylon : Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemänne	Greece : Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	Mexico : Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	United Kingdom : Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Roberts
Chile : Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	Guatemala : Mr. Peralta Mr. Recinos	Netherlands : Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	United States : Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Miss Perkins (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
China : Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	Haiti : Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle) Mr. Lacroix	New Zealand : Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	Uruguay : Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Rovira (substitute for Mr. Troitiño)
Colombia : Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	Iceland : Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	Norway : Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	Venezuela : Mr. Parisca (substitute for Mr. Montoya) Mr. Lares (substitute for Mr. Graterol) Mr. Velutini Mr. Moreno (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
Costa Rica : Mr. Donnadieu	India : Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	Pakistan : Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	Viet-Nam : Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
Cuba : Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. del Pino (substitute for Mr. Cowley) Mr. Cofiño	Indonesia : Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	Peru : Mr. García Mr. Leguía	Yugoslavia : Mr. Potroć Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
Czechoslovakia : Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	Iran : Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	Philippines : Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	
	Iraq : Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	Poland : Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Storch (*Minister of Labour, Federal Republic of Germany*), The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Monckton (*Minister of Labour and National Service, United Kingdom*), Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Chossudovsky (*United Nations*), Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Tessier, Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

THIRTEENTH SITTING

Friday, 20 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna*REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall resume the discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. SWERDLOW (*Workers' adviser, Canada*)—Let me add my voice to those who preceded me in praising the illuminating Report made by the Director-General to this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. My position in the Canadian labour movement made it necessary for me to become familiar with the work of the I.L.O., but this is the first time that I have had the honour of participating in the deliberations of this great Organisation.

In congratulating the Director-General I do so because of my sincere appreciation of the positive manner in which he has analysed present international conditions. I firmly believe that all our efforts to make this world a better place to live in must be of a positive nature. Economic security, social progress, freedom and brotherhood must not be mere lofty principles to talk about. They must be objectives that all Governments must try to promote; they must be goals that all mankind must strive to attain.

I regret that the Report gives little cause for rejoicing in so far as present world conditions are concerned. It is indeed sad to read the following lines in the introduction to the Report: "I would like to be able to say that the world is in a better position today than it was a year ago, that the danger of war has been eliminated, that the devotion of vast resources to rearmament has ended, and that nations are able to give all their attention to overcoming the real enemies of man: poverty, ignorance, disease and inhuman living conditions. Unfortunately this is not the case."

Unfortunately, indeed! And yet, while this is the actual situation, reality is not

without hope and hope not without optimism. Nations are still discussing their differences and, as long as they are sitting around the table engaged in what we call collective bargaining, there may yet come about lasting collective security.

I would now like to discuss several problems with which labour in Canada is faced—problems which are in general terms embodied in the Director-General's Report.

Our immediate and most pressing problem is unemployment. It is regrettable that a country as wealthy in natural resources as Canada, possessing as much industrial potential and know-how, should have so many unemployed workers. Organised labour has time and again urged our Government to inaugurate a public works programme, but little has so far been done in this direction. In a brief recently presented to the Federal Government by my organisation, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the following was stated: "It is now evident that about 400,000 Canadians are out of work. Tens of thousands of others are on short time. Everywhere there is work of a public nature which needs to be done. Canada has idle hands, machines and materials, as well as idle money. In our opinion the current large number of unemployed workers cannot be justified by the Government when it is embarrassed with hundreds of millions of dollars of surplus."

Latest reports, however, indicate that the number of unemployed has dropped below the 300,000 mark and that the general situation is steadily improving. I realise, of course, that even under most favourable conditions there will always be some unemployment. Yet the number of unemployed workers we now have is out of proportion in relation to our population.

All labour in our country views this problem with great anxiety. We sincerely hope that our Government will heed our request and will facilitate the promotion of projects which will put willing and competent unemployed workers to work again.

Housing is still, of course, a national problem in Canada. While some improvement has been noted, yet we believe that our Government can take more positive steps to encourage construction of low-rental housing. We know that so far no serious effort has been made to clear the many slums. It is hard to understand that, having in abundance practically all the raw materials which go into construction and knowing that there is a serious shortage of housing, yet we have great numbers of skilled construction workers unemployed. Surely this condition can and must be improved!

In the field of social security there are, of course, many features which should be given serious consideration, but time does not permit me to deal with all of them. I shall therefore confine my observations to one or two problems which I consider of prime importance.

On the whole, Canadian workers enjoy a reasonable measure of social benefits but there is still much to be desired in the form of improvements. We have asked our Government to establish a national health insurance plan which will provide for "medical, surgical and dental services, accident and hospitalisation benefits, and treatment for the mentally ill, financed by individual payment and Government subsidy, and to be made available to the individual without cost at the time of need". Labour in Canada does not expect cradle-to-grave legislation without contributing its rightful share. Since, then, this is the attitude of Canadian labour towards social security, we therefore sincerely hope that our Government will, in the very near future, take appropriate steps to enact such legislation. When this is done it will indeed be a great day for Canadian citizens.

Having said that, I do not want to leave you with the impression that labour's efforts have gone unrewarded or that our economic conditions are as bad as some people here try to make them out to be. Labour has made and is continuing to make considerable progress. Our standard of living is perhaps one of the highest in the world. Our Government has implemented social legislation that very substantially improves general conditions. This has been done in spite of international tension and world-wide adverse economic conditions. It is our hope and desire that such progress will continue to be made.

I should like now to leave the legislative field and to discuss some organisational problems which, I believe, have a direct bearing on the Report.

Although Canadian industry at no time embraced trade unions with open arms, on the whole industrial relations in Canada are very satisfactory. However, I regret to say that in the past few years a substantial number of employers, in their anxiety to prevent the workers from organising, began to form their own so-called unions. Although company unions are not new in Canada, their growth in some provinces has now reached very serious proportions. An employer usually inspires, directly or indirectly, the formation of such company unions when he sees that his workers are beginning to talk about organisation. He generally succeeds in convincing two or three workers to take the lead in the

formation of such a union. Once this is done the next step is, of course, to get the rest of the workers in the plant to join this union. Usually this is accomplished by false promises, threats and intimidation. The employer's purpose is, first, to frustrate the desire of his workers to join the trade union movement, and, secondly, to perpetuate low wages and bad working conditions.

Although provincial and federal legislation stipulates that such unions are illegal, yet it is almost impossible to prove company influence and domination. With the help of crafty lawyers and other "specialists", who call themselves industrial advisers and consultants, some companies have learned to get around the law of the land, and thus the growth of company-dominated unions has been accelerated.

While certain provincial Governments have promised to take positive measures to ensure that company unions shall not get legal recognition, such promises have so far not been fulfilled. Company-inspired and dominated organisations are placed on equal footing with trade union organisations, and in many cases receive greater consideration by Government authorities.

I do not want to mention the names of the firms that have embarked upon this evil project. I do not want to mention the names of the employers who have dismissed workers for refusing to join their company unions. I do not want to name the people who have not only violated the law of the land, not only violated the principles contained in the I.L.O. declaration on the freedom of organisation, but also violated God's own law of human decency. I do, however, want to warn these employers, and all their legal and industrial advisers, that the labour movement will adopt every effective measure to protect and to safeguard the legitimate aspirations of Canadian workers.

On the subject of labour-management co-operation, I must confess that I am at a loss to understand the reluctance of certain Employers' representatives to accept labour's sincere offer of co-operation. It is indeed regrettable that management should reject positive measures for co-operation. I may have more to say on this subject later, but I do want the Employers' representatives at this Conference to know that there are no ulterior motives in our desire to develop real co-operation. We sincerely hope that harmonious relations, that industrial peace, that co-operation—whether on the level of the undertaking or on the national level—can benefit both employers and employees. I ask the Employers' representatives to stop being suspicious of our motives and to accept our hand of friendship in the same spirit as it is offered—in the spirit of frankness and sincerity.

In conclusion I wish to add my voice to those who in years gone by have, from this very rostrum, pleaded for lasting peace amongst nations. It is my constant prayer, as I know it is yours, that all of us, our sons and our daughters, may be spared another world conflict. It is our constant prayer that all men will live in peace and prosperity, that greed and intolerance, hunger and disease will be banished from the face of this earth, that we,

who are our brothers' keepers, will live as one family of nations.

The Director-General has in his Report set out many objectives. I know that we of the labour movement in Canada will try to attain these objectives. Although we view the present with some misgivings and anxiety, we must face the future with fortitude, hope and resolution.

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES (*cont.*)¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now resume the discussion of the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives. Will Mr. Patrick Shaw, Chairman and Reporter of the Committee, kindly take a seat on the platform?

Interpretation: Mr. TRONCOSO (*Government delegate, Dominican Republic*)—The Government delegation of the Dominican Republic has already had occasion in the Finance Committee meeting to express its opinion upon the request of the Chinese Government that it should be allowed to vote in this Conference in spite of its inability to pay the totality of its debts to the I.L.O. In this plenary sitting, and having followed the work done by the Finance Committee, so that we understand the whole problem, we have great satisfaction in supporting this petition, more convinced than ever of its justice.

Who can doubt that there are circumstances outside the will of the Chinese Government which prevent it from disposing of the larger part of its national revenue? Who can doubt that this has obliged it to put off payment of its full contributions to the I.L.O. and other international organisations? Who can doubt that these circumstances are beyond its control and will, and that the will of the Chinese people is to fulfil its obligations to the I.L.O. and to contribute to the aims of the Organisation as it has done since the Office was set up? We are faced with a case which does not need a trial or the accumulation of proofs in order to arrive at the truth. The situation in which the Chinese Government now finds itself is evident to the world at large, a well-known fact of contemporary history.

In the opinion of my delegation, therefore, the question raised by the Chinese Government delegation is fully covered by paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution. More, in our view the case is so characteristically, so obviously, one of non-payment of these contributions due to conditions beyond the control of the State Member, that if the Article does not apply here we would not know in what case it would be applicable.

We must take into consideration the importance of the presence of China in the discussions and work of the I.L.O. We ought not to put ourselves in a position where we shall not have this valuable collaboration. We live in an epoch where events follow each other in an unpredictable manner and we might, not only at the present time but in the near or

distant future, have cause to deplore the absence of China from our work. We must now render justice to China and avoid a decision contrary to the letter and spirit of paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution which might deprive us of such a great, such a determined and such an effective collaborator. An aspect worthy of consideration is that the Chinese Government, in spite of finding itself in the situation of which we are all aware, will make the effort of contributing at least \$15,000 a year and will increase this minimum so soon as conditions will permit it to pay more. This is a gesture of goodwill of great moral value which the Conference should appreciate. It also represents a not inconsiderable material contribution to the funds which the Organisation needs for its work.

The Dominican Government delegation believes that, once we have accepted the regularity of the representation of the Chinese Republic in this Conference, it would be illogical and contradictory if we did not at the same time recognise the situation in which this Government finds itself and take into account the consequences which are implied. If it is the Chinese Government which is represented here and if that Government, as is known, does not at the present time dispose of the greater part of its legitimate revenue it is also certain that it is now impossible for it to carry out completely its proven desire to fulfil its financial obligations to the I.L.O.

For all these reasons my delegation upholds the request of China that the Conference shall allow it to vote during our proceedings.

Interpretation: Mr. BOUNOUS (*Government adviser, Italy*)—The resolution which the Finance Committee has submitted to you recommending to the Conference that it should allow the delegation of the Chinese Government to vote in spite of the arrears due by China to the Organisation is the result of a long discussion in the Finance Committee, in which many members took part—the result of explanations and information supplied by the Chinese Government delegation.

The Italian delegation have maintained the view—and I know that several members of the Finance Committee share that view—that the political aspects of the question had already been considered and decided on, that the only aspect which still remained to be considered in the Finance Committee was the financial aspect, and that any effort to bring in political considerations would obviously have been beyond our terms of reference. While trying to deal only with the financial aspects of the problem, therefore, the Finance Committee devoted most of its time to considering whether paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution applied to the case in question. That point was decided by 31 votes to 7, with 6 abstentions. The Committee then considered the results which this recommendation would have on the finance of the Organisation and possibly on the future contributions from other States Members.

These are the principal reasons that, in the opinion of the Italian delegation, justify the recommendation concerning the arrears of contributions dealt with in paragraph 13

¹ See Third Part, Appendix V.

of the report and the statement in the following paragraph drawing attention to the importance of the decision which the Conference is asked to take after examining the considerations and conclusions of the Committee.

It is because of these considerations that the Italian Government delegation will vote in favour of the adoption of this recommendation.

Mr. KAISER (*Government delegate, United States*)—We have before us the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, which is concerned with the request of the Government of the Republic of China that, in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution, the Conference grant the Chinese delegation authorisation to continue to exercise the right to vote. The United States Government supports the approval of this report.

The Finance Committee, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Constitution, the Standing Orders of the Conference and the financial regulations, has given most careful and thorough consideration to the several questions involved. It examined the whole problem during three full sessions. Different points of view and the interpretation of the responsibility of the Finance Committee and of the Conference were discussed in detail and at great length.

I believe the report of the Committee fully reflects this discussion. The essence of the problem, it seems to us, is simple and clear-cut. The Constitution provides that the Conference may, by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the delegates present, permit a Member in arrears to the amount equal to or exceeding the contributions due from it from the preceding two full years to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

There are only two facts, it seems to us, appropriate to this discussion, both self-evident. First, the Chinese Government is in arrears—the figures speak for themselves. Secondly, it is obvious to anyone that the failure of the Chinese Government to pay its contributions is due to conditions beyond its control.

No one aware of the present international situation can fail to realise that it is quite impossible for China to pay its full contribution to the I.L.O. Article 13 of the Constitution expressly provides for the Conference taking action in a situation of this kind. I believe these facts are beyond question.

Confining ourselves to an interpretation of the application of the Constitution of the I.L.O., I believe we should support the request of the Chinese Government and approve the action recommended by the Committee. It should be pointed out that China was one of the founding Members of our Organisation and that it has been active and loyal in contributing to the objectives of the I.L.O. It should also be noted that while the Chinese Government, because of financial difficulties, has found it necessary to withdraw from the F.A.O., W.H.O. and I.C.A.O., it does not wish to withdraw from the I.L.O. The Chinese Government clearly wishes to continue to be an

active Member of the I.L.O. and to do its best to contribute to the financial support of the Organisation. I urge the approval of the recommendations of the Committee.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—The report of the Finance Committee which is before the Conference rightly emphasises that what we are discussing is a financial and not a political matter, and I want to say at once that it is solely and entirely on an examination of the financial considerations involved that the United Kingdom Government fails to find in this report any adequate ground for granting to the Chinese Government the relief for which it asks.

Mr. Yü, in supporting the report of the Finance Committee yesterday, argued that the recommendation in the report granting this relief was in accord with the spirit and the letter of Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution of the I.L.O., and in support of his case he cited the example of U.N.E.S.C.O., which he said had granted this relief to China a year ago, and begged that the I.L.O. would be no less concerned about the carrying out of its Constitution than U.N.E.S.C.O. was in carrying out the provisions of the Constitution of U.N.E.S.C.O.

Well, different organisations have different standards of financial administration and any organisation is the proper trustee of its own Constitution and the provisions of its regulations. It would therefore be completely out of keeping for anyone in this Organisation to appeal to the example of U.N.E.S.C.O. But what actually did happen in U.N.E.S.C.O.? This is what happened. It is true, as Mr. Yü pointed out, that the relief was granted by U.N.E.S.C.O., but the voting was as follows: 26 members voted for, 10 members voted against, 5 abstained and 15 members absented themselves from the vote. In other words, 26 out of 57 members voted in favour of this particular relief and it is perhaps pertinent to point out that had U.N.E.S.C.O. the same regulations relating to a quorum as we have in the I.L.O., that resolution would not have been carried in U.N.E.S.C.O. in June 1951.

I come to the position of the I.L.O., which is what concerns us. Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution does, in fact, provide that relief may be granted, but it is also relevant to point out that those who drew up the Constitution decided that it should only be accorded if two-thirds of the members of this Conference decided in favour of granting the relief, and, what is more, it is quite clearly laid down that there is no obligation upon the Conference to grant the relief because the word "may" is used and not the word "shall". It is therefore quite out of the question to suggest that we are bound in any way to grant the relief which is sought.

Now, as to the merits of this particular case, there are two points which I wish to mention. The first is this: that it has to be shown that the Member seeking relief has failed to pay because of factors which are outside its own control. What is the position here? If the Conference will turn to paragraph 10 of the

report of the Finance Committee it will see the position regarding the Chinese contribution to this Organisation and the Chinese contribution to the United Nations, respectively. Everyone knows that the contribution of every State to the United Nations is substantially in excess of the contribution which it has to pay to the I.L.O. Yet despite that fact—and I think in this case China's contribution to the United Nations is probably as great by four or five times, or maybe even nine or ten times, as it is to the I.L.O.—the Chinese Government is two-and-a-half years in arrears to this Organisation and only one-and-a-half years in arrears to the United Nations. In fact, they have paid so much to the United Nations on a much higher scale that the question of voting rights does not need to be raised in the United Nations. How then can it be argued that a Member which can pay so much to one organisation is unable to pay the much smaller amount required to preserve its voting rights in another organisation?

It seems to my Government, therefore, that the first consideration of the granting of this relief has not in fact been fulfilled.

But there is yet a further consideration. If the Finance Committee decides to recommend that the Conference should grant this relief, it is provided in paragraph 4 (c) of Article 32 of the Standing Orders of the Conference that the Finance Committee should indicate the measures which should be taken in order to settle the arrears. Now, in attempted fulfilment of that requirement, the Finance Committee has submitted paragraphs 12 and 13 of the present report. What do they, in fact, propose? That China should be allowed to pay for the arrears by a minimum of \$15,000 a year. China, by the end of this year, will be in arrears to the extent of \$717,000, which means that at the rate proposed by the Finance Committee they would take 48 years to pay off the arrears even if from now on they pay their full contribution. I submit that this is really playing with a serious matter and that, in fact, there is no real attempt to fulfil the requirements of paragraph 4 (c) of Article 31 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

I must finally add that in principle, and as a general rule, my Government is opposed to participation by voting of any Member on the basis merely of token payments. In paragraph 14, the final paragraph of its report, the Committee draws attention to its view that it has a right and duty to maintain the soundness of the financial position of the Organisation. It seems to my Government that if, in the circumstances mentioned, the Conference should decide to grant this relief on the extremely inadequate grounds which have been put forward, it would be departing from the standards of financial administration which have been the pride of this Organisation and the envy of all other organisations for a matter of over 30 years, and, until more adequate grounds can be shown and can be brought forward that there has been a really serious attempt to fulfil the terms both of the Constitution and of the Standing Orders of the Conference, my Government cannot support this request for relief and they will abstain on the vote.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—In the first place I want to make it clear that I am speaking as the Workers' delegate of the United Kingdom, and not as the Chairman of the Workers' group of the Conference. In the second place I want to make it clear that I am, in no way at all, nor is the organisation I represent, in any way at all, tied up with the British Government. We can—and we very frequently do, as most members know—exercise our vote and express our opinions in contradiction of those expressed by the British Government. However, on this occasion I find myself in complete agreement with the views just expressed by Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans.

This is not a political question. The political aspects of this question were decided on the report of the Credentials Committee. I think all of us are able to read in this Conference; I have read the report of the Finance Committee, and I can understand it, too. What it means is that a clever attempt has been made to maintain the political aspects of this question by evading some of the obligations of the Finance Committee with regard to the budgetary needs of this Organisation. As I see it, the suggestions of the Finance Committee will mean that this Organisation will be deprived this year, and, unless the situation changes, each succeeding year, of \$150,000 of its expenditure budget—because that is the extent to which the Chinese contribution will fall short of its obligation.

I have the authority of the Workers' group of the Conference to speak on the report of the Finance Committee on budgetary questions for 1953. This group has adopted a resolution with regard to the budget which the Conference will subsequently hear about. I believe that that resolution cannot possibly permit me to vote in favour of the Finance Committee's report.

I have said that this is not a political issue, but I do want to express my intense dislike of the lobbying and the canvassing that has been going on regarding this question for the past three or four days. I have found it almost insufferable and I protest at this kind of thing taking place here. I think the members of this Conference should be permitted to make up their own minds about this matter. I do not want to say more, beyond indicating that I shall abstain on this question, in the hope that many others will do so and that it will not be possible to obtain a quorum.

Mr. LANTING (*Government delegate, Philippines*)—At the outset I must confess that I am a little surprised to hear from this rostrum arguments against the request of China which are absolutely irrelevant and can serve only to confuse the issue. We are not now concerned with the representative or unrepresentative character of the Chinese delegation to this Conference. We are concerned only with the question of whether the Conference should or should not grant the relief requested by the Chinese Government and whether it should be allowed to continue to exercise the right to vote in spite of the fact that it is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organisation. That is the only issue as

I see it. Any other issue, if taken up in this Conference, will only delay the proceedings of the Conference.

The Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, as everybody knows, provides that the Conference may by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the delegates present permit a Member which is in arrears in the payment of its contribution to continue to use the right to vote. I doubt very much whether there is any delegate present here who can successfully challenge the findings of the Finance Committee to the effect that China has failed to pay its contribution because of conditions beyond its control. Taking that into consideration, and considering also the fact, as the United States delegate said, that China is one of the founder Members of the Organisation and is apparently loyal, devoted and deeply attached to it, my Government sincerely believes that China is entitled to retain her right to vote.

My Government is not unmindful of the dangers of allowing a Member to exercise the right to vote in spite of the fact that it has failed to pay its contribution to the Organisation. Indeed, we should avoid taking any decision which might possibly endanger or undermine the financial stability of our Organisation. Having that in mind, we have given careful thought to this matter and we have come to the conclusion that China should be helped instead of being punished in her difficulties. The case of China, to my mind, is a highly meritorious one which can hardly have any parallel. There can be no fear on the part of anyone that if the Conference decides to grant the relief requested by China the decision will be regarded as a precedent and taken advantage of by any other Member in the future. In my country we do not punish a man, even if he commits a very serious crime, unless the act is committed with criminal intent. The important thing to remember in this discussion is that if China is in arrears in the payment of its contribution it is not because it is not willing to pay but because in its present situation it is incapable of paying.

I want to call attention, if I may, to the part of the Finance Committee's report which says that the Republic of China is heavily in arrears in its contributions to the United Nations and other specialised agencies and that it has notified its withdrawal from F.A.O., W.H.O., I.C.A.O. and the I.C.I.T.O. Now, if we deny the present request of China, that Member may find it necessary to withdraw from this Organisation, and, speaking on behalf of my Government, that is a consequence which I want to avoid as much as I can.

I will close by reiterating the decision of the Philippine delegation to vote for the approval, *in toto*, of the report of the Finance Committee in the hope that our votes, if added to the votes of other delegations, will enable China to continue to play an active, full and decisive part in the work of this Organisation.

Interpretation : Mr. QUATREPOINT (*Workers' adviser, France*)—As representative of the General Confederation of Labour of France and as a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions I protest strongly against the

proposals submitted by the Finance Committee which are in favour of giving the right to vote to the bankrupt Kuomintang group, which only owes a semblance of life to the persistence of the United States Government.

It has been stated here, in regard to the legal aspect, with which I do not want to deal for more than a minute, that it is a case of exceptional circumstances beyond the control of a Government. But in this particular case there can be no question of a Government because there is only one Government, and still less of control, because an irresponsible group cannot exercise legal control if it has no territory and does not exercise sovereignty. Control exists still less because the Kuomintang group is merely the executive agent of the American military group.

As was clearly pointed out yesterday by the Indian Government representative, the report of the Finance Committee is a very bad political manoeuvre, contrary to the interests of the International Labour Organisation, of social progress and of peace. We entirely agree with the statement made by Mr. Dravid that it would be entirely unreasonable for a nation—and here I would make a correction and say instead an irresponsible group—to have the right to influence the decisions affecting other countries when it is not capable of applying those decisions on its own territory.

To adopt the proposal which is submitted to you would mean the recognition by this Conference that the Conventions and Recommendations which it adopts have no serious character and that it is lightly accepted that there is a possibility they may never be applied.

We in the World Federation of Trade Unions collaborate closely with the Chinese trade unions, and on the occasion of the Pan-Asiatic Trade Union Congress we took note of the immense social and economic progress already achieved by the working class of China and the development of trade unionism finally rid of the gangsters who enslaved it in the time of Chiang Kai-Shek and who still exist in Taiwan protected by American guns.

If you adopt the report of the Finance Committee you will give your solemn approval to the most cynical violation of trade union rights, to one of the most odious tyrannies exercised over the Chinese workers in the past, tyranny which is still exercised over the workers in Taiwan.

The despicable Kuomintang group is still hoping under American direction to attack its own people, the Chinese people who are building up a new and happy society. Is it conceivable that this Conference should encourage these criminal hopes and directly support these senseless aggressive plans?

In this forum there is not a single person who does not know that the People's Republic of China represents the Chinese people as a whole. The Director-General in his Report stresses the duty of his Organisation to face facts. Do you want officially to ignore facts simply to satisfy the United States Government?

On behalf of the workers of my country

and of the principles of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, on behalf of social progress and of respect for trade union rights and of peace, I address an urgent appeal to all the members of this Conference, and particularly to the Workers' members, to reject the report of the Finance Committee, the adoption of which would completely discredit this Organisation in the eyes of the workers of the world.

Mr. WUORI (*Government delegate, Finland*)—I intervene in this discussion very reluctantly, because too much time has already been spent on this problem, both in the Committee and here in the plenary sitting. I have to explain, however, as briefly as possible, the views which will direct the casting of my vote.

I voted in the Finance Committee against the application of the Chinese representatives. Now I am inclined to abstain, because that would affect the result of the voting more directly than voting against, by reason of the complicated regulations in the Constitution regarding the procedure of voting. This inclination has been caused, I regret to say, by the behaviour of the Chinese representatives in this matter. Everybody is entitled to fight for their rights but the fighting should not be done in a way which only provokes others to suspect the sincerity of the aims and methods of those who come rushing for support for their cause.

I should like to say that there has been too much lobbying of a kind which Europeans find very difficult to understand. There also appears to be a certain inconsistency in the reasoning of the Chinese representatives which makes it still more difficult to understand their way of thinking.

On the one hand, the Chinese representatives have stressed the great importance which they give to their right to vote at this Conference. On the other hand, they have been ready to postpone a decision and, in fact, by their tactics they have already delayed the taking of a decision. When pressed on this point, their representatives in the Selection Committee were heard to say that the most important point for the Chinese representatives is, after all, to save their prestige, and not their desire to participate in the practical work of this Conference by using their right to vote.

As a representative of a small country, the future of which depends on the peaceful co-operation of nations, I do not understand why the Chinese representatives have brought disagreement into this Conference and have created an uncomfortable feeling in many minds by stressing their right to vote when they would, in any case, have had the opportunity to be present at this Conference and to influence decisions by the expression of their opinions.

We have heard during the discussion words like "satellites" and "puppets" and so on. That kind of talk is prone to widen the dangerous rifts which are already weakening the co-operation of nations. Everything which provokes this kind of discussion damages an organisation like the I.L.O. I wonder whether this discussion would have been necessary if the Chinese representatives had shown more

loyalty towards this Organisation and its true nature!

The Finnish Government has based its instructions to its two delegates—I should mention that the Finnish Employers' and Workers' delegates are free to make up their own minds—on the fact that it would be dangerous to the Organisation to apply too leniently the regulations contained in Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution.

Finland has regulated for its own part its relations with the People's Republic of China. The big political issues involved in the problem of the future of the great Chinese nation will not be solved by voting at the International Labour Conference. They must be decided elsewhere.

Mr. TOBING (*Government delegate, Indonesia*)—I will be very brief in explaining my Government's position with regard to the report of the Finance Committee. Quite apart from the fact that my Government has entered into diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, we are of the opinion that the adoption of the recommendation made by the Finance Committee will create bad precedents within the International Labour Organisation. Besides, such adoption will certainly not enhance the moral authority and solid framework of our Organisation, as every Member which is in arrears of contribution to the Organisation will in the near future make an appeal to the favourable decision today.

It is for these reasons that my delegation will vote against the recommendation of the Finance Committee.

Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*) *speaks in Polish.*

Interpretation: Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*)—The debate taking place on the report of the Finance Committee is of far greater significance than the mere problem of interpretation of Article 31 of the Standing Orders. The debate on this apparently budgetary question shows clearly that there exist in the I.L.O. two tendencies: one which wants to see in it a centre harmonising activities in the field of economic and social problems of all nations without regard to economic and political systems; the other which wants to make the I.L.O. definitely an instrument in the hands of some Governments, and in particular in the hands of the Government of the United States. Those in the second group adopt this attitude although they are fully aware that it means tying the Organisation to a policy of war preparation and aggression—a policy contrary to the aims of this Organisation as expressed in the Constitution.

As I have said, the problem we are dealing with is much more far-reaching; it is wider than the consequences of the failure on the part of the Kuomintang group to pay their contribution to this Organisation. This failure is only one additional proof that the delegates of the Kuomintang are representing neither a country nor a Government, and if they speak here they speak only on their own behalf. As stated in previous discussions, the Chinese nation can be represented by only one Govern-

ment; that Government which was set up after a long and victorious struggle against the clique that ruled the country in the interests of foreign monopolies and brought it nothing but misery and hunger.

The only true Government of which I am speaking is the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. This Government enjoys the full support of the Chinese people, and during the two years since its establishment it has brought to China many significant changes, setting the country on the road towards a stable and healthy economy and general prosperity.

I am glad to note that both in the Finance Committee and in this plenary sitting there are delegates who have depicted the consequences of the existing situation. They desire to maintain the prestige of this Organisation, they speak against the maintenance of a fictitious delegation, and they demand that the ties with the Chinese people should not be cut. On the other hand, it is clearly the intention of the insignificant majority who supported the report of the Finance Committee to cut those ties, to isolate the I.L.O. from the 475 million Chinese people and to grant instead to the Kuomintang clique special privileges such as have never been granted since the end of the war to any other Member, not even to those States Members which suffered war damage.

It is highly significant—and I feel it my duty to point it out although I am sure it was noticed by all the delegates—that it is the very same majority which wishes to grant the Kuomintang special financial privileges and at the same time, for alleged reasons of economy, supports the intention to close the branch office of the I.L.O. in Shanghai—an office which is the only link—even if it is merely a thin thread—of the I.L.O. with China.

I am sure that this assembly has paid due attention to the words of warning which have been uttered here not only by representatives of countries of Peoples' Democracies but also by a representative of a country representing a different system. We have heard the voice of India, a big neighbour of China.

I think it is high time that someone took the initiative to bring to an end the comedy, which for this Organisation may become a tragedy, of errors. It is time to dispose of some of the old shadows whose place is not even on the backstage of history. It is time that this Organisation gained the benefit of the experience of the People's Government of China in the political, economic and social fields. Let us return to reality; let Mr. Yü and his colleagues find some other place to expose their nostalgic yearnings for power over the Chinese people than the rostrum of this Conference. The Chinese people have disposed of them once and for all. Let us all recognise this fact, and the sooner the better.

Mr. DELANEY (*Workers' delegate, United States*)—I had no intention of intervening in this discussion, but I can recall one of the first speakers saying quite clearly that his decision was based outside political considerations. Subsequently, each speaker has made

this discussion more intensely political than we had hoped it would be. I find myself in complete agreement with the decision of my Government. Some of us know that this is an unusual condition. Nonetheless, I feel that the political reasons which have been given from this platform are considerations which will be resolved either by our Credentials Committee or in other agencies. The problem before us is to give consideration to a circumstance that exists in the world. A nation recognised by this body as a State has requested us to permit them to vote while they are in arrears of contribution as a result of exceptional circumstances. I do not think that any arrears of contribution are going to affect materially the work of this Organisation. I do not think we can honestly say that, even if they do not pay for 50 years as Sir Guildhaume said, it is going to affect the really effective work of this Organisation. I think the political issues which we are now discussing and to which every speaker has made allusion on this platform are something that we should certainly cast aside.

The issue before us is whether or not we are willing to accept a suggestion that the Chinese delegation be permitted to vote while China is in arrears, in accordance with Article 13 of the Constitution. I hope—I doubt, but I hope—that all of us can remove from our minds the political considerations and consider this problem in the light in which it has been presented to this Conference. We are asked only one thing; that the Chinese Government which is recognised by this Organisation be permitted to vote and to exercise its right as a nation, as a State Member in this Organisation, during the time when it finds itself unable to meet its financial obligations. That seems to me to be the only consideration, and I must say that certainly all of us have made up our minds one way or another—whether we are influenced by political considerations or by legal considerations—and I hope that the vote will show that we have firmly made up our minds. We cannot abstain on an issue of this kind. It is a question on which we have made up our minds either for or against, and I hope that this Conference will support the Chinese Government's request.

Mr. PLEŠEK (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*) speaks in Czech.

Interpretation: Mr. PLEŠEK (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—Against the absolutely irrefutable reasons presented during the discussions concerning the report of the Finance Committee by the delegations of Czechoslovakia, Poland, India, the United Kingdom, Finland and other countries, no facts have been presented that would justify the recommendation of the Finance Committee. On the contrary, the speeches which supported this recommendation showed only its weaknesses and the untenability of the ultimatum of those who want to impose this decision on the Conference, a decision which the I.L.O. will regret.

The Dominican Government delegate showed that in the background of the proposal that the right to vote be given to China there is

also a fear of the Government which pays for the upkeep of the Kuomintang—the fear that the Kuomintang votes might be missing, that this group might have to miss the votes of the Kuomintang clique when voting in this Conference. This fear has only better illustrated the real objectives of this recommendation.

The entire case is absolutely clear and no one in this room, or outside it, can deny that, under the pretext of purely procedural considerations based, by the way, on a deformation of the meaning and spirit of the Constitution of the I.L.O., this Conference has been compromised by the fact that the majority of the Finance Committee has made a recommendation to the Conference and has forced the Conference to discuss the question of the right to vote of the Kuomintang group. The political demonstration in which this Conference will participate—whether it wants to do so or not—should it adopt the recommendation of the Finance Committee, will compromise this Organisation and this Conference even more.

In the interests of the I.L.O. we hope that the Conference will reject the recommendation of the Finance Committee.

ADDRESS BY MR. MAURICE TOBIN,
SECRETARY OF LABOR OF THE UNITED STATES

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now adjourn the discussion of the report of the Finance Committee in order to hear Mr. Maurice Tobin, Secretary of Labor of the United States.

Mr. TOBIN (*Secretary of Labor, United States*)—This is my third appearance before a session of this Conference and I am happy to have the opportunity to greet old friends again and to express to you once more the deep sense of pride I feel in being privileged to address this great body.

I am particularly glad to have as a member of our delegation a great American in the person of my predecessor in office, Miss Frances Perkins, who has played a very important part in the development of the great social and economic programme that was written by my country mainly during the 1930's.

I am also delighted to see my old and good friend, David Morse, our Director-General, in such good health as he is enjoying at the present time.

I ask you to accept my repeated returns to Geneva as evidence of the high regard which my Government and I have for the International Labour Organisation and for the wonderful work it is doing for the world. The great goal of this Organisation—the goal of raising the standard of living of working men and women all over the world through international co-operation—enlists the full and enthusiastic support of the American people.

The work of the International Labour Organisation is particularly important in this grave period of world crisis, when so much of the energy and resources of nations must be devoted to armaments and military preparations so that mankind will be secure against

military aggression. The International Labour Organisation works to help man by building up his social and economic strength. With the active support of its tripartite membership and in co-operation with the other agencies of the United Nations, it seeks to ease man's burdens, to appease his hunger, to strengthen his health, to find employment for his hands, to find rest for his body and to provide education for his mind.

The work of the International Labour Organisation is based on man's hope. It is a work of affirmation; it is a work of building. We must support it with all the vigour and energy that we possess. Especially during this period of world tension, we must preserve it and strengthen it and turn to it for inspiration and encouragement.

It is truly tragic that nations of the free world have had to divert resources and energies to the tools of defence that could have been used for civilian production. But for these nations, the free nations, there has been no other choice.

The free nations of the world are not responsible for the current emphasis on armaments. When the second world war ended, the free world disbanded its armies, scrapped huge quantities of military equipment and set its factories to turning out implements of peace. It made no specious pronouncements about its devotion to peace. It proved that devotion to peace by its deeds. It set about not to talk peace but to live at peace. If the nations in the communist world had done the same, there would be no world crisis today. But the communists did not. They did not disband their armies. They did not scrap their military equipment. They did not cease the production of armaments and turn instead to the desperate need of their people for a decent and improved standard of living. They kept their military strength and increased it. They expanded their frontiers and their sphere of influence. They used aggression and subversion in an effort to force their diabolical philosophy upon millions who detested it with all the passion of their beings.

They began a crusade against human freedom; and the free nations had no choice but to defend themselves. The free world is armed today because the communist world has forced it to arm. We arm to defend human freedom. We do it not from choice but necessity.

I am sure that there is no longer any doubt about where the responsibility lies for world tensions and for world armaments. The free nations did not send arms and men across the borders of Greece to overthrow the Greek Government. The free nations did not march an army of aggression against the Republic of South Korea. The free nations did not send an invading force across the Yalu River to prolong the Korean struggle. The free nations are not using the techniques of subversion and falsehood in an effort to undermine democratic Governments. The free nations have not taken refuge from the eyes of the world behind a curtain of iron that breeds suspicion and fear.

The free nations truly want to turn away from armaments and military preparedness and to concentrate all their energy on the great task of improving the well-being of our peoples.

We will be able to do it with increasing vigour when our strength is sufficient to serve as a warning that future aggression by the communists cannot succeed.

While we build our military strength, however, the free nations are not neglecting the well-being of their people. We carry on the struggle for human betterment, even though we must arm at the same time, even though we must die, to protect human freedom throughout the world. We look forward to the day when all our efforts can be directed towards improving the lot of mankind. In the meantime, however, we find encouragement in the fact that the level of living in the world as a whole has not gone down during the past year despite the diversion of the productive strength of the free world to armaments. On the contrary, as Trygve Lie has reported to the United Nations, the total world supply of civilian goods actually was greater in 1951 than it was in 1950.

I know that in my own country, in spite of many problems, we have found it possible to have both an expanded armaments programme and an adequate supply of civilian goods at the same time.

A year ago there were fears that, as the free world rearmed to defend itself, it would be necessary to curtail standards of living, reduce civilian consumption, and, perhaps, even to sacrifice some of the gains which workers have won over the years. Instead, we at home have not only maintained the civilian economy, we have not only produced large amounts of tools of defence but, in addition, we have actually expanded our peacetime productive capacity. We have added new steel plants and new electric utilities. We have modernised our railroads and our airlines. We have increased our economic strength along with our military potential for our joint security effort.

I do not mean to imply that we in the United States are living in an economic Utopia. The problems which confront us are many and are complex, and they will require our best thinking and planning if they are to be solved. I do want to express our confidence that with foresight we can solve them. As I said to this Conference two years ago, I believe there will never again be a major depression in the United States of America.

I am aware of the fact that developments in my country have an important effect upon the developments in the rest of the world. It is natural that others should raise basic questions about over-capacity. Have we so greatly over-extended our plant capacity, our productivity, our labour force, that we shall not be able to utilise fully all of our resources for civilian purposes alone? Have we expanded so much that there is no need for further major expansion? Do temporary surpluses of certain materials and products, such as textiles, mean that we face general economic difficulties? I believe that, after a realistic appraisal of the complex factors involved, one is fully justified in answering these questions in the negative. When an inventory is taken it is plain that our needs are certainly growing as rapidly as our ability to fill those needs.

In the decade of the 1950's, for instance, it appears that our population increase will be

twice as large as in the decade of the 1930's. Our population today stands at the total estimated in the early 1940's for the year 1965. The rapid increase in population, resulting not only from a high birth rate but also from a declining death rate, means that we need a sharp and prolonged expansion of facilities for the care of both the young and the old.

We need more schools, more libraries, more services for the aged, more recreational facilities. We need many more homes, despite the large number that have been built in recent years. The building of new communities means also the building of new roads, new water installations, and new sanitation facilities. Superimposed on the current backlog of needs will be the new needs of the enlarged population of the coming decade.

In addition to the factors which can be measured there are many dynamic economic forces in the life of the United States—among them the spirit of enterprise, the motivating drive of opportunity for fair profits, the freedom to seek improvement by moving from job to job, from industry to industry and from area to area. One of these forces is frequently overlooked. It is the expectation of our people that they will live better next year than this year, that they will have a better diet, a better home and better clothing. The desire to improve their way of life has exerted continuous pressure on our workers to find new ways of doing things and to accept the proposals of fellow workers and of management to try new tools, new divisions of labour and new arrangements of work which would make a contribution towards increased productivity.

It is the dynamic aspect of our free economy, tempered and strengthened by institutions carefully designed to carry out the recognised responsibility of the Government to promote and maintain a high level of employment, which convinces us that there will be no serious problem in readjusting to increased production of consumer goods when defence production levels off. We have discovered that there are always new horizons of demand.

Another important element of strength in maintaining the stability of our economy is reflected in the progress we are making in the field of social security. Our original social security legislation is being gradually expanded in the light of experience. Some 90 per cent. of our gainfully employed persons and their families are protected by public insurance systems against loss of earnings due to old age or death. Monthly payments under the nation-wide old-age and survivors' insurance system alone are now being made to more than four-and-a-half million persons. Retirement benefits, which can range up to \$120 a month for a couple, average approximately \$70 a month for a couple and \$42 a month for a single person. For those retiring after this month benefits will be considerably higher as a result of improvements recently made coming into full effect. For these persons the average payments per month will be about \$95 for a couple and \$60 for a single person.

A second type of income insurance is provided by our Federal-State unemployment insurance system, which covers over 70 per cent. of all wage earners and salaried workers

in my country. A basic companion service to unemployed workers is that of finding new jobs. This is available to all persons through a free, nation-wide employment service system.

Protection against loss of earnings due to occupational injury and disease was the first type of social insurance legislation to be extensively used in the United States. Traditionally this type of insurance is handled by the 48 States and the Territories. Each of the States, as well as Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, has a Workmen's Compensation Law.

In addition to the various insurance systems governmental authorities at community, State and Federal levels have a great variety of programmes for meeting the economic problems of illness, old age and death. Our social security and welfare programmes also include provisions for maternal and child health and welfare centres.

However, we do not meet these problems through Government action alone. We supplement the activities of government through the voluntary institutions of our free society. For instance, four out of five American families are protected by private life insurance, and the average insurance held by the American family in 1950 was \$5,100. About one-half of our 156 million people are protected by some form of hospital or medical care insurance. In addition nine million of our workers are covered by some type of health, insurance or pension benefits under collective bargaining contracts. All of this private coverage provides benefits over and above those provided through the Government.

Our programmes in the field of social security represent but one of the numerous bulwarks that we have erected against the hazards of economic instability. There are others in the form of legislation to protect the weaker members of the community and to assist them in making their full contribution to the national economy.

By devices of this kind we make adjustments in our growing economy. As new problems arise we construct new safeguards and new methods, but the emphasis is always on encouraging growth while maintaining a sound economic balance.

I want to emphasise the fact that employers as well as workers have helped to make possible these social achievements both through voluntary and governmental programmes. Employers helped to draft all of our major social security programmes, and they serve on advisory committees that help in the job of administration. I am proud to be able to pay tribute here today to my illustrious and able predecessor, Miss Frances Perkins, who played such a great part in the life of this great programme in the years that have passed.

American employers have also taken many voluntary steps to improve the security of our people. They have developed private pension, health and welfare plans, independently, and in co-operation with our trade unions. They have improved industrial safety. Most American employers believe in Government action as well as in private action.

We in America are confident of the future of our country. We are equally confident of the future of the free world—of the ability of

its peoples to improve their living standards, to co-operate in achieving freedom from want as they are now co-operating to achieve freedom from fear.

The most compelling economic fact in the world today is the drive generated by a continually increasing potential demand for food, for clothing and for shelter. Half of the world is still living on inadequate diets, in poor houses, without adequate opportunities for education and subject to preventable disease. Rapid world population growth, which will continue for years to come, calls for greater emphasis than ever on the efficient production of food, of raw materials and clothing. In the light of these tremendous world needs, the notion that there can truly be over-production in excess of the world's requirements is indeed fantastic.

The problem is rather to increase production to meet the world's needs and to provide for an equitable sharing of the fruits of production. Many of the best minds and much of the skill of the advanced countries of the world are being devoted to assisting the economically underdeveloped countries. We can be proud of the role that the I.L.O. has played in this field. In all frankness, however, we must admit that we have only scratched the surface. The greater part of the job still lies ahead of us. This great work is definitely the great challenge of the future.

The Congress of the United States for several years has appropriated, and I am confident will continue to appropriate, substantial amounts of money for technical assistance and aid programmes, including Point Four. Other nations have also embarked upon similar programmes, and the entire free world has contributed to the co-operative effort that is going forward under the Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. It is noteworthy that neither the Soviet Union nor any of its satellites has contributed to these United Nations programmes to aid economically underdeveloped nations.

The I.L.O. has been engaged in technical assistance since it was founded and has increased its activity greatly under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance of the United Nations. The fullest use of this mechanism provides the most effective means for realising the standards which the I.L.O. has adopted and which it may adopt in the future. Operating in a quiet and workmanlike way, the Technical Assistance Programme is a magnificent illustration of the great strength of the free world. It is a notable example of the ability of the free world to work together for economic and social progress. We shall continue to co-operate for the improvement of the way of life of freedom-loving people everywhere.

We recognise that there are grave problems ahead for all nations, but we have confidence in the power of free men to solve these problems and to cement the foundations of world peace. I know there are those who want to see us fail in these endeavours. I know there are those who are hoping for a world depression in order to make it easier for them to destroy free Governments.

You have heard some of their spokesmen here at this Conference. You have heard their attacks on free nations, their oft-repeated falsehoods and their preoccupation with the same discredited charges. I do not believe it is necessary for the United States to reply to these lies. We expect to be judged not by our words but by our deeds. We believe the facts speak for themselves and that free and enlightened men have long since sifted the facts from the falsehoods.

We know that we have the friendship and the confidence of men of goodwill all over the world as we join them in a common struggle for a free and a peaceful world, a world that holds forth the promise of a better life for all men, and with God's help and with the progressive influence of great organisations like the I.L.O., I am confident and I know that jointly we cannot fail.

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES (*concl.*)¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take up again the discussion of the first report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

Interpretation : Mr. SALAZAR (*Government delegate, El Salvador*)—We had thought, as Government delegates of El Salvador, that we could limit ourselves to listening to the reasons set forth by people who really know China's case, in its financial aspect, and could expound it to us so that we might cast our vote in the best way. However, after hearing the various speakers, I venture to take a little of your time in order to express the following views.

On hearing the delegates of the United Kingdom, not only the Government delegate but also the Workers' delegate, it did seem to us that the problem had been focused in its true perspective, that is to say, as concerned with the fulfilment of the Constitution of the I.L.O. and with purely financial and technical questions. It seemed to us that we had to be extremely careful not to lay down a precedent on financial questions which might in the future prejudice the economic and financial stability of the International Labour Organisation.

Nevertheless, we would have abstained because we felt that certain points remain doubtful concerning the wisdom of allowing China to vote or not. But later the delegates of other countries, by their aggressive declarations and their well-known practice of treating technical and legal questions on the political level, succeeded in placing us in a dilemma. If we abstained, which would be the most correct procedure, this could not be interpreted other than as approval of the confusing tactics of those delegates who speak so often in international gatherings and as support for the attitudes which my Government repudiates.

We believe that it is right and imperative that all countries which are represented here should ventilate problems in their real essence and that all those tactics and manœuvres to confuse the issue by using political arguments

are manifestly aggressive and do not in any way contribute to the solutions of the problems of the world.

Therefore, the delegation of El Salvador will vote in favour of granting to China the right to vote, that is to say, in favour of the report of the Finance Committee, as a means of repudiating all these political and obstructionist tactics, which are characteristic in meetings of this kind and which cannot replace the calm, just and loyal examination of the problems before us.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—Mr. Yü, the Government delegate of China, has asked permission to speak in reply to the debate. I will allow him to make a short statement.

Mr. YÜ (*Government delegate, China*)—What I am going to say may hurt what my Government has asked you to support. That is a question which is of secondary importance. The important thing is that the decision on the proposition made by my Government and passed by 31 votes to 7 in the Finance Committee is going to affect the principles of the Constitution of the I.L.O. and the future of our participation. I come here to say but a few words to refute the untruths and the partial truths that have been expressed here from this rostrum.

First of all, I wish to tell you that I have been a loyal supporter of the I.L.O. It has been my privilege to attend five sessions of the Conferences, and every time, on behalf of my Government, I have demonstrated to you that we have been loyal to the Organisation. Therefore my delegation refuses to accept the charge that my Government has not been loyal to this Organisation.

In reply to the remarks made by the United Kingdom delegation—both the Government and the Workers' delegates—I wish to say sincerely that I have a great admiration for their great country to which I owe part of my education. That country always upholds constitutionality, law and fair dealing. I am therefore surprised that, from the reasoning of the British delegation, if my Government were allowed to pay \$15,000 a year it would take 48 years to pay off our arrears. It has never been the intention of my country to take 48 years to pay our debt. My delegation is pledged to do its utmost according to the economic conditions under the control of my Government. We appeal to you to apply the letter and spirit of the Constitution. I was therefore surprised when that figure was quoted by the distinguished delegates from the United Kingdom to confuse the issue.

Other fallacious statements have been made. The Polish delegate and the delegate from Czechoslovakia said that in the Finance Committee the resolution in support of my Government's request was passed by a majority of only one vote. That is not true. It was passed by a majority of 31 votes to 7, with 6 abstentions. That is in the record and should not be used as an argument against the decision of the Finance Committee.

Furthermore, my Government has been charged with being more faithful to the United

¹ See Third Part, Appendix V.

Nations than to the I.L.O. I tell you that is a partial truth. We did make larger payments to the United Nations, but we owe the United Nations a much larger sum than we owe to the I.L.O., and we should also consider our indebtedness to the other affiliated organisations, such as U.N.E.S.C.O., W.H.O. and F.A.O. If it is the intention to argue against our case by citing our efforts to make contributions to the United Nations, that will hardly support international co-operation between different organisations and especially between the United Nations and the I.L.O. It is to the detriment of the future of the I.L.O. to make such comparisons. It is the intention of my Government to do its best to pay the dues of the I.L.O. as well as to pay the dues of the United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly will meet in October and we have not decided whether we are going to invoke the privilege we are entitled to invoke in the I.L.O. Conference. That argument is therefore unsound.

Again, some of the delegates have said that we members of the Chinese delegation have been canvassing. That is not true, because all that we want to do is to talk to our friends and explain certain facts, and I am sure other delegations have been doing the same. The world knows how much untruth has been permitted to pass without our notice simply because we ignore facts. In the Selection Committee yesterday I suggested that we had better examine the facts and documents concerning this serious problem, and one delegate was so upset that he refused to participate in the meeting. That is not the spirit of co-operation between Workers' delegates and Government delegates. In this issue, as I have said before, there is no boundary line between the three parties of the I.L.O. That is a truth that nobody can deny.

The distinguished delegate from Finland pointed out—and the distinguished delegates from the United Kingdom probably think in the same way—that China is at present in a situation where she cannot meet her international financial obligations. That we cannot deny, but who is responsible for that? Are we responsible? I would be the last to bring in political considerations, but the fact remains that we are unable to pay the dues of the I.L.O. because of conditions beyond our control. Why were these conditions beyond our control ever created? They were created because, through the aggression of certain countries, my country's mainland was conquered. But that is not the main issue. The main issue is that, in spite of the fact that we are handicapped in this way, my country has pledged itself, next year or the year after, and certainly within the next few years, to attempt to have this problem resolved in a completely satisfactory manner. We have the right to ask for re-allocation; we have the right to make increased payments from year to year. Certainly it will not take 48 years to settle our arrears.

There is also a suggestion that delegates might be justified in abstaining from voting. Why? Because it is a design of those who are opposed to the recommendation of the Finance Committee to destroy that recommendation by such a manœuvre. That is a very dangerous thing to do and it is quite unnecessary at this Conference. In my country, centuries ago, we established a definite rule through the mouth of Confucius, who said: "When anyone sees a course of justice he is in want of courage if he does not support it." There is no compromise between good and evil; there is no compromise between right and wrong. Those who want to bridge fire and water will either burn or drown. Those who want to compromise between good and evil will be subjected to severe criticism by generations to come.

It is with these sentiments that I appeal to you to cast your vote in the affirmative or in the negative, as your conscience dictates.

Mr. SHAW (*Government delegate, Australia; Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee*)—As Reporter of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives my sole duty is to present to you a factual account of the proceedings of the Committee, as agreed by the Committee. I do not propose, therefore, to touch upon the substance of the report. I have mentioned briefly only three factual comments which have arisen as a result of this discussion.

First of all, I would confirm the statement included in the report to the effect that the Committee's recommendation was adopted by a record vote of 31 votes to 7, with 6 abstentions.

Secondly, I would make it clear, in refutation of a statement made yesterday, that no Government delegate who did not have voting rights participated in any vote of the Committee.

Thirdly, I would refer to a remark made yesterday by one delegate to the effect that the report of the Committee was not objective and that it did not reflect the views expressed in the Committee. I would submit that such comment would more properly have been made in the Committee itself. All Government members had ample opportunity to express their views in the Committee and to express their views on the report which is now before you. No objection was voiced to the form in which the report is now before you.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—In accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution, we shall proceed to a record vote on the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

A majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by delegates present is required for adoption of this report.

Record Vote on the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives

For (114)

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G)	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey (G) Mr. Mazhar (G) Mr. Wahida (E) Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G) Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E) Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G)	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar (G) Mr. Funes (G)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Kanno (G) Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Bergenström (E) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Karikoski (E)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G) Mr. Tolbert (G) Mr. Wilson (E) Mr. King (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar (G) Mr. Sioufi (G) Mr. Elias (E)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Waline (E)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi (G) Mr. Carter (G)	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh (G)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Winkler (E)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak (G) Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Dündar (E) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Benítez (E) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Tsatsos (E) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar (G) Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin (G) Mr. Myburgh (G) Mr. George (W)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G) Mr. Lacroix (W)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. McCormick (E) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G) Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Östberg (E) Mr. Mentsen (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Soberón (G) Mr. Cowley (E) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G) Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Rise (E) Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi (G) Mr. Ibrahim (G) Mr. Taha (E) Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Magalona (G) Mr. Tuason (E) Mr. Hernandez (W)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh (G) Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G) Mr. Chau (E)
<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G) Mr. Guerrero (E) Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. O'Brien (E) Mr. Doyle (W)		

Against (24)

<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung (G) Mr. Myint (G) Mr. Thu (E) Mr. Win (W)	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Tata (E) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G) Mr. Tedjasukmana (E) Mr. Sumarno (W)
	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajń (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)	

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 114 for, 24 against, and 52 abstentions. The two-thirds majority

has been obtained and the report is therefore adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

POINT OF ORDER :
 OBJECTION TO INTERPRETATION
 GIVEN TO THE SYSTEM OF VOTING

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Roháč, Government delegate of Czechoslovakia, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—First of all I would like to point out two simple facts. First, that it was you, Mr. President, who when introducing the vote stated, if I understood correctly, that there is required a majority of two-thirds of the delegates present. If I understood it correctly it meant two-thirds of those who were present at the voting, and I think that those who abstained were present and that the interpretation which is given to the voting system by the fact that the votes declared as abstentions are not counted in the basis of the two-thirds majority is therefore wrong.

The second fact is that some of the delegates who spoke in the debate before the vote stated quite clearly that their abstention meant in fact "no", and by the application of this voting calculation the real meaning of their

abstentions has been deliberately invalidated. In fact, taking into account this situation, the report and the recommendation of the Finance Committee has not got the two-thirds majority if we would apply a truly democratic interpretation of the voting provisions.

Therefore, I would like to draw the attention of the Conference to this fact.

The PRESIDENT speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Standing Orders of the Conference lay down in Article 21 how the majority is to be counted: "In order to determine the majorities by record vote all votes cast, for and against, shall be counted." The statement made of abstention is not a vote for or against, and it could not therefore be counted under the provisions of Article 21 of the Standing Orders as a vote. The Standing Orders are precise and clear, and say that a vote is only to be counted if it is "yes" or "no". If there are no other points of order I wish to thank Mr. Shaw for his report.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Kahany (substitute for Mr. Berinson) Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Bounous (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Heinrici (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Rudolph) Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Tatsuke (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fatchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troolet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	<i>El Salvador :</i> Mr. Salazar Mr. Funes	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substi- tute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Huberty (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Leick (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans Mr. Buckland Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Roberts
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Recinos	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Miss Perkins (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle) Mr. Lacroix	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substi- tute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Velutini Mr. Graterol Mr. Ochoa
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Tuason Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan		
	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed		

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Tobin (*Secretary of Labor, United States*), Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Urquhart (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Tennfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Patteet (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*), Mr. Tessier, Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

FOURTEENTH SITTING

Friday, 20 June 1952, 3 p.m.

*President : Mr. Pons*FOURTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS
COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—I shall call first of all on Mr. Kaufmann, the
Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to
submit the Fourth Report of his Committee.

Interpretation : Mr. KAUFMANN (*Government delegate, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee*)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the Fourth Report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has been printed and distributed. As the Conference will see, the Credentials Committee is pursuing its work with all the diligence called for by the complexity of the problems which it has to study. It will soon submit its reports on the other questions still on its agenda, as soon as its thorough study of them has been concluded. The Fourth Report of the Credentials Committee, like the first three, was adopted unanimously by the members of my Committee. I take the liberty, therefore, of recommending to the Conference that it take note of this report.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—As the Report of the Credentials Committee now before you has been adopted unanimously by that Committee, the Conference takes note of that report. I thank Mr. Kaufmann for the work done by his Committee.

(The Conference takes note of the Fourth Report of the Credentials Committee.)

POINT OF ORDER : NOTIFICATION TO MEMBERS
OF COMMITTEES OF TIME OF RECORD VOTES

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—I now call on Mr. Murray, Government
delegate of Ireland, who wishes to raise a point
of order.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix I.

Mr. MURRAY (*Government delegate, Ireland*)—I have asked for permission to speak because the matter which I wish to mention is one of considerable importance. The *Daily Bulletin* today contains a note to the effect that "Committee and group meetings which are in progress at the same time as the plenary sitting will be notified in advance of the time at which the record vote will commence".

The members of the Committee on Agriculture, of which I am a member, were not notified this morning of the time of the record vote. I think that the members of that Committee who are delegates are entitled to an explanation for the failure to notify them of the time of the record vote.

I merely wish to add that had I been here I should, like my colleague, the other Government delegate from Ireland, have voted in favour of the report presented by the Finance Committee.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—I would like to thank Mr. Murray for his statement. It is indeed regrettable that the time of voting was not notified to those who were in the Committee on Agriculture and I hope that the Secretariat of the Conference will take note and avoid a repetition of the omission.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—The Conference will now continue with the discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Interpretation : Mr. TORRES (*Government delegate, Chile*)—The opportunity offered by the discussion of the Report of the Director-General will be used by the delegation of Chile to describe our attitude on certain matters which we consider to be important.

I have attended previous sessions of this Conference and I wish, first of all, to express my thanks for the attention which has been given to the requests which I made at the 30th Session. At that time I referred to the social legislation of my country and to the need for the I.L.O. to pay more attention to the nations and problems of Latin America.

I then made three concrete requests: first, that the issue of the Spanish version of the *International Labour Review* should be more regular; secondly, that a Latin American Assistant Director-General should be appointed; and thirdly, that a Latin American section of the Office should be set up either at Geneva or preferably in one of the Latin American capitals. I would like to thank the Governing Body and the Director-General publicly for the attention they have given to the first two of these requests and for the partial satisfaction given to the third.

I use these last words because the establishment of the Manpower Field Office at São Paulo, Brazil, was to some extent intended as fulfilment of this request but, with the frankness which I always employ, I wish to say that the delegation of Chile is not satisfied with the solution provided.

We want something more complete and more in accordance with the progressive aims of Latin America in international life, and particularly in the social field.

I am aware of the difficulties in the way of establishing a Latin American section or branch office. Of course, there are reasons of a budgetary nature, and others of an administrative character which have to be borne in mind, but there are other considerations which outweigh them and which should induce the I.L.O. to delay no longer in giving satisfaction to this profound aspiration of the Latin American countries, which I expressed here at the 30th Session.

I still think it is indispensable that the I.L.O. should have organs in the important regions of the world, including Latin America, which will enable it to draw up realistic programmes of action having regard, at the same time, to the regional interests of the States Members and to the spirit of universality which should always be borne in mind in an organisation like the I.L.O. These regional organs should serve as dynamic nuclei for the study of and the provision of information on national and continental problems, and should also train the experts which the countries require, for it is essential that the I.L.O. should modify its present system and send abroad only experts who know thoroughly the subjects with which they will have to deal and who also understand the idiosyncrasies and atmosphere of the nations where they will be stationed.

In Latin America the I.L.O. has made two experiments in concrete work in the field—the São Paulo Manpower Field Office and the application of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It is not rash to say that neither of these experiments has had the full desired effect, and I believe an important factor in this failure is the fact that the persons responsible for organising and directing technical assistance are foreigners, most of whom lacked the indispensable ability to get the feel

of local conditions and to understand the psychology and problems of the Latin American nations.

I have made these reflections of a general character in order to call the attention of the Director-General and the Governing Body to the need for study and solution of one of the most important and complex problems now facing the I.L.O.—the conception and application of an effective regional programme, and even of zonal programmes, in Latin America.

I would now like to say that my delegation approves the Report of the Director-General and agrees with the principal conceptions contained in it.

The Director-General says that: "In no country is the cost of living or the level of money wages determined entirely by internal forces; in most countries they are influenced to an important degree by international developments, reflected in changes in the volume and terms of foreign trade and in the balance of international payments."

We are well aware of this in Chile, for in the development of the prices and wages spiral our foreign trade has been a most important factor. It is for this reason that the Government of Chile, with the support of the whole nation, has just initiated an energetic policy in regard to our copper trade, directed towards raising the standard of living of the workers as a whole.

All countries are suffering from a constant rise in the cost of living, with its inevitable political and social consequences.

Statistics show that in the last five years the cost of living has increased by 300 per cent. in Chile and Argentina, by 500 per cent. in France, and so on.

The principal object of our Government has been to safeguard social welfare in this inflationary period by obtaining better conditions of subsistence for the whole population and particularly for the workers.

The Declaration of Philadelphia proclaims that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere" and that "the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort...".

The Director-General very rightly says that from its earliest days: "The International Labour Conference was universally recognised as a world parliament for labour questions, both because of its work in laying down standards for incorporation in national legislation and because of its debates on the great issues of social policy with which the world was confronted."

We should therefore take advantage of the opportunity afforded by this Conference to study and find solutions for social problems which affect the world, and each country should expound its experiences and its anxieties.

For Chile I can say that we are pursuing actively and with perseverance our plan for industrial and agricultural development to which I referred at the 30th Session of the Conference in 1947.

We are now appreciating the good results of this plan, which we hope to see translated

into an improvement in the standard of life of the whole population and particularly of the working class. The level of civic education of my fellow-citizens, and the permanent enforcement of democratic principles have enabled the workers—salaried employees and manual workers alike—to seek and find solutions conducive to justice and welfare.

In accordance with its profound democratic beliefs, Chile stands out as a country with advanced social legislation. We were the first country in the whole of America to introduce social insurance of a compulsory character with protection against biological contingencies and industrial risks. And now we have just tabled in Parliament a very important revision of our Compulsory Insurance Act as a result of which medical benefits will be extended to the family of the insured person, the amounts of invalidity, old-age and survivors' pensions will be increased, and the cash allowances scheme will be improved. At the same time a new type of benefit will be introduced to make up for the increased cost of living through an annual readjustment of all pensions corresponding to the increase in average wages during the preceding year.

These reforms, from which the workers will benefit very considerably, have been accompanied by other measures extending and improving Chile's social security scheme. We have just reformed the private employees' scheme by giving them the right to invalidity, old-age and survivors' pensions. We have extended to public officials the scheme for the annual readjustment of salaries according to the cost of living, already enjoyed by commercial and industrial employees. We have extended the family allowances scheme and made more generous the system of annual holidays with pay which has existed in Chile for many years for all workers. We have adopted the "full week" system which provides for payment for Sundays and public holidays if the worker has not been absent on any working day during the week.

These reforms place Chile in the lead in the field of social legislation in the Americas.

Naturally we have at the same time continued to deal with the fundamental problem of housing. The Housing Fund has succeeded in building 30,000 dwellings in 215 districts in 70 different cities. And to these must be added the many houses constructed year after year by the various welfare funds which in this way put to good use the economic resources of the social insurance institutions.

Our policy has not only been directed towards the construction of healthy and comfortable homes for low rents; we have also aimed at satisfying the general wish of the workers to own their own homes and our latest revision of the Compulsory Insurance Act provides clearly for the right of insured persons to acquire houses built by the Housing Fund. We are thus meeting a general aspiration the satisfaction of which tends to the consolidation and the well-being of the family as a unit in society.

In the Committees of this Conference in which our Chilean delegation participates, we have been explaining the characteristics and the progress of our social legislation. I would

now like to refer briefly to our trade union movement. We are proud to have been the first country in America to have legislated generously on trade union organisation. The Act on this subject, issued in 1924, was based on the principles of freedom of association laid down in the French Act of Waldeck-Rousseau. It has since been incorporated in our Labour Code, which consolidated in 1932 the various Acts approved in 1924 and subsequent years. This Act was not merely a romantic declaration of principles but gave rise to a strong and powerful trade union movement.

You have only to consider the statistics of our unions established during the 20 years following the promulgation of the Act to understand what I mean.

In 1932 there were 421 unions in Chile with 54,809 members; four years later there were 670 unions with 84,699 members; in 1942 their number reached 1,593 with 194,049 members; in 1947 there were 1,854 unions with 256,040 members, and now in 1952 we have 1,929 unions and 264,456 members. In Chile the unions can acquire and keep property. They can establish schools and conduct classes, they can have libraries, social museums, co-operative societies, stores and shops for consumer goods, and, in general, services for co-operation, education, assistance and welfare. Our unions share in the profits of industry, and so in 1933, when this system of profit-sharing began to have effect, 880,707 pesos were distributed among the unions. Five years later their share was 16,631,000 pesos; in 1943 the figure was 19,387,000 pesos, and the figures have been rising ever since to reach in 1948 37,730,000 pesos, and, finally, in 1951, 55 million pesos.

Our country guarantees to the workers the right to file requests both with their employers and with the public authorities. By this democratic means year by year the workers point out the need for and secure improvements of an economic and social character.

At this session, at which the important subject of collaboration between the public authorities and workers' and employers' organisations is under discussion, the Chilean delegation is glad to be able to inform you of our experiences in this regard. We are also ready to profit by the experience of other countries, convinced as we are that we all wish to find the best way to social welfare for each country and, by that means, to sound and brotherly co-existence in peace throughout the world.

But I must state publicly and emphatically that our country considers that such ways can only be found if there is due respect for human liberty and dignity. For this reason the maintenance and practice of a democratic régime in Chile have always received the support of the public authorities and the whole nation. Consequently, on 21 May last, the President of our Republic, Mr. González Videla, when reporting on his term of office to a plenary session of Parliament, expressed ideas which I, as a Chilean, am proud to repeat because they faithfully reflect our democratic spirit. "Social peace", our President said, "cannot be achieved by means of coercion, for although coercive action may be indispensable

at a moment of internal upheaval it should be applied transitionally only. The tranquillity essential to production can only be secured through the economic welfare of the working classes and their confidence in the existence of satisfactory legislation which safeguards their rights and cares for their lives and those of their families."

This is a clear expression of our beliefs as a truly democratic nation.

We feel that the standards of security and social protection formulated or recommended here cannot have adequate universal application if there subsist in many countries régimes contrary to human dignity, if there continues to be political or capitalist exploitation of workers in many parts of the world, and if there are Governments which keep their peoples oppressed under a régime of spying, hatred and terror.

We believe that social security and justice can co-exist and prosper only under genuinely democratic régimes. We think that political democracy, with its classic precepts of liberty, equality and fraternity, supplemented by economic democracy, which gives due value to human capital, will continue to be the basis of the democracy of the future: social democracy, under which every one of the earth's inhabitants, free from fear and protected against poverty, will be stimulated and protected by social security.

Interpretation: Mr. TRAN-QUOC-BUU (*Workers' delegate, Viet-Nam*)—It is a great honour for me, and a heavy responsibility, to be today the first Workers' delegate from Viet-Nam to speak in this important Conference.

While "war and the international struggle for the souls and minds of men", according to the words of the excellent Report we are discussing, are raging in my country, and domestic circumstances due to its history and customs are sorely trying Viet-Nam at the very beginning of its independence, I would like just to sketch, on behalf of the organised workers, some of our problems in so far as they are related to the preoccupations of this Conference.

Conscious of our responsibilities and of the need to ensure the future of our people after the present crisis, I would like to refer first of all to some long-term aspects of policy.

In this connection I should like to stress the particular interest we have in the revision of the Maternity Protection Convention, not only for the defence of the health and security of our women workers but also to give the necessary strength to the generations of tomorrow. In the same order of ideas we are also concerned with the question of the education of our young people and the vocational training for all the trades which can help to establish a standard of living in harmony with the degree of civilisation in the 20th century.

It is only if we can rapidly solve these essential problems that we will be able to lay the foundations for the organisation of a better social life and that, by a profound transformation in the minds of men, we will ensure that labour shall no longer be regarded as a commodity but man as a human being with sovereign dignity.

However, immediate realities, of which I would rather spare you a painful description, oblige us to put the accent on a short-term policy, the main elements of which are the fixing of a real minimum living wage and the recognition of freedom of association.

With regard to the minimum wage, which at present is fixed at 17½ piastres on an arbitrary basis, our organisations consider that the cost of living requires it to be increased to about 25 piastres. Furthermore, they are asking for the application of the Convention adopted by the Conference last year concerning equality of remuneration for men and women for work of equal value. At present women earn only three-quarters of the wages of men.

With regard to freedom of association, while it exists in fact, we want the legal recognition, and we are constantly asking our Government for this. It is with the greatest interest that we listened to Mr. Ramadier's inaugural speech on this subject when he recalled the duties of trade unions and also pointed out the duties of free and democratic Governments. Because our free workers' organisations are resolutely attached to these principles they demand their undisputed place in the nation and that the Government shall loyally fulfil its mission of protection and arbitration.

The workers of Viet-Nam, and particularly those organised in the Viet-Nam Confederation of Christian Labour, are convinced that their liberation will result not from demagogic action bringing with it disappointment but, as the Director-General says from "a steady advance, with each step consolidated and each position secured". They promise resolutely to collaborate with the International Labour Organisation from which they expect in return effective support in the various fields, particularly by means of the Industrial Committees, regional conferences, and technical assistance programmes; as also, through the sense of international labour solidarity, the humblest and the most under-privileged workers of Viet-Nam have decided freely to collaborate with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, who are giving them moral and practical assistance so that they may take their part in established social justice as the basis of lasting, universal peace.

Interpretation: Mr. SOLARI (*Employers' delegate, Argentina*)—"Whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their

own, recognition of the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures ;

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their countries ;

"The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, and with a view to attaining the objectives set forth in this Preamble, agree to the following Constitution of the International Labour Organisation."

These words, which constitute the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation are well known, but they should nonetheless be repeated on all suitable occasions. The principles contained therein have beyond doubt served as guidance to the Director-General throughout his interesting Report.

It is rare for a declaration of elevated principles to be accompanied by cautious reflection and analysis. The present Report is a long and careful effort on Mr. Morse's part to face his huge responsibilities, and he does indeed show what men can do if their work is planned with efficiency and commonsense.

Going through the four chapters of the Report, we range from a sober study of the general economic background, through cautious observations on social policy, to an analysis of the practical work of the I.L.O. and the problems which it faces, to conclude with a review of the practical achievements of the Organisation.

I have had time to study most of the Report and, as representative of an Argentine employers' organisation, I am glad to say that we agree with many of Mr. Morse's conclusions and only regret that they cannot be read by a larger number of persons.

Wider distribution of this and other reports would enable the International Labour Organisation and its work and principles to be understood by more people and would help towards the universality at which its founders aimed.

Such wide publicity would be particularly justified in vital times like the present when indifference and indolence are certainly not justified by the facts.

The world today is obliged to study various phenomena, perhaps the gravest of which are due to the constant fluctuation between balance and disequilibrium and to the variations in the economic and social field. Indeed, we are in a state of disease, and it would be wrong to leave the sick man to cure himself by magic : professional, indeed specialist, aid is indispensable.

A supreme effort is required on the part of science and art combined, and it is the Governments, aided by their experts, which should provide this aid.

We are working today in what I may compare to a huge clinic for economic and social diseases and the report under consider-

ation shows clear evidence of an understanding of the patient and a mastery of medical science. The next stage, application of the treatment proposed, is in our own hands, and it is our responsibility to give due aid to the patient—i.e., the social organism.

Consequently, the Argentine employers represented by the General Economic Confederation offer the I.L.O. their unconditional support, and I express this on behalf both of my country and of the organisation which I represent, as well as in my own name.

Country, organisation and individual, we are all young, and our youth does not make our tasks easy, for meeting so many delegations from countries with centuries of experience behind them we are obliged to analyse, reflect, control our feelings and, of course, take due advantage of every wise word spoken by our elders. Only thus can we make good the manifold inequalities between us.

Even though we recognise this wide difference and come with a docile spirit to supplement our own knowledge, I must warn you that we have not come so far merely to receive lessons from anyone. On the contrary we share the work, worries and ideals of the I.L.O. with a view to exchanging information and to placing on the table conclusions which express our own ideas as well as those of others.

We believe that, in exchange for the experience of Europe's past and the wisdom of its rulers, we can offer our own incorruptibility, our honour, our traditional Christian beliefs, which characterise the vigorous peoples living in the huge and fertile region which lies between two great oceans.

We Americans, and particularly we Argentines, believe that we can do for a disgruntled and afflicted Europe something like what this same Europe once did for the continent of Asia when, despite the latter's age-old civilisation, once the source of world culture, Europe with its young vigour injected a tonic which involved it in responsibilities but also won laurels for itself.

We think that as the responsibilities are shared between all Members of the Organisation there should also be due distribution of the laurels handed out in the pages of the Report now before us.

Does the Conference consider our pretensions unreasonable or out of proportion ? Surely not, for while Americans do not fail to admire the stoicism of Europe, her resistance to suffering and her readiness to make sacrifices, they are equally conscious of their own strength and of the great part they have to play at this critical moment of history.

I am aware of the extent to which many of you share my ideas and appreciate the value of our new, well-intentioned doctrines. I know that you forgive some of our failures in formal matters. I know that you are sympathetic towards the warmth with which we put our American points of view, and I am sure that you realise the great extent to which the future of the world will depend on Latin America.

Consequently it is easy to understand the widespread desire to hear and grasp more of what goes on in our countries. I can only tell you of my own.

For moral reasons, if my opinion on what is going on in my country were unfavourable I would certainly not express it abroad and among foreigners; but there is no need for me to be silent, because I find events in my country extremely satisfactory.

Capital and labour, which jointly constitute the only real source of wealth and, therefore, of happiness, are in Argentina entirely guaranteed by a régime of order, patriotism, activity and justice. Thanks to this régime General Perón's Government has secured the unanimous support of the living, working forces of our country and, thanks to the harmony between these, Argentina has been able to put through successfully difficult schemes of reorganisation and economic and social renewal, the concrete results of which are clearly to be seen in our brilliant national recovery.

Consequently Argentina is now, to the good fortune of all its people and the deserved satisfaction of its rulers, going through the moment of greatest economic expansion and most widely based social justice in its history.

The industrialisation process, objectively supervised, has transformed our traditional semi-colonial economy and made it what we Argentine men of business call an economy of free determination.

This process, which many at first considered dangerous, is giving brilliant results. Now, supplemented by an active agrarian development programme, it will enable us to consolidate our social achievements, improve our standard of life and place our balance of payments on a sound level, thus bringing tranquillity to the countries which depend on our exports both for supply purposes and in order to send us in exchange their own industrial products. In this connection Mr. Morse says that there has been a sharp fall in the level of consumers' demand in the United States and Western Europe, which has particularly affected the textile and footwear industries, probably owing in part to the resistance of consumers to the higher prices asked and in part to the high level of consumer spending.

This accurate observation may be contrasted with the position in regard to the market in foodstuffs, where there has, on the contrary, been a disproportionate rise in the price index. A few days ago, in the British House of Commons, the ex-Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Tom Williams said: "The time of abundant cheap supplies from abroad appears to have passed, for the world is changing rapidly now and I think Argentina is the best example of this. Fifty years ago two-thirds of the population were engaged in agriculture, but today the figure is less than one-third, since industrialisation has been very rapid. The Argentines eat more, and the population has a greater purchasing power than in the past, less remains for export. Now Australia is taking the same path as Argentina. I believe that the day is not far distant when Australia, owing to its industrialisation and the slow development of its agriculture will cease to supply us and will become our competitor as a purchaser in the foodstuffs market."

These words, together with Mr. Morse's, build up a picture which is worth analysing,

even if only briefly. Mr. Morse says that in the Latin American countries a strong tendency has been observed to earmark foreign exchange reserves, formerly used to buy consumption goods, for investment in capital equipment for domestic industries.

Both these observations accurately represent the facts, which taken in conjunction with the successful fulfilment of schemes like the establishment, organisation and improvement of shipping and aircraft, the nationalisation of our banking system, of the public debt, of insurance, transport, re-insurance and various other services, in the particular case of Argentina enable us to make full use of the foreign exchange obtained from our exports.

In this way we can complete the equipment of our country for agriculture and industry. We can replace unskilled labour with an efficient machine economy. We can avoid the waste of foreign exchange on the import of articles which the country can perfectly well produce itself.

Of course, these schemes require from the public and from the Government considerable sacrifices of which all are aware, for the Report quite truly says that during the interval before this type of investment begins to have effect the supply of consumption goods is smaller than would have been the case under other circumstances, and therefore the inflationary pressure is greater.

The advantage we have drawn from these circumstances is due to the vision of our President, General Perón, which has enabled my country to initiate this stage in its development before many other countries. We have therefore been able to enjoy better price conditions in the purchase of our equipment, to acquire experience, and therefore we have been able to pass through the stage when sacrifice is indispensable.

Allow me to quote to the meeting one instance of what our Government has done in this regard. On 18 February and 5 March our President, in two remarkable and objective conferences, described an economic plan for 1952 dealing directly with the problems of the moment, which it fully analysed. This was a sort of guide by means of which the Argentine nation was to adjust itself with a view to aiding the Government to solve the difficult economic problems before it. The nation itself was of course not responsible for these problems. Adverse climatic factors, the many grave consequences of a changing organisation and the chaotic world situation made it inappropriate, as our President said, to work by system. It required concrete solutions adjusted to each particular situation. Consequently, under this plan the people and Government are required to practise more austerity, to produce more and consume less. The whole nation is responding and the first concrete expression of its reply is to be found in the last number of the bulletin of the Argentine Legation in Berne, which reached me only a few hours ago. This says that the Argentine people has saved in the first six days of June over 14 million pesos. The National Postal Savings Fund states that this quantity is greater than that which was saved in the whole of June 1951.

As regards greater production, I can inform you that before the war we were habitual importers of many articles which we are now able to export to some extent after having satisfied our own requirements. Such is the case with maté, rice and even sugar. We used to export large quantities of hides and bones which we had to re-import in the form of shoes and fertilisers. Today, fortunately, we supply our home market with shoes and fertilisers and have a large exportable surplus of both these groups of products.

Under the protection of special legislation and careful finance schemes, important industries have developed in our country, particularly in connection with textiles, metallurgy and forestry, to say nothing of the wider development among traditional industries such as meat freezing and milling.

Unfortunately, as has been pointed out by the Director-General in his Report, a terrible drought dried up our fields and gravely affected the development and the very existence of our livestock industry, provoking a veritable migration from stockraising and even the liquidation of plantations. In spite of such tragic circumstances and thanks to the hard work and spirit of sacrifice of our agricultural population, to the serene credit policy of the Government, directed towards the stimulation of agricultural production, and the previous fixation of highly rewarding prices, I can inform you that having overcome the drought we are planning to cover in our next sowing a cultivated area of extraordinary proportions.

As for livestock production, benefiting as it has from this situation and from factors such as the important reductions in railway and river freight charges towards the wintering zones, and stimulated by the new system of seasonal production, we expect to reach and even surpass our previous best production. In this connection, I must point out an important detail which will play a decisive part in our livestock recovery. In spite of all the unfavourable factors which I have pointed out, and many others besides, the firm determination of our Argentine livestock breeders and the sense of responsibility of our cowmen, together with the sensible policy pursued in our official banking system, made it possible to continue without any interruption our traditional cross-breeding and stock improvement system, using the best strains in the world.

All of this was for our own benefit, but its influence on the economy and the food relief of the entire world is such that I consider it my duty to point out this contribution of my country to the universal well-being.

You can see that the commerce, the enterprises, the industries and the producers of the entire world will find in Argentina a propitious climate for the development of their own activities and the protection of a hospitable legislation with all the guarantees which spring from a liberal yet firm Government.

The nations of South America desire to have orderly Governments. It is an essential condition for the maintenance of this order that it should spring from the true wish of the people within an appropriate constitutional régime, based on just, universal and necessary ideals. It is only in this way that we can over-

come the troubles with which we are faced. "The greatness of nations is transitory and ephemeral when it is not based upon a dignified, happy and satisfied people. . . . We must see clearly and deeply the panorama of contemporary humanity, looking beyond the horizon of temporary solutions and arriving at fundamental and definitive solutions." On these bases, laid down by General Perón, we have been able in my country to arrive progressively at the construction of a true doctrine, which tries to strike a balance between capitalist individualism and communist collectivism, and we are trying to follow a new road in order to eliminate the troubles which derive from the proven inability of either of those systems to bring happiness to mankind. In the past century, many of the troubles which afflict us today found their solutions in the possibilities which the enormous unexplored and unexploited regions of the world offered for the expansion of the great empires. This is no longer possible today and never will be again, because the world has fixed limits and the full measure of them has been reached. . . .

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—I am sorry to have to interrupt the speaker but I think we have given him enough time. The Standing Orders allow for 15 minutes only.

Mr. LUČOVNIK (*Employers' delegate, Yugoslavia*)—After the end of the second world war we were all convinced that we were heading towards a better future and this stimulated us to devote all our forces to peaceful construction and the raising of our standards of living. Everyone wanted to make speedy progress and to extend international co-operation, especially in the economic field.

These ideas and wishes were expressed very clearly in the Charter of the United Nations and in the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations and other international bodies working for peace.

However, recent events have lessened the hope of the people for peaceful co-operation and their expectations of further economic development and progress of the developed as well as the underdeveloped countries. I do not wish to recall the reasons that have led to such international tension, but I nevertheless believe that the consequences of such a situation should be thoroughly examined.

Owing to the rearmament programmes which are the direct result of the present international tension, all national economies are labouring under various difficulties and national programmes are endangered as regards, for instance, full employment, the raising of living standards and so forth. Such a situation particularly affects the underdeveloped countries, for it restrains their further progress, increases inflationary trends, and causes deterioration of the balance of payments, especially in those countries that are compelled to import industrial equipment and other commodities.

I am of the opinion that if we want to solve these problems we cannot do it separately, that is, each State on its own. We must find common bases and principles as a foundation

for the practical solution of problems by each State. From this point of view I welcome and give full recognition to the Director-General's Report. It encourages us to believe that we shall be able to find a satisfactory way out of the present economic difficulties.

Allow me to refer to two questions mentioned in the Director-General's Report, first, the assistance to underdeveloped countries and, secondly, the real participation of the workers in the management of enterprises, factories, mills, and so on, and in the national economy as a whole.

I consider that assistance to underdeveloped countries is indispensable in those countries where national income is very low and larger means, under the form of capital accumulation, are not available for further development. Great differences in national income and living standards engender diffidence and contradictions between nations and inevitably lead to great economic and political dependence. That is why I think that our aim should be the elimination of such discrepancies and that it is also very important from the point of view of peaceful co-operation.

I should also like to raise another question, not presenting it, however, from the workers' political point of view but as regards the practical economic consequences likely to arise from it for the increase of labour productivity and, in the final analysis, of total production. I have no intention of delivering a lecture. I do not think that the road our country is following is the only right one, and I admit that each nation should seek the road best suited to it, but I nevertheless want to stress some of the experiences and achievements already reached in our country.

During the period immediately after the war our economic policy was dictated wholly by the all-round reconstruction and rehabilitation of all sectors of the economy—industry, mining, transport, etc. In the first stage a strongly centralised direction of our economy was necessary. It enabled us to apply a priority system and to distribute raw materials, building materials, etc., proportionately to the general and most urgent needs. When we had achieved almost complete reconstruction and gone on to the implementation of a new programme of further development, this system seriously hampered us. It did not allow fundamental democratic principles to work freely and it began to display increasingly bureaucratic trends which paralysed personal initiative. That is why this system was abandoned and replaced by a new one.

The first step taken was a thorough decentralisation of our economic leadership; and another, immediately following, was the growing independence given to all our enterprises in the framework of our social plan. Parallel with this policy of decentralisation we strengthened democracy in economy too so that our workers are now increasingly participating in the management of industry. The principle of the direct interest of the workers in economy is already being implemented. The fundamental principle of the decentralisation policy in the framework of our economic life consists in entrusting the direct management of factories to workers and employees.

At first, our industry was run by administrative bodies who were turning little by little into purely bureaucratic authorities. Since 1950, however, they have been gradually eliminated and at the present time the management is exercised by workers' councils and management boards elected by workers and employees by free and direct ballot. These bodies represent the direct management organs of the enterprises and decide all questions connected with the running of the works within the framework of the economic plan and the fundamental economic proportions it provides. At the present stage of decentralisation the director of each enterprise is still appointed by the Government. He is also automatically a member of both the workers' council and the management board. His task is to organise production and he is responsible before the workers' council and the management board for the sales policy of his enterprise. He may oppose decisions taken by these two bodies if they violate laws and regulations.

All our enterprises have thus reached real, complete economic independence as regards production programmes, sales policy and investment policy within the framework of the social plan. The once rigid planning of production in all its details is now replaced by planning which determines only the fundamental economic proportions. On the basis of these proportions—regulating for instance the utilisation of the productive capacity, the fixing of the Wage Fund, and so on—the amount of the capital accumulation is to be fixed for each enterprise. The capital accumulation, realised according to the economic plan, is taken over by the State Treasury and redistributed in the framework of the general social plan for further industrial development, national defence and other State expenditure. When an enterprise is successful and surpasses the production plan, the income thus attained stands at its free disposal either for the increase of the Wage Fund or the Housing Fund, or for other productive investments.

These great changes in my country and the improvement achieved by this system as compared with the former administrative system have already given very convincing results. In gradually building up this new economic system we have abolished various practices which were characteristic of administrative management, such as rationing, compulsory buying-up of farm produce, planned distribution of raw materials, semi-finished products and manufactured goods intended respectively for production, investments or consumption. Our basic economic principle is now supply and demand as prime movers of our economy.

This procedure is also provided for by our general social plan. We have succeeded in solving completely a problem which was very acute in our economy—the shortage of manpower. This is a consequence of the interest aroused in the workers by the fact that the increase in their production effort means for them an increase in their earnings. In the People's Republic of Slovenia alone there was, in March and April of this year, a surplus of 10,000 workers who were sent to other sectors of industry where manpower was needed. This is also the case for other federal units. Further,

we are at present registering an increase in labour productivity—a struggle for the reduction of production costs. Coal, for instance is now consumed much more economically than before. Economic policy, pursued on such a basis, will consequently lead to a normalisation of our economic life as a whole, and has already brought partial improvement in the living standards of our country.

I do not think it is necessary to point out that all these efforts are being made under the stress of international tension. On the other hand, we have achieved this at a time when other countries are labouring under inflationary pressure and when our whole future is shadowed by uncertainty. If we want to find a way out of this situation, we must ensure peaceful development through better co-operation between all the nations in the future. My opinion is that such peaceful co-operation can be obtained only by democratisation in both the political and the economic fields. The only way towards the development of democratisation in the economic field is to promote the direct interest of the workers in economy, in economic policy as a whole, and accordingly to solve rapidly the question of the underdeveloped countries.

Interpretation: Mr. FARNIK (*Employers' delegate, Poland*)—There is no doubt that the basic characteristic of the economic and political situation of the capitalist countries mentioned in the Report of the Director-General is the armaments race. Meeting their enormous expenditure on armaments places the United States and the countries of Western Europe face to face with extremely difficult problems.

Manpower, financial resources and raw materials are withdrawn from peaceful production and used for war production, which is of no use at all for economic and social purposes. The ill-effects of this economic policy are found in the reduction of the resources available for peaceful investment and for consumer goods for the masses of the people. This policy reduces the level of production of consumer goods, raises their price and consequently contributes to a fall in the real wages of the workers, thereby reducing the workers' level of consumption.

The progress made in the path of war economy by the United States and Western Europe has, in addition, had serious repercussions in the field of international economic relations. Their policy has led, among other things, to a considerable shortage of raw materials and to great fluctuations in prices on the world market. Another result is the difficult situation of the economically backward countries, brought about because the reduced possibilities of exports from the Atlantic countries, due to their rearmament programmes, have led to less investment of equipment. Thus the economically backward countries are faced with serious difficulties, for they cannot export their raw materials in exchange for equipment and consequently their economic development is held up.

The dependence of Western Europe on the United States economy has not only not diminished—it has considerably increased. The London *Economist* of 5 January 1952, in

estimating the effects of the Marshall Plan, says "It is ironical that Europe, after four years of co-operation, should find itself in what seems to be the same position as in 1947. Europe is still hungry for dollars; the overseas payment accounts of most countries are again markedly in the red; countries are still trying vainly to combat inflation, while the need to increase productivity is just as great as it was four years ago."

Parallel with its armaments policy, the United States is proceeding to a brutal discriminatory economic blockade policy towards the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies. Under its pressure the Western European countries belonging to the Atlantic bloc have been obliged to break off their normal commercial relationships with the Eastern European countries which were their natural and traditional trading partners both on the receiving side and for the supply of a great number of essential products, manufactured goods, raw materials and foodstuffs.

This pressure aggravates further the internal difficulties of the Western countries, increases the deficit in their balance of payments and their dollar deficit, causes a fall in their production of foodstuffs, and consequently gives rise to unemployment and lowers the standard of living of their workers.

These trends in the development of the economic and political situation of the United States and Western European countries are a striking contrast to the peaceful policy and genuine economic development achieved by the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. The whole economic activity of the socialist States is directed towards the development of industry, an increase in the level of industrial production and consumer goods, an increase in the level of agricultural production, better education and public health, greater social assistance, the construction of more houses, and consequently towards an improvement in the standard of living of the populations of these countries. Before the war the Peoples' Democracies were, in most cases, typical agricultural and economically backward countries, with semi-colonial economies; they were thus a source of very cheap raw materials and of still cheaper manpower, and consequently were ripe for exploitation by international cartels. Now these countries are their own masters; they may dispose of their resources according to their needs and in the interests of their workers. The dynamic economic renaissance of the Peoples' Democracies is due to a large extent to the tremendous aid received from the Soviet Union in the form of capital goods and raw materials, technical advice and increasingly effective collaboration in all fields of economic life. This aid from the Soviet Union is based on reciprocal respect for sovereignty and on equality of rights and interests. In my country the national economic plan of the second year of the Six-Year Plan has been satisfactorily carried out. The industrial production plan for 1951 has been carried out in the proportion of 100.8 per cent. and the value of its production has increased by 24.4 per cent. as compared with 1950. In 1951 industrial production had reached about 270 per cent. of the 1938 level.

Productivity increased simultaneously in 1951 by 14 per cent. and manufacturing costs fell by approximately 4.6 per cent. As a result, there was a further increase in the number of workers in the national economy. The total number of workers employed in the socialist economy, excluding agriculture, increased by 12 per cent. as compared with 1950.

Parallel with the raising of the level of production of existing establishments, we have constructed and put into operation a new and powerful industry hitherto unknown in our country. We have also made a great deal of progress in the fields of education, culture and public health. Housing construction has also developed considerably. The production plan for 1952 faces us with other tasks in the heavy and light industries. The total volume of output in socialist industry will be 22.3 per cent. above the 1951 figure and will reach about 310 per cent. of the level of all industrial production in 1938.

With the exception of agriculture, it is expected that we shall increase our manpower by about 7 per cent. in the socialist economy. We expect a further increase in credits for the building of social and cultural establishments and for the construction of houses. Special efforts will be made to overcome the effects of last year's drought in the form of the supply to agriculture of a considerable amount of machinery and artificial manure. The production of agricultural machinery increased by 25 per cent., and the number of tractors supplied to agriculture by 28 per cent. During 1952 agriculture will receive twice as much fertiliser as in 1951.

The object of my speech is to draw attention to what the Director-General has unfortunately omitted from his Report, or has inaccurately presented to us. I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that the Director-General gives in his Report a false analysis of the effects of the armaments policy. The Director-General does not see that the armaments policy impoverishes the workers, leads to a fall in the level of consumption and to a disturbance in the economic structure of the capitalist countries. He does not see that this policy is in the interests of the big trusts which, by every means, strive and strive again to maintain armaments at the highest level. He does not see that the armaments policy is in contradiction to the principles and objectives of the International Labour Organisation.

The fact that the United States, and, under its pressure, most of the Western European countries, carry out a programme of war preparation and pursue a policy of blockade and economic discrimination against the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies, cannot remain a matter of indifference to thousands of persons who sincerely desire a peaceful and friendly development of political and economic relations between all countries of the world, relations based on the principle of reciprocal respect for sovereignty and equality of rights and interests.

The great success of the International Economic Conference in Moscow proved that the fears we have expressed in this international centre on the present situation are shared by the great masses of the population of the whole

world. It was possible to see the increasing opposition in economic circles in all the capitalist countries which have realised that the policy of discrimination imposed upon them is completely contrary to their interests. They realise that this policy leads to nothing.

The manufacturers and business men of the Western European countries, of Latin America, and of Asia have come to realise more and more clearly that economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the Peoples' Democracies, opens to them enormous possibilities for the export and import of all sorts of goods. Public opinion in the capitalist countries realises clearly that the development of economic relations with the socialist countries and the return to a real national economy is the only means of freeing themselves from American domination. The offers of imports from the Soviet Union, not to mention the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, and the Peoples' Democracies, would ensure production and employment opportunities for at least three years in the textile industry in England, the shipbuilding yards in Italy, and the engineering and construction industry in Western Germany, etc.

It is essential that the world should understand that the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies have become decisive factors in the world economy.

The People's Republic of China has experienced an economic revival and now represents an expanding market for the sale of raw materials for industry, machinery and consumer goods, while it is also a source of supply for agricultural produce. The European Peoples' Democracies are successfully executing their economic plans and now have greater possibilities in the field of international trade. They are increasing their industrial potential, their agricultural production, their need for imports and their available exports. This firm belief in the important role which may be played by international collaboration is at the basis of the action taken last year by the international committee representing the industrial, commercial, scientific, professional and co-operative circles of a large number of countries invited to the big Economic Conference in Moscow, which was attended by representatives of more than 40 countries, most of whom had to overcome great difficulties put in their way by the State Department.

The Moscow Conference, attended by persons of different political beliefs, persons whose economic doctrines were diametrically opposed to one another, showed that these differences of opinion are no obstacle to the reciprocal and profitable exchange of goods and to international collaboration between all countries.

The Moscow Conference was not restricted to an economic discussion. It was a favourable occasion for the renewal of personal relationships between the representatives of the different countries whose object was the conclusion of several important commercial contracts and agreements.

As a representative of Polish economic life, I believe that the International Labour Conference should condemn the armaments

policy of certain countries, for this policy is the main source of poverty, unemployment, commercial insolvency and the holding up of social progress. On the other hand, we must neglect no effort to secure a greater development of international economic collaboration in the interests of progress and in the interests of peaceful co-operation between all countries.

Mr. GREF (*Employers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*) speaks in Czech.

Interpretation: Mr. GREF (*Employers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—However interesting the Report of the Director-General may be, it contains very few suggestions that could be of any significance to the nationalised industry of Czechoslovakia, which represents almost all of Czechoslovakia's industrial production and employs the overwhelming majority of our workers. The Report orientates itself solely towards the interests of the producers in capitalist countries. I am, however, convinced that if the authors of the Report had taken cognisance of the tasks and problems solved by the nationalised industry in my country, in the U.S.S.R., in the People's Republic of China, in the other Peoples' Democracies and in the German Democratic Republic, they could have arrived at conclusions representing a wealth of concrete and positive ideas.

The Report states that "rearmament . . . and the maintenance and raising of living standards are competing for scarce supplies of labour, materials and equipment", and further, that "substantial unemployment or short-time working has developed in consumers' goods industries, while an acute shortage of labour persists in heavy industries".

This is, of course, only true in relation to the industries of capitalist countries, where the armaments race is leading to the curtailment of consumer goods production. For instance, the *U.S. News and World Report* of 15 February 1952 states that in comparison with the highest production level reached in the United States in 1951, production at the beginning of 1952 went down by 49 per cent. in the automobile industry, 59 per cent. in the production of wireless and television sets, 37 per cent. in the production of household articles, 18 per cent. in the furniture industry, 13 per cent. in the cement industry, 26 per cent. in glassware production, 33 per cent. in the production of woollen goods, 30 per cent. in the production of textiles made from artificial fibres, 22 per cent. in the production of cotton goods and 27 per cent. in the shoe industry.

The magazine *Business Week* has admitted that "the production of armaments has not become the expected stimulant". In other capitalist countries production is confronted by difficulties so great that certain industrial branches are on the verge of catastrophe. They are affected by chaotic changes which cannot be met by improvised emergency measures, because the United States is carrying out its war preparations and its policy of economic domination with absolute disregard for the consequences which this necessarily inflicts on the industries of those countries which have become dependent on American policy.

Mr. Glen W. Miller, Professor of Economy at the University of Ohio, characterised the trend of capitalist economy in his book *Problems of Labor*, when he said, on page 200: "To date, war seems to have been about the only sure cure for unemployment in the profit-seeking, free-enterprise nations of the world". In fact, this cure does not help and the hopes that armaments will reduce unemployment have proved vain—as even the Report of the Director-General had to admit. It states that in certain branches, in spite of unemployment elsewhere, there is a shortage of manpower. But this does not change the fact that the number of unemployed is great and that from the acute shortage of manpower in certain sectors one cannot conclude that this number will decrease.

The disruption of international trade relations caused by the American policy of discrimination certainly in no way contributes to increased employment in the capitalist countries. In this connection the recent prohibition of the export of 316 categories of industrial products from the countries of Western Europe and the United States to the countries of Eastern Europe is another step in the discriminatory policy directed against the countries with a planned economy. However, this policy has missed its mark; on the contrary, it seriously paralyses the economic development and the living standards of the populations of those countries whose Governments pursue such a policy.

In the countries where economic life is directed by planning, the development of heavy industry does not entail a curtailment of their light industries. In these countries the purpose of the development of heavy industry is to increase the living standards of the entire population, to develop the whole of the economy harmoniously and to extend the basis of economic relations with other countries.

Czechoslovakia's heavy industry is producing new equipment for our mines and factories which will abolish drudgery and the machines will do the heavy and unhealthy work instead of man. We are turning out a great number of tractors, combines and other agricultural machines in order to mechanise our agriculture, as well as machines for the development of our light industry.

By the end of 1951 Czechoslovakia's production exceeded the pre-war production of the year 1937 by approximately two-thirds. This development has no precedent in the capitalist countries. Without foreign loans and with its own resources our country is carrying out capital investments for which the 1952 budget allocates 92 billion crowns—i.e., 29 per cent. of the total budget.

In my country there is no fear of unemployment; on the contrary, the number of persons employed is continually rising. In 1951 this increase was 4 per cent. more than it was for the preceding year. The employment of women workers has gone up by 32.7 per cent., while at the same time they receive equal wages with men for equal work.

In Czechoslovakia, where the means of production belong to the working people, the various factories compete concerning the carrying out of the production plans, the quantity

and the quality of the products and the lowering of production costs. We have tens of thousands of inventors from the ranks of the working people whose work is a considerable contribution to the technical development and the modernisation of our industry. Their innovations make heavy physical work easier and contribute to the raising of the social and cultural level of the life of our people.

Thousands of talented workers are studying at the universities and institutions of higher learning, their expenses being paid by the State, and many of them have become excellent directors of factories.

These facts prove best how false is the theory put forth at this Conference by Mr. McGrath from the United States, that the competitive system of enterprise is the only safe highway to prosperity. In fact this attempt to make a philosophy out of the catch-as-catch-can law of the free enterprise and profit-seeking society has the sole purpose of masking the ever-increasing capitalist exploitation and of justifying the absorption of small and weak producers by those who are stronger.

The relation between the productivity of labour and wages in countries which are already on the road towards socialism is naturally of a totally different pattern from that of the capitalist countries. The appeal for increased productivity, to which the Report of the Director-General also joins its voice, is not intended to help the growth of the real value of wages, but to increase profits and the financing of armaments. On the other hand, in the countries which continue in peaceful construction and devote only the minimum possible sums to defence and security, the production of consumer goods has a continuously upward trend. Wages increase in relation to the plan and to the productivity of labour and the increasing quantity of goods put on the market. This is why in the countries with a planned economy there is no inflation such as can be found in those countries where an excessive part of the national wealth is absorbed by products the utility value of which is only measurable by the extent to which they destroy or can destroy human lives and values. Such production cannot satisfy the real needs of the nations and consequently generates an inflationary pressure.

The Report, when speaking of the influence of wages on inflationary tendencies, states that "... in Eastern European countries the more direct control exercised by Governments over workers' incomes makes it easier to check the development of the wage-price spiral". It also mentions our wage funds. The Report absolutely misunderstands the function of the wage funds and by speaking of "control" attempts to create the impression that these funds are an instrument for regulating the wages against the workers' interests. The right to a just remuneration for work done is guaranteed to the working people of my country by the Czechoslovak Constitution, which stipulates that in determining the remuneration for work done the decisive factors shall be the quality and quantity of the work as well as its benefit to the community. It is the function of the wage funds to implement

these very principles. Savings that have been gained as a result of increased productivity or of lowered production costs enable us to raise wages and to attain the planned profit or even profit which is higher than the planned target. A part of the profits goes to the Enterprise Fund which is used to build cultural clubs, gymnasiums, recreation and health centres and other social services. The Enterprise Fund is administered with the active participation of the Works Trade Union Organisation.

Czechoslovakia's industry can and is willing to contribute to the development of peaceful co-operation among the peoples of the world in the field of economy and trade.

The peaceful development of our economy creates the best conditions for the extension of our economic and trade relations with the entire world. To our mind this is the best means of preventing a further curtailment of civilian production and the resulting aggravation of the lowering of living standards to which the deterioration of international economic relations in the last four years has led.

At the International Economic Conference held in Moscow, in which representatives from 49 countries participated, the Chairman of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Nesterov, showed the great perspectives which could be opened up in regard to trade relations between the Soviet Union and the countries of Western Europe, America, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Australia. In the course of two years such an exchange of goods could reach the sum of 30 to 40 billion roubles. The extension of foreign trade between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries would represent employment for between 1½ and 2 million workers of these latter countries.

At the Moscow Conference a number of important international trade agreements were dealt with. According to a report in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the total turnover of the trade agreements concluded in Moscow amounts to 500 million dollars. One of the most important of these trade agreements, according to which an exchange of goods of 20 million pounds sterling will take place, was signed by the head of the Chinese delegation, Nan-Han-cen, and the head of the British delegation, Lord John Boyd-Orr. To quote *Le Monde* of 10 April 1952, "... this perspective is very attractive for the British, as the Chinese are willing to buy textile goods to the value of £350,000".

Another agreement was concluded between the delegation of the People's Republic of China and the French delegation. The value of the goods exported and imported as a result of this agreement will come to £8 million.

These examples show what great possibilities the People's Republic of China offers for international trade.

The newspaper *La France de Marseille et du Sud Est* of 2 March 1952 wrote the following about the Conference: "It would for instance be by far more normal, if it is not contrary to the interests of self-defence, to receive coal from Poland, wheat from Russia and the peanuts we need from China, rather than

buy them from the United States, which is not interested in any of our goods and is obliged to sell us these products at a higher price. We can sell cotton goods, oils, soap, medicines and various tinned foods. Our prices are too high anywhere else except in the Soviet sphere, where there is a great interest in these products."

The Moscow Conference has shown the way in which it is possible to solve present-day problems and has once more proved the truth of Joseph Stalin's statement to the American journalists when he said: "The peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism is perfectly possible if there is a willingness to fulfil accepted obligations and if the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is maintained".

If normal and traditional international trade relations are to be renewed, then this is the only way of doing it. In relation to this also, the International Labour Organisation can fulfil its mission, which according to the Declaration of Philadelphia is to contribute towards "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 attitude of the nationalised industry of Czechoslovakia towards the International Labour Organisation will depend on the manner in which this Organisation will fulfil this solemn obligation.

Mr. LIANG (*Workers' delegate, China*)—It is my great pleasure and honour to be with you here today at the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference, the more so because I cannot over-value this opportunity of speaking to you once a year on behalf of millions of oppressed workers on the Chinese mainland and 300,000 labourers who enjoy freedom, labour rights and human dignity in Free China. Once again, I enjoy the hospitality of the people of this beautiful city. Once again, I have read with great interest and profit the compendious Report of the Director-General, which shows among other things the great usefulness, in certain parts of the world at least, of the work of the I.L.O. in assisting to uplift the livelihood of the common man.

I must congratulate the Director-General upon his brilliant leadership of the capable staff of the I.L.O. in making possible the bold strides of the International Labour Organisation. There is, however, one glaring omission in the Report of the Director-General which I think you will all have noticed. The inescapable fact is that the Director-General has failed to mention the problems and conditions of my country in his 122-page Report. Any review of the world labour situation which does not include a part concerning one-fifth of the world's population is, to say the least, incomplete. I consider it my duty today to fill the gap in the Report as long as time permits.

On the mainland of China today an unprecedented famine is raging. The full impact of this disaster is freely admitted by the communists themselves. Insects, drought, flood and typhoon have alternately wrought havoc and devastation to 104 million acres of farms and starvation or near starvation to 332 million people in 1951. Thus, after three years of communist usurpation and misrule, three out of every four people on the continent of China are brought to the verge of hunger or starvation. Believe me when I quote from the Chinese communist newspapers that this catastrophe shows no signs of abating. One would think that the Politburo in Peiping would try its best to save the country from this sorry plight in the name of the people. I must tell you that nothing is done in this direction and all that the Chinese Politburo is doing is to attempt to serve the interests of its Russian masters and to aggravate the starvation and misery of the Chinese people. Countless carloads of foodstuffs have been sent and are still being sent to Soviet Russia.

Under the spectre of hunger and starvation my countrymen on the China mainland are suffering from terrorism and purge. Let me confine my remarks to the workers. Among the 15,672,050 people killed by the communists under their so-called regulations on the punishment of counter-revolutionaries in a period of about two years, 600,000 were craftsmen or industrial workers. One million workers have been drafted by the communists to serve the so-called Chinese volunteers behind the Korean war front. One million and a half workers have been rounded up and transported to Siberian and East European slave labour camps.

In Soviet China there are 5,605 slave labour camps, large and small, in which there is a total of 4,600,000 enslaved workers, toiling at least 14 hours per day and 365 days per year. What they get in return are two bowls of thin rice porridge per meal, sickness, accidents, thrashings and firing squads. Nearly two million people are slaving in the Hwei river region, dredging mud from Eastern Honan, Northern Anhwei, and Northern Kiangsu right down to the China Sea. These unfortunate workers die by thousands every day of exposure, hunger, disease and exhaustion. It is only fitting and proper that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour, organised under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the I.L.O., should extend its work to the mainland of China.

On the Chinese mainland, the whole country is submerged under the reign of terror. Anyone who arouses the slightest suspicion of disobeying the orders of the communist hordes will either be killed or sent behind prison bars. Since the start of the "three antis" and "five antis" movement last December, workers have been pitted against their employers, sons against their parents, farmworkers against the landlords, and whatever is left of the stability of the country has been totally thrown overboard. In Shanghai city alone, 9,000 out of 12,000 big industrialists and merchants have been liquidated in the first stage of the "five antis" movement. In the second stage 140,000 out of 151,000 middle-class employers have been liquidated on flimsy reports or framed-up

information supplied by hate-mongers. The third stage, in which hundreds of thousands of small employers will be purged and liquidated, is due to begin this summer. As a result of these purges throughout the country, the communist usurpers have been enriched by over 400 million United States dollars, which they pour in to support their Korean war of aggression. The closing down of industrial and commercial establishments on the Chinese mainland has sky-rocketed the number of unemployed. A reliable figure released by the communists themselves shows that 35 per cent. of the workers on the mainland are without jobs. These workers they send to Korea, to the slave labour camps or to the ultimate destination of death.

Is there any wonder that Chinese workers bitterly hate communism and all that it stands for? On May Day this year, 70,000 workers from nine different unions in Shanghai started a nation-wide resistance movement under the leadership of a textile worker in the Sun Sin cotton mill. During the May Day parade in Canton, mimeographed leaflets were distributed among workers, who were asked to slow down, to sabotage and not to co-operate with their oppressors. They were asked to join with the free labour force in Formosa to rise up and to overthrow the hideous Chinese communist régime.

One hundred-odd miles off the China coast across the Strait of Formosa, the condition is entirely different. I do not have to quote from official publications of the Government of the Republic of China. Anyone who has visited the island of Formosa will be able to tell you of Free China's political, economic and social progress during the past few years. In fact, I should like cordially to invite all of you to visit Formosa after this Conference.

The Director-General said in his Report that in the Far East food supplies remain generally inadequate. He might have to revise this statement slightly if he took into consideration the food production figures of Free China, where the rice crop jumped from 638,000 tons in 1945 to 1,420,000 tons in 1950 and 1,480,000 tons in 1951, showing a 5 per cent. increase over that of 1950 and a 134 per cent. increase over that of six years ago. The highest record under Japanese rule was made in 1938, when 1,400,000 tons of rice were harvested. At that time, however, most of the rice produced in Formosa was shipped to Japan; and the Taiwanese had to fall back on sweet potatoes as their staple diet. Now, wherever you go throughout the length and breadth of the island, you find that people enjoy three solid meals of white rice every day. We have a surplus of rice production, and last year, for instance, we exported 100,000 tons of rice to South Korea, Japan and Okinawa to help relieve their inadequate food supplies. This year, we plan to produce 1,600,000 tons of rice, of which about 10 per cent. will be used for export.

Recently, Mr. Cleveland, Assistant Director-General of the Mutual Security Agency, made a detailed report of the Formosa economy to the Foreign Relations Commission of the United States Senate in Washington, in which he gave some figures of Formosa's industrial

progress. He said that Formosa produced 1,450,000 tons of coal in 1951, a 100 per cent. increase when compared with that of 1945; in the same year, 389,000 tons of cement were produced, a 100 per cent. increase when compared with 1947; in the same period, 92,000 tons of chemical fertilisers were produced, which was a 300 per cent. increase in comparison with the pre-war maximum of 1939. The volume of railway freight in 1951 was 300 per cent. higher than that in 1946. Time does not permit me to make a more detailed report to you today. I suggest that the I.L.O. should give more attention to Formosa, for up to now there has not been a single printed word in any of the major publications of the I.L.O. on conditions in Free China. This intentional or unintentional oversight on the part of the I.L.O. is indeed most regrettable. In this connection, I want to reiterate this year our fervent hope that the I.L.O. will establish an office in Taipei without further delay.

In Formosa, 20 factory and mining inspectors have been doing field work since 1 May 1951, attempting to enforce Chinese labour legislation and those international labour Conventions ratified by the Chinese Government. According to their weekly reports to the provincial Government, there are at present 262 industrial welfare organisations in this province offering 22 kinds of welfare services, such as labour clinics and workers' education, to 136,000 workers. Payment in kind is popular in Formosa, for a worker is usually given free sleeping quarters, free rice, coal, table salt, fuel, oil, besides the regular "take-home" pay. The most phenomenal increase in workers' wages was obtained for 8,000 salt workers in February this year when a 62 per cent. increase was approved by the Salt Readjustment Administration.

Up to two weeks ago, 177,000 workers were being protected by labour insurance in Formosa, and nearly ten million Formosan dollars had been paid out as insurance benefits covering about 25,000 valid claims. For over two years now, workers in Formosa have derived much benefit from the insurance programme. We would welcome the technical advice of the I.L.O. on the extension of insurance coverage. I.L.O. assistance on productivity, co-operative administration, the prevention of accidents in coal mines and the training of welfare personnel is also greatly needed.

Free China is, to all intents and purposes, the safest spot in the Far East. We have 600,000 men in the armed forces. We are not only determined to make Formosa impregnable; we are also firmly resolved to restore human rights, social justice and political independence to our brethren on the mainland who are suffering under the yoke of Soviet oppression. True, we are making feverish preparations to procure enough guns for our troops; it is no less true that we are endeavouring to obtain social, political and economic progress so that there will be sufficient butter in everyone's larder. Our task is heavy; our progress may be slow, but with perseverance and hard work the day is not far off when the enslaved mainland of China will regain its freedom. Together with the free workers in

Formosa, we shall then fight for the realisation of the ideals of social justice, human rights and international brotherhood.

Interpretation: Mr. de BOCK (*Workers' delegate, Belgium*)—It is with real interest that we have examined this year, as in previous years, the Report of the Director-General.

We find there a great amount of interesting information and, in addition, the Report contains ideas which will be favourably accepted by all who interest themselves in world economic and social conditions.

It is obviously impossible to comment on this great work in all its details. It could be completed by my giving you an outline of the social evolution in my own country. I shall not do this, however, as it seems this is well enough known and it is therefore not necessary for me to repeat it. But I would simply like to say that legislation concerning the compensation of victims of industrial accidents and diseases has been revised favourably and that the new law on this subject constitutes important progress.

Basing ourselves on the experience which we have acquired in our country, we should like to give you our opinion on certain points raised in the document submitted to us by the Director-General. As he has already done in his two former Reports, the Director-General has once again emphasised the important problem of productivity. He states, with reason, that the increase in production is one of the principal means of diminishing the tension which exists in the economic field, and of maintaining and even raising the standard of living of the workers. This statement contains the idea that a part of the increase in profits resulting from the rise in production should go to the workers, and because of that their part of the national income must necessarily increase. The workers welcome this point of view with real satisfaction.

But we are certainly far from the application of this principle, and that is what I would like to talk about briefly. The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation has laid down that the aim to be attained in Europe is a general increase in production of 25 per cent. during the next five years. In principle, everyone may be in agreement with this objective and may promise collaboration to bring it about. But everyone must be convinced also that it will not be attained except with the full collaboration of the workers.

In all countries where committees exist for the increase of productivity, trade union organisations have, without hesitation and among the first, granted their collaboration. They do not hesitate even to risk unpopularity in attempting to convince the workers of the necessity for making a great effort to increase their productivity. But the workers, who are realists, often wonder what may be the immediate consequences for them of an appreciable increase in production. They are worried because too often an increase in production means unemployment for many of them.

This worry is legitimate, particularly in my country where, in spite of the boom brought about by rearmament in industries working for defence, the working class has suffered

appreciable unemployment. Thanks to this policy of rearmament, certain of our industries are now going through a period of great prosperity. The profits they are making are constantly and greatly increasing. Furthermore, our trade balance is very favourable. All this leads superficial observers to place Belgium among the rich countries and among those going through a period of economic prosperity.

There is, nevertheless, an evident contradiction between such a judgment and the true facts. We must never forget that Belgium is permanently unable to offer work to some 12 per cent. of its manpower. Such a state of affairs enables us to understand better the uneasiness and even the unfavourable reactions of our workers when we speak to them of the need for increasing production by 25 per cent.

It must be understood that the working class of Belgium does not refuse to make a supplementary effort, but it asks that the increase of production shall not be made in such a disordered way that the workers shall be its victims.

The Director-General states in his Report that the increase in workers' productivity must not have as its only aim the quicker attainment of the objectives laid down by the policy of common defence, but that it must also protect the standard of living of the working class against any reductions, and in so far as possible it should even raise this standard.

Unfortunately it seems to many workers, and more particularly to those who are unemployed, that such statements are platonic and are not reflected in fact. The Governments and the employers should understand that they can only obtain the active collaboration of the workers to increase production on condition that all the necessary measures are taken to combat unemployment and to ensure permanent full employment. If such measures are not taken not only can they not count on the collaboration of workers, but they must, on the contrary, expect strong resistance from them to all the efforts undertaken. A policy of full employment appears, moreover, as something possible when one thinks that throughout the world millions of human beings are hungry and lack not only the useful things of life but even the essential things for the normal life of man.

The problem of unemployment, which has such tragic aspects on the economic and on the social plane, can find a happy solution if each one exercises his best will to solve it and if true international co-operation is established. The I.L.O. must, in our opinion, play a particularly active role in this field. We know that the policy of rearmament has rendered the increase of production a problem of very particular acuteness, but it would be dangerous to neglect the reactions of the workers and to misjudge their anxieties.

We must first of all create confidence.

To arrive at that it is essential to solve the concrete problems which we now face. Since the questions that we have raised have an important professional aspect, it is desirable that the Industrial Committees should be informed of them as soon as possible. Direct

contact between employers and workers in these Industrial Committees, with a view to studying particularly the social aspect of the increase in productivity, could facilitate the full collaboration of workers in the necessary efforts undertaken in this domain. Therefore, we address an urgent appeal to the employers to press forward, with us, the work of the Industrial Committees. They will thus help us to accomplish a task, the difficulties of which should not be underestimated.

Another situation which leads also to unfavourable reactions on the part of the workers is the disequilibrium which we find on the economic and social levels, and the fact that this policy allows certain industries to make exceptional profits, which gives advantages to a category of people who deserve no personal credit for the state of things thus created. One finds, moreover, that the rearmament policy has certain bad consequences on the standard of living of the workers and that it is too often used to justify a slowing down of social policy.

We can, we think, summarise in three points the evil consequences for the workers of such a policy : (1) a reduction of the buying power of wages following the increase in prices ; (2) a limitation of consumption due to import difficulties ; (3) a reduction of investments of a social character.

We must not, therefore, be astonished that, face to face with such a state of affairs, protests should arise, particularly at the fact that the policy practised in most countries permits some to be in a privileged situation and to make exceptional profits, and others to suffer a reduction in their living standards. The workers demand that costs, like profits, shall be equitably divided and that everyone shall be on the same level of equality.

To do this, the taxation of exceptional profits resulting from rearmament is necessary in all countries, exceptional profits being understood in the widest sense of the term, that is to say, also those of enterprises which profit indirectly from the rearmament policy. And let not the employers come and tell us that the increase of taxation on exceptional profits resulting from rearmament production will result in the employers no longer having any interest in intensifying their production effort. If this were so it would be tantamount to saying that the employers are not interested in the national defence, that they are not interested in raising the standard of living of the workers, but are exclusively preoccupied with their own profits. This, I do not doubt, would be considered by the great working classes which constitute everywhere the majority in modern nations as a condemnation of the régime of private initiative and of competition which employers never cease to extol.

It is the duty of Governments to take such steps. They could thus eliminate, if not completely at least in part, the bad consequences for the workers of the rearmament policy which I have just mentioned. The Governments could then practise a social and economic policy of a progressive nature for they would have at their disposal new financial resources.

Such a policy could then tend to promote a general increase in productivity, for the

workers' sense of justice would thus be satisfied and the cost of the defence programme would be equitably divided.

We believe that a policy of equality and social justice is more than ever necessary, but one regrets to observe that the situation at present is altogether different. Most Governments and employers, hiding behind the necessities of rearmament, have stiffened their opposition to the workers' claims. They follow a policy of stopping all social progress and it often happens that the workers must use their trade union power to avoid a regressive social policy being practised. Such an attitude is incomprehensible and even dangerous for the defence of our democratic countries. Therefore, I address a direct appeal to employers to examine the dangers of their policy, and ask them to review their position.

A certain social tension exists from the fact that many promises made to workers at the end of the war are today being questioned. We do not ignore the fact that these promises were made at a time when the power of the workers' organisations had increased and when workers were needed for the reconstruction of national economies. It was possible to obtain this social peace only by assuring social security to the working masses or, at least, by allowing them to envisage its rapid realisation.

Today, unfortunately, a new danger of war is threatening us. It must not give rise to a renewal of social conservatism. This, however, appears to be manifesting itself at present, on both the national and the international level. It seems that at the moment the I.L.O. is prevented from carrying out its role as a promoter of social progress and the realisation of the social objectives which were assigned to it by the democratic world after the war. If this situation persists, the workers will soon lose the confidence that they had placed in organisations based on the co-operation of Governments, employers and workers. Such an eventuality could very well imperil our democratic institutions, for the workers would then seek other means of ensuring the social justice which they desire so ardently.

It would be no use preparing military mobilisation if the morale of the working masses were to be undermined by the prospect of being the first and only victim of such a policy. A great effort must be made to allow the I.L.O. to carry out its magnificent mission and thus to satisfy the aspirations of the peoples towards happiness and greater well-being. In order to obtain this result, it is necessary that the I.L.O. should succeed in convincing Governments and employers of the justice of the ideas that I have set forth : first, every attempt made with a view to increasing production must include a guarantee for the workers that such an increase of production will be accompanied by a betterment of their standard of living and that all steps will be taken to avoid the establishment or an increase of unemployment ; secondly, excess profits resulting from rearmament must be returned in their entirety to the national community, to which employers also belong, through appropriate taxation ; thirdly, rearmament can in no way justify, under any pretext, any slowing down in social progress.

It is because such a large number of Governments are now hiding behind the international situation that we are obliged to launch a vibrant appeal to all sincere democrats to help us to bring to fruition the ideas that I have just set forth. We hope that all the States Members of the I.L.O. will hear this appeal, and that it will be possible for all of us together to ensure to our populations both liberty and well-being.

Interpretation : Mr. SOBERÓN (*Government delegate, Cuba*)—As Government delegate of Cuba, I intend, in the name of my Government, to examine the points which in my opinion deserve particular attention in this discussion of the Director-General's very fine Report. Of course, in the short space at our disposal, owing to the application of Article 14 of the Standing Orders, it is impossible to speak at any great length. Nevertheless, I must comment, even though briefly, on the document before us and also give expression to my Government's interest in examining this description of the views and policies of the I.L.O. as applied to the needs of my country.

I agree with the Director-General when he says that the activities of the I.L.O. since its establishment have been manifold and that its policy and action have been adapted to the changing situation, but we consider that the influence of the Organisation has not yet been able to reach a number of Member countries and thus employers and workers in these countries are not yet in a position to conclude agreements which will make it possible to apply the provisions of the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944, which lays down that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity".

It is encouraging to observe that the I.L.O. brings to the peoples which request it the experience of its technical studies so as to promote economic, political and social welfare among the workers, to provide them with a higher standard of life and to make available the technical training required in any industrial development. Thus it is possible efficiently to train citizens and peoples so that they are able to face any contingency.

The experience obtained from discussion and study at successive conferences has not been wasted. The I.L.O. collects this experience and its officials, intelligently led by Mr. Morse, distribute it among the associated countries, with the practical results which we have seen in each case.

As regards the obligations of a constitutional and moral character implied by our membership of the I.L.O., we consider that we comply with them by promoting and applying general principles of social policy such as the protection of the health of the population, supply of food and clothes, provision of opportunities for employment, reasonable conditions of work, and provision of housing and schools even in the most distant parts of the country.

In this last connection we are proud to mention a fine plan now in full development for education in rural districts. This is being undertaken by our present Government with

excellent results and great effects on the culture, progress and social advancement of the peasant population.

In the industrial field Cuba, very little industrialised at present, wishes immediately to encourage and develop new industries, and is therefore engaged in a policy of providing for reasonable profits for invested capital, provided such capital does not involve the creation of monopolies or trusts. These impede the application and enforcement of a social policy such as that recommended by the I.L.O.; and, indeed, workers in such trusts are deprived of their rights as such.

As regards increased industrial productivity and its negative effects on the conditions of life of the worker—namely, unemployment and poverty—we would like to quote an example from the sugar industry of our country. This does not produce throughout the whole year, and the introduction of new systems of mechanisation increases daily production and consequently reduces total working hours, so that the workers are deprived of much of the income which they could otherwise have obtained.

Nevertheless we are not opposed to technical progress in industry, and we have further introduced the system of proportional compensation for the worker, both agricultural and industrial. His hours of work may be reduced in total, but he receives payment for super-production to make up the difference. This payment, which is received at the end of the harvest period, is a great benefit to the worker, for if he did not receive it his economic position would be considerably worsened.

In addition to this advantage our sugar workers share in the benefit of an increased price for the product if, when the annual average is calculated, this turns out to be superior to the price on the basis of which wages were actually calculated, and the employers have to make the adjustment and to pay the workers the resulting difference. In fact the worker receives considerable sums which have a notable effect on his standard of living.

I should like to make it clear that our sweet commodity reaches the market under conditions which are unfavourable to us as compared with other producing areas, because neither the costs of production nor the conditions of life in other regions are similar to our own, for we have a high wage level, a social security plan and other advantages for our workers. In this latter respect we consider that to the extent which our possibilities allow we put into effect the policy recommended by the I.L.O. with regard to the introduction of just social conditions.

We have no problems in our country, such as those of some Latin American countries, with regard to indigenous populations, but we consider that the recommendations made by the Office in this regard are very acceptable. As our country is densely populated we have no problems of migration either, but we have a severe Nationality of Workers Act which guarantees that most of the workers in establishments shall be Cubans.

In other industries, such as the tobacco industry, which are of great importance in our

country, we are also striving to raise or stabilise our standards in the same way as in the industries referred to above. In all these plans the working class plays an important part together with the Government, owing to its progressive and dynamic character which enables it to contribute greatly and constantly to national progress.

Nor, in all these plans, have we forgotten to protect women and young workers, and we have constitutionally-based legislation of a most advanced character in these respects. We also have constitutional old-age and invalidity pension arrangements. Thus it will be seen that we are working hard for an improvement in the condition of our people, without distinction of race, opinions, colour or religion.

Cuba has just celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its liberation, for which it fought for over a hundred years, and now, under the guidance of its President, General Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, has double reason for satisfaction and hope, for our President, a bulwark of democracy in the Americas, is intending to continue his social policy in a second term of office, and the brilliant record of his first term is a fine guarantee to us for the future.

I, who represent my Government at this 35th Session of the Conference, am also Director-General of Labour in Cuba, and I would like to tell you that my Government has plans of a progressive character for the future. It is determined to satisfy the just claims of our people, and particularly of the working class. It has at successive Conferences, for instance the one recently held at Petropolis, given ample proof of its attachment to social principles and of its belief in unity, and it constitutes a fine example of the struggle for better conditions of life. Indeed, such ideas and activities are never far from the mind of such an active social worker as General Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar who, faithful to his working-class origin, has always guided his social policy in the light of the claims of the workers for wider and greater social justice.

Of course it is with great emotion that I speak on this occasion. I, too, am a worker. I, too, have participated directly in the social struggles of my country and I share fully the ideology and the policy of my President who, in acting as he does on behalf of the workers, not only pays a tribute to our forefathers who by their efforts secured the freedom which we only recently celebrated but also helps to make America the continent of democracy and liberty.

As a plain indication of what my country has done and will do in regard to the I.L.O.'s endeavours and achievements on behalf of social justice and progress throughout the world, I would like to remind you that after an interval of several years, we have ratified 11 Conventions. This places Cuba at the head of the American countries in the list of ratifications. We have, furthermore, paid all our debts due to the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation: Mr. LE LÉAP (*Representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions*)
—Speaking in the name of the World Federa-

tion of Trade Unions, I must regretfully note with regard to the Report of the Director-General that this document shows some serious omissions and gives an incomplete picture of the economic and social situation of the world.

The world situation is dominated by the progressive transformation, in countries with a capitalist economic system and in the colonial countries, of the economy of peace to the economy of war. The bad effects of this transformation are seen in the lowering of real wages and of social benefits, increase in prices, a considerable increase in tax load, the reduction of goods of current consumption, a general lowering of the standard of living, the over-intensification of the rhythm of work, and the development of unemployment.

But we may note that at the same time as profits are increasing, the industrial and financial powers are receiving enormous privileges and the ruling classes are allowing the whole weight of their policy to fall on the working classes.

It would have been interesting to have read an account of the rise, throughout the capitalist world, of the dissatisfaction of the workers against this policy of misery and of war, and an analysis of the development of the workers' struggles, and I regret that in spite of the observations which had previously been submitted by the W.F.T.U., the Report of the Director-General has remained silent on this point.

These struggles, at the head of which the W.F.T.U. has taken its place faithful to the principles of its Statute, have allowed the workers to gain appreciable successes, but because of the opposition of the working classes to the policy which the capitalist Governments are practising, in order to maintain this policy these Governments have had to have recourse to force, which leads them first of all to violate trade union rights and other liberties of the workers.

I shall try to show clearly the role of the I.L.O. in the defence of trade union rights. At its 31st Session, the I.L.O. adopted Convention No. 87 concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organise, and it also created in March and June 1951 the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association. In numerous countries, and particularly the colonial and semi-colonial countries, workers' rights have been flouted and trade union rights are constantly violated. The violations of the rights and freedom of the workers take various forms which we can classify into a number of categories:

trade unions which are truly representative of the workers but not acceptable to the Governments are prevented from functioning and deprived of any legal public means of expression;

trade union organisations, formed and supported by Governments or employers, are in practice substituted for those which really represent the workers;

trade union organisations are prevented from holding any meetings, even of their own members, and also general meetings of workers, and their press publications, pamphlets and newspapers are seized by the police;

trade union quarters belonging to progressive trade union organisations are occupied on Government orders, and their papers seized ;

the collection of dues for these organisations is forbidden at the same time as direct deductions on workers' wages are made for trade unions which are subservient to the Governments ;

previous authorisation by the public authorities is required for the establishment of trade union budgets ;

workers are forced to declare to employers and public authorities their trade union affiliation ;

the constitution of a central national trade union group bringing together the various existing organisations becomes the object of intervention by Government order and obstacles are placed in the way of any international trade union affiliation ;

the election of trade union leaders or workers' delegates is annulled by the public authorities and persons subservient to the public authorities are put in their place ;

workers' leaders, because of their activities or political opinions, are prevented from standing as candidates for responsible trade union posts ;

workers are deprived of their jobs because of their trade union affiliation or because they are workers' delegates ;

the right to strike is forbidden and sanctions taken against those who, in defending their interests, lead collective stoppages of work ;

workers faithful to progressive trade unions and to their constitutions are arrested, imprisoned or placed in concentration camps under the pretext that they have taken part in subversive activities ;

trade union leaders are assassinated during imprisonment, while others are brought before special tribunals without a possibility of preparing their defence ;

workers are killed by police forces who open fire on manifestations or strikes organised by trade unions ;

Governments refuse entry visas to delegates of progressive trade union organisations, and in particular of the W.F.T.U., even when their purpose is to prepare reports for submission to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations or to participate in conferences to which the W.F.T.U. has been invited by the United Nations or its specialised agencies.

I wish to point out finally the measures taken to prevent the functioning of the W.F.T.U. or the international trade unions which constitute our industrial trade departments, in the places which have been fixed by the international trade unions, and also the measures of censorship taken in certain countries against international trade union publications.

The W.F.T.U. has always denounced, whenever it has known of them, these violations of the rights and liberties of workers. Of all these protests, 19 were transmitted by the Economic and Social Council to the I.L.O. These were all rejected by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and the reasons given to justify these rejections sometimes show an undisguised contempt for the rights of workers. I will give you several examples.

The W.F.T.U. accused the Italian Government of being responsible for the death of nine workers during a strike at Modena in January 1950. We received a reply that there had been no contravention of trade union rights as such, and the report says: "The only complaint that the complainant has set forth is that bloody reprisals were exercised against the workers in the legitimate exercise of their trade union rights". Considering, no doubt, that using force to break a strike was no infringement of trade union rights, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. decided that the complaint did not call for further examination.

When the W.F.T.U. accused the British Government of being responsible for the deaths of 21 miners in Nigeria on 18 November 1949, the I.L.O. declared that the responsible officer had "committed an error of judgment in difficult circumstances". It considered that "the police, in their efforts to maintain order, did not prevent the exercise of the right to strike or any other fundamental trade union right, and that the facts alleged did not constitute, even if they were proved, an infringement of trade union rights".

The I.L.O. dared to affirm, in spite of a declaration by the British Government according to which orders had been given to break the strike, a declaration mentioned in the same report a few lines earlier, that "the police did not intervene to break the strike but only to maintain public order". One might smile if this were not so tragic.

The Committee on Freedom of Association of the I.L.O. had in its hands, on the complaint of the W.F.T.U., the text of the Taft-Hartley Act, which was condemned by the whole of the trade union movement in the United States. It refused to consider this complaint, having recourse to a procedural subterfuge because of the lack of precise information about this or that provision of the law.

Whether it be Greece, the Gold Coast, Uganda, Tunisia, New Zealand, Cyprus, Iran, Egypt, or any other country, the reply has always been the same, and the I.L.O., I am sorry to say, has covered all these violations of workers' rights. It has thereby encouraged all those Governments which practise a policy unfavourable to the workers to pursue and accentuate this policy.

Members of the I.L.O. are not ignorant of the fact that in so doing they do not respect the spirit of this Organisation. Further, when our representative asked the Governing Body for permission to speak on this question, he was given only ten minutes to state his case, without a right of reply, and the public was excluded from the gallery while he spoke, so that no criticism might be heard outside.

A Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission was created to assure the protection of trade union rights. What did it do? According to the Report of the Director-General, on page 115, this Commission can only function with the consent of the Governments concerned, and no Government so far has agreed that the Commission should consider a complaint which concerns that Government. And for good reason.

One word more. The I.L.O. undertook a special enquiry into the conditions of forced

labour in the Suez Canal Zone. What was the result? The Egyptian Minister of Social Affairs denounced to the I.L.O. on 5 November 1951 the acts of constraint and violence which had been committed by the British occupation forces against Egyptian workers in the Suez Canal Zone, thus violating the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the I.L.O., the Declaration of Philadelphia and international labour Convention No. 29, concerning forced labour. The Director-General also received on 7 and 21 November 1951 similar telegrams from various Egyptian trade unions and from 17 trade union leaders.

According to a Governing Body document (No. G.B.118/16/8), "The telegram of the Minister of Social Affairs of Egypt alleged, in particular, that the British Military Authorities had prevented a large section of Egyptian workers in their employment from leaving their place of work by stopping the means of communication between the Suez Canal area and the rest of Egypt and the Sudan and depriving them of access to the normal means of communication with their places of origin; had interned a number of workers in the camps and forced them to work by violence, intimidation and pressure and under heavily armed guards; had collected, with tanks and armoured cars, civilians in Tel-el-Kebir, Ismailia and other centres and had abducted them for work in the camps; and had arrested, interned and abandoned in the desert a number of Egyptian police officers and men because they had declined to assist in pressing the workers into service in the camps."

The Egyptian Ministry had attached to its report lists concerning individual cases in support of the allegations made, and particularly a list of the names of 41 workers who had been interned in camps and forced to work for the British occupation forces.

According to the statements made by workers during the enquiry, these facts were established, and the existence of labour camps guarded by the British troops was noted. The report of the I.L.O., nevertheless, concludes that the accusations were not founded, simply by accepting the denial of the British authorities and their statement that "the armed guards were for the purpose of protecting workmen at work against attempts at intervention by terrorists".

An analogous statement had already been made in 1950 at the time of the examination of the conclusions of the committee of enquiry in Iran.

Is the I.L.O. going to continue much longer to cover up by its silence these crimes committed in broad daylight? The W.F.T.U. has clearly stated that the I.L.O. was incapable of guaranteeing respect for trade union rights. I hope that, in the light of the explanations I have given, every objective spirit will recognise how well founded that opinion is.

Thus, the W.F.T.U. has directed its action towards the workers for the defence of their rights and their freedom of association and, conscious of the force which is given to the working class by unity, it renews its appeals for united, solid and fraternal action on the part of all.

Having already pointed out that in colonial and dependent countries workers can only hope to receive substantial and lasting betterment of their conditions in the measure in which they first of all obtain their national independence, it underscores, at the same time, the true solidarity of the workers in those countries with those of the metropolitan countries.

Mr. Acharya, the Indian trade union worker and member of the I.C.F.T.U., has declared that the nationalism which practically constrained colonialism to retreat will compromise peace and prosperity in Asia if it is not fought and neutralised.

I wish to affirm for my part that peace and prosperity in the world can only be preserved if the rights of peoples to dispose of their own lives are respected—a principle laid down in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations but which no capitalist power respects.

On the other hand, I note with satisfaction that Mr. Oka, the Japanese Workers' delegate, stated in his speech that the workers of his country are united against rearmament and repression, conscious that only by a fight can they safeguard their rights. I observe the same spirit in the words of Mr. Torres, the Bolivian Workers' delegate; he likewise proclaimed that the workers cannot achieve their goals unless they fight, and pointed out that the I.L.O. had taken no action on behalf of the workers of his country, whose rights had been trodden underfoot.

Addressing myself to the workers of the world, far beyond the precincts of these walls, I want to remind them of the agreement which was come to in 1945 on the basis of a statement of claims drawn up by the World Federation of Trade Unions with the participation of trade unions of every political and religious tendency. The W.F.T.U. has never ceased to strive for the attainment of these claims. It responds to the hopes of all workers and once more calls on them to join in a fraternal struggle for the protection of their common interests, for the raising of their standard of living, for the defence of their rights and freedom, for the safeguarding of peace.

Mr. TAMBA (*Government delegate, Liberia*)—In the name of the Government of the Republic of Liberia I take pleasure in extending to all of you here assembled, and through you to your respective Governments and peoples, hearty greetings.

Since the first world war, man's sense of humanity and of social justice has undergone a revolutionary change. The maxim *homo homini lupus est* has lost a great deal of its frightening truth. The Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations in December 1948 have both given the workers and individual man their rightful place in human society. No longer is the welfare of a given community the sole and exclusive concern of that community. It has become a question of "all for one and one for all", as we in Liberia so strongly maintain.

The lucid and most informative Report of our Director-General has given a portrayal of world events and conditions that cannot but

bear witness to the industry of the Director-General and his able co-workers; and the amount of mental and physical labour that they evidently put into this Report bespeaks their abiding faith in the International Labour Organisation which is dedicated to the historic task of laying the basis for the establishment of social justice for all.

On behalf of my Government I want to congratulate the Director-General for this Report and, while not pretending to assume the role of a sort of defence attorney for the Director-General as against the accusations of those who feel that he is partial because he has not branded a certain State with aggressive war aims, I desire to state for the record that we have implicit confidence in the ability and integrity of David Morse; that the International Labour Organisation was created to look after the welfare of the workers of the world, not to engage in political matters or in the evaluation of events in such a manner as to indict one Government or the other for political or aggressive intentions.

Representing as I do a country classed in the category of the "underdeveloped countries", I shall devote my attention to that portion of the Director-General's Report relating to technical assistance.

For the underdeveloped countries this aspect of the work of the International Labour Organisation is of tremendous importance. The Report of the Director-General reveals what a great stride has been made in this direction in many Asian countries, and I can say too that the Government of Liberia has derived great benefits from the assistance which the I.L.O. has given and is giving my country. So great is the importance which my Government attaches to this matter that recently the legislature of my country enacted a statute creating a Co-ordination Board for Technical Assistance, to implement which the Chief Executive of the State issued an Executive Order dated 8 May 1952, paragraph 6 of which provides that: "In order to avoid any overlapping of activities or duplication of efforts, the Board will make certain that there is close co-operation and understanding between programmes engaged upon under bilateral agreements with the United States and programmes to be executed under technical assistance agreements with the United Nations and the specialised agencies".

Strenuous efforts are being made by the Government of Liberia to improve the conditions of the workers and to see to it that they are fairly treated by the employers, and public health facilities are provided either by the Government or the employers in keeping with our Minimum Wage Act of 1943.

To enable our workers to take a full and active part in the economic development of our country, our Government's policy has been directed towards the steady improvement of the condition of the population, especially in the following fields: the elimination of malnutrition, the establishment of free clinics and hospitals in many sections of our country, the establishment of elementary schools throughout our country, the creation of a people's college so as to facilitate the education of adults who because of circumstances beyond

their control could not complete their education and, with the assistance of U.N.E.S.C.O., higher educational facilities are now being provided for our boys and girls. In addition our Civil Service laws and regulations provide for maternity leave with pay for three months.

All this is due to the man who at present enjoys the great honour of directing the affairs of the nation. Thanks to him the cleavage which for one hundred years plagued the people of our country has been bridged. Our indigenous population has been firmly integrated into the body politic and we can now boast of a homogeneous nation, a people united in the common cause of promoting the welfare of our country and directing its destiny along the path of progress.

In this great task of promoting the interests of our people and improving the lot of the workers, my Government has enlisted the active co-operation of the specialised agencies. Our men are being trained by the World Health Organization; they are being trained by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation; and last but not least, by the I.L.O. We, on our part, are endeavouring to co-operate with the technical assistance missions or experts sent to assist us; our Government is mindful of the fact that "the purpose of technical assistance is to aid, not to replace, action by sovereign States".

On the whole, while it cannot be said, nor am I claiming, that everything is rosy in my country, the impartial student of Liberian affairs cannot but admit that within the past eight years our country has achieved a tremendous lot in our political, social and economic life.

The loan which my country owed the Finance Corporation of America, and the servicing of which constituted a major burden on our taxpayers, has been liquidated recently. We have recently made constitutional and statutory changes that place the women of the country on equal footing with men in all spheres of our national life; and we contemplate legislation to adopt the principle of "equal pay for work of equal value for men and women". We continue to expand our health services and our fundamental education facilities with the assistance of U.N.E.S.C.O. We are now overhauling our entire labour legislation with a view to developing a comprehensive Labour Code, in keeping with international labour standards, which will enable us to ratify more I.L.O. Conventions in the near future.

My Government realises, however, that we alone, unaided, cannot achieve the great goal of fully improving the lot of our people or of attaining that degree of material and cultural progress which will ensure to our people, and to the workers in particular, a life free from want and void of ignorance. We need and shall continue to request the co-operation of other democratic and friendly nations of the free world, provided that any assistance or co-operation which may be extended to us shall not serve as the basis for undue interference in our internal affairs.

I am gratified to state that the representatives of the specialised agencies who are working in Liberia have not lost sight of this

fact. They are operating in close co-operation with my Government and rendering invaluable services in their respective fields. Under our bilateral agreement with the Government of the United States the latter has also meticulously observed this principle of non-interference.

On page 25 of his Report, the Director-General states that "It is, by definition, in underdeveloped countries that investment for economic development is of the greatest importance. These are also the countries in which it gives rise to the most difficult problems." This view is shared and highly appreciated, I should think, by all those who come from underdeveloped countries like my own. In my own country we have always felt that in order to facilitate the development of our vast untapped natural resources we must grant concessions to foreign investors to explore and exploit them, and we have granted such concessions on the most liberal terms. One concrete result of this policy of my Government is the opening of the iron ore mine which now employs thousands of Liberians. Such was, and is, the one-million acre concession we granted to the Firestone Rubber and Tire Company of Akron, Ohio, in 1926. As that time people in other countries unacquainted with our difficulties and problems thought that we were not economically minded; that we were being exploited by the concessionaire; perhaps our critics were right, but today, as a result of the incentives given by this Corporation, many of our people are now themselves owners of large rubber plantations. Moreover, thousands of formerly unemployed Liberians have found work on the plantations.

We shall continue, as a matter of policy, to encourage foreign investments and the granting of foreign concessions in all cases where Liberians are not yet able to explore and exploit the potential natural resources of our country. We guarantee protection to investors and concessionaires of all investments and concessions, but our guarantee shall not take the form of suppression of the legitimate rights of the workers. We shall require all investors or concessionaires to provide healthy working conditions and to comply strictly with the provisions of our minimum wage law in all cases and at all times.

In the name of the Government and people of Liberia and in the interest of world peace and security I wish to seize this opportunity to appeal to the Great Powers represented here. The handwriting on the wall seems to presage another far more devastating global conflict between the so-called East and West. I appeal to you to use all the means at your command to prevent the outbreak of a third world war.

War for us in the underdeveloped countries means a deterioration in the political, social, economical and cultural condition of our respective countries; it means starvation, a return to the gloomy path of ignorance; it undermines the political control of our Governments, draining the resources of our employer class and depriving the workers and peasants of their means of livelihood; it means the re-creation of conditions of labour involving injustice, hardship and privation to large num-

bers of the peoples of the world—the very antithesis of the object for which the I.L.O. was founded.

We in the underdeveloped countries dread a third world war because, primarily, war, if it should come, must involve first of all the Great Powers which have contributed so generously to the United Nations and the specialised agencies, and thereby make it impossible for technical assistance to be rendered to the underdeveloped countries, including my own. War, if it should come, will mean the draining of the natural resources of those Great Powers and consequently the immediate cessation of technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

We in the underdeveloped countries find it difficult to understand why—just eight years ago this month—you summoned us to San Francisco and held forth the hope to us that never again would the peoples of the world be plunged into another colossal carnage; why now have you apparently brushed aside all of your high-sounding phrases about lasting peace and security and embarked upon an armaments race that is bound eventually to set the world ablaze?

We in the underdeveloped countries want peace, although not peace at any price; we want the security which you solemnly promised us—peace and security from fear and want.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O. speaks about labour conditions which tend to imperil the peace and harmony of the world. In vast areas of Asia and Africa conditions do exist which are really festering sores on the otherwise healthy body of democracy. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which I have already referred, the peoples of the world reaffirmed their faith in "fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women" and they professed their determination "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". But can we sincerely speak here about "social justice" or "larger freedom" when a large segment of the human family—in Asia and Africa—remain in political and economic bondage?

In the Union of South Africa today Africans and Asians are being oppressed, suppressed, persecuted and sometimes murdered because they claim social, economic and political freedom and equality; in other words, because they demand social justice, which the I.L.O. claims to be the foundation of lasting peace. We read of the arrest and imprisonment in South Africa of trade union leaders, we read about the enactment of discriminatory legislation because of racial reasons only—all in utter violation of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of this Organisation. If lasting peace is really the I.L.O. way, and in view of the fact that the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law", then let the I.L.O. declare itself against the inhuman treatment of the African and Asiatic workers in South Africa.

I thank you for your patience in listening to these brief remarks. I now desire to conclude in the words of the President of Liberia when on 7 January 1952, he stated: "Because of our abiding conviction in the United Nations Organisation as a great available medium for the achievement of international understanding, goodwill and co-operation—the true and firm basis of universal peace and happiness—we shall seek to observe the commitments and discharge the responsibilities assumed by us as a signatory to its charge We shall also endeavour to co-operate with and contribute to most of its specialised agencies that seek to unite the nations and obliterate want, ignorance and backwardness on an ever-increasing scale, within the limits and to the extent of our ability and resources."

Interpretation: Mr. COWLEY (*Employers' delegate, Cuba*)—The Cuban Employers' representatives, who always attend sessions of this Conference with a very open mind, thereby bearing out our democratic traditions and labour practices, are pleased on this occasion to tell Mr. Morse how much we admire his realistic survey of the economic situation, which does not fail to take into account the interdependence of financial and social questions.

To avoid inflation and check the increase in the cost of living, both of which reduce the purchasing power of the worker and bring national economies to the verge of collapse, we agree that two remedies must be sought—intensification of industrial production and of agricultural production, particularly as regards foodstuffs, an abundance of which will make for healthy peoples and prices within their reach.

In accordance with this type of economic policy, Cuba has increased its sugar production this year to over six million metric tons, or more than that of the whole of Europe west of the "iron curtain". The food value of sugar is very great owing to its high carbohydrate content, and a pound of sugar contains 1,873 calories. At the same time, its low price makes it the cheapest foodstuff in proportion to its nutritive value. Sugar in various forms accounts for one-seventh of the 3,000 calories which the average individual consumes in the United States and Canada.

The economy of our small nation depends to a large extent on international trade. Apart from customs barriers, which frequently protect artificial industries of no great importance in world exchanges, we are now faced with the problem of hard and soft currencies. My country, whose currency is at parity with the dollar, has had to conclude agreements with Great Britain, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany to organise the sale of specified products like sugar and the purchase of others, but this has been done by proper commercial methods and not by means of barter.

Nature has chosen the two products which it is most appropriate for Cuba to specialise in and to place on the world market, *i.e.*, tobacco and sugar. Both of these depend on particular climatic conditions—the composition of the soil, humidity, rainfall, and vegetation, as well as on more than a century

of technical and manual experience. It is curious that the sugar industry, which started with slave labour, making a luxury product used for sweetening only, has been able to change itself into an activity where the labour conditions, both at the agricultural and at the manufacturing stage, may be compared to or even exceed the best in the most highly industrialised and socially developed countries.

In this industry Cuban workers have paid holidays of one month for 11 months worked, which accrue without any requirement as regards a minimum or consecutive period of employment. They earn 3 pesos 14 centavos per eight-hour day, *i.e.*, 13.50 Swiss francs. Outside harvest-time the working week consists of four days but the worker is paid as for a 48-hour week.

In view of the rapid increase in our population, partly due to the low death rate, we have had to increase and diversify our industrial production, and we now produce a considerable amount of textiles (cotton and rayon). With the aid of insecticides, we can now grow cotton ourselves, so that we shall soon cover domestic demand and shall no longer have to import cotton as a raw material.

At the first meeting of the Committee on Work on Plantations, held in Indonesia, it was possible to compare objectively living and working conditions in the various regions growing tea, rubber, coffee and sugar; and it was found that these differ to such an extent that unfair competition results.

Some delegates claim that the term "plantations" should mean tea, rubber and coffee estates only, since in the Asian view sugar and tobacco are family crops. This is a gross error, as Cuba pointed out in our reply to the I.L.O. questionnaire. We hope that the Office will provide a clear definition of plantations, and we do not doubt that non-American plantation owners will soon bring clear evidence of a big improvement in their labour conditions. It would be desirable for the second meeting of the Plantations Committee to be held in America so that systems of labour and cultivation could be compared.

Labour conditions in Cuba have followed such a sharply upward course since 1933 and Cuban institutions and social legislation are of such an advanced nature that the time seems to have come to undertake, with due regard for a healthy national economy, the task of revision and consolidation, leaving further social advances for a time when countries competing with our products in the world market follow an identical policy of improved working conditions.

In certain sectors of our industry we see methods of payment which are based on the arduous and casual nature of the work to be done and which, through an improper use of trade union powers and the need for exports, go well beyond our economic possibilities. In certain circumstances, for instance, our dock-workers receive daily wages equal to the general minimum monthly wage. In fact, in the Cuban ports abnormal practices are still being carried on which were adopted during the war and which are incompatible with a peacetime economy.

As for the arduous nature of certain tasks, we must point out that the modern mechanical equipment which has been installed in the harbours and on board ship has simplified and reduced to an extraordinary extent the effort required of the workers. The constant increase in the volume of shipping has also reduced the occasional nature of this work.

It should be noted that the minimum wage of a dockworker for a normal working day of eight hours reaches 8 pesos, to which must be added payment for the statutory rest period and the extra amount due by reason of the fact that for a 44-hour week the worker is paid as for a 48-hour week, making a total daily wage of over 9.50 pesos.

Bearing in mind the fact that dock labour is, for the most part, carried out "by the job", it will be seen that, with an eight-hour working day, a stevedore can earn over 50 pesos a week.

The best argument against casual labour and its effects is demonstrated by the basis on which income tax is paid; income tax is payable by all residents of the country with a minimum income of 1,200 pesos a year, the employer being required to deduct income tax from wages; it is obvious that the great majority of dockworkers earn this minimum or more.

Moreover, the trade union requirements, instituted during the war and maintained during peace, which I mentioned above, adversely affect the development of the general economy of the country and, consequently, the welfare of the workers themselves.

Within the good sound policy, advocated in the Report of the Director-General, for

the diversification of manufactured goods and agricultural produce, employers have attempted to increase productivity and exports of fruit and vegetables.

This effort has been vain because the cost of handling these goods in the ports in many cases exceeds the value of the product or the fruit concerned. This leads to the total paralysis of activity at the workplaces and to serious unemployment, which, in turn, has a grave effect on our economic interests and is injurious to the country.

The development of industry and agriculture contributes to the creation of riches and the fight against unemployment, but, for this, understanding and co-operation by the workers is essential.

The present activities of the employers in my country are directed towards this end. We have therefore exercised the right conferred upon us by Article 69 of the Constitution and created the National Confederation of Employers for the economic and social purposes authorised by law. Through this Confederation we hope to achieve just and equitable social conditions, which will permit the development of our industries in an atmosphere of peace and concord.

I wish to repeat my congratulations to Mr. Morse for the extraordinarily fine Report he has given us this year, which has inspired so many appreciative comments and promoted a useful exchange of ideas which may be a fruitful source of future achievements.

(The Conference adjourned at 6.15 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Farnik
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Thom	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mrs. Budtz (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Murray Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Rudolph) Mr. Schneider (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Giroud (substitute for Mr. Möri)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Win	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mrs. Krier-Becker (substi- tute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriacopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Bellingham-Smith (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Zempel (substitute for Mr. Kaiser)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substi- tute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Arria (substitute for Mr. Montoya) Mr. Graterol Mr. Ochoa
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
		<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
		<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin (*Saar*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*), Mr. Le Léap (*World Federation of Trade Unions*).

FIFTEENTH SITTING

Saturday, 21 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna*TENTH AND ELEVENTH REPORTS
OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE ¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I shall first call on Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Tenth and Eleventh Reports of that Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Selection Committee, which have been printed and circulated, be adopted.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, the Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Selection Committee are adopted.

(The reports are adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now resume discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. LING (*Employers' delegate, China*)—I deem it my great privilege to attend this session of the International Labour Conference on behalf of my country's employers. I feel especially happy to be here seeing that the employers of my country have not only associated themselves with the work of the Organisation ever since its inception but have also constantly received valuable guidance from the proceedings of past conferences when tackling their own labour and related problems.

The Report of the Director-General provides admirable analyses of the general trends of the current economic and social developments in the world, and gives us a clear account of

the activities of the International Labour Office during the past year without which it would be difficult for us to delineate in this Conference the principal lines of our future work. For this splendid work I wish to congratulate both the Director-General and his able staff.

Nevertheless, I should like to offer two general comments on the Report. In the first place, I think the Director-General's account of last year's activities of the I.L.O. is somewhat too brief to enable the reader to grasp the issues at their full value and to appraise properly the results achieved. To give just one example, the Second Session of the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers was convened in Geneva for two weeks early this year to discuss certain problems affecting the non-manual workers of the world. These problems are of considerable importance not only because they are real problems but also because our Organisation has done comparatively little during its 30-odd years of existence to ameliorate the fate of this particular category of workers. But, regrettably, the Report devotes barely one page to this session of the Committee, and after reading that page one is still left without any precise idea as to what that session actually achieved. The Director-General would have done better by presenting a more detailed account, for after all we receive such a report only once a year and it is mainly from this Report that we can obtain a bird's-eye view of the year's activities of the Office.

Secondly, I cannot but regret that the Report, while containing considerable information on the economic and social conditions in certain countries, should have left those of many other countries completely unmentioned. Among the countries left out are many Asian States Members of this Organisation. It seems all the more paradoxical that, in a report purporting to lay special emphasis on the subject of technical assistance to under-developed countries, the relevant economic

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

and social conditions of such countries nevertheless are not paid proportionate attention. There no doubt exist ample useful data on such countries and I suppose that it primarily rests with the I.L.O. to try to obtain them.

As has been done by many speakers before me, I wish to take this opportunity to review briefly certain aspects of the economic and social conditions in my country. When we talk about China, we cannot, of course, ignore the Chinese mainland, which unfortunately has been seized by force as a result of Soviet aggression. First of all I wish to tell you that Mr. Lu Tso-fu, Employers' delegate of China to the 28th Session of the International Labour Conference, committed suicide early this year after the liquidation of the Min-Seng Industrial Corporation, the largest private shipping enterprise in China, to which Mr. Lu had devoted almost his whole life and which had contributed enormously to the economic development of my country. Mr. O. S. Liu, a leading industrialist in Shanghai and also an Employers' delegate to the San Francisco Conference, after an unsuccessful attempt to take his own life, is now imprisoned by the communists pending liquidation. I cite only these two familiar names to you, but there are hundreds of thousands of employers in China who have fallen victims to communist oppression and persecution.

Following upon the communists' land revolution and the forced sale of the so-called "Victory Bonds" and "Reconstruction Bonds", in the course of which at least 500,000 Chinese employers were punished, impoverished or executed, the communist régime has carried out, since the beginning of this year and with the utmost ruthlessness, a so-called "Five Anti Movement": "anti-corruption, anti-bribery, anti-extravagance, anti-breach of contract with the Government and anti-theft of State property". All these sound like beautiful and plausible phrases but in reality they all turn out to be nothing but pretexts to exterminate the private employers in all branches of industry and commerce. Thousands upon thousands of these employers were arrested on charges of being connected with alleged illegal deals or evasion of taxes. Ruinous fines and even death penalties were imposed. It is estimated that no less than 80 per cent. of all private business and industries were made to suffer a fate worse than bankruptcy.

We here in this Conference have set up a special Committee on Industrial Relations to discuss ways and means to promote labour-management co-operation. Our basic concept is that closer co-operation between these two parties in the industry will lead inevitably to higher production for the employer and better living and working conditions for the worker. However, you will be shocked if I tell you what the Chinese communists are currently doing to eradicate any possibility of such co-operation. They have organised so-called "production committees" in all the industrial cities. These bodies are not used for the promotion of co-operation but as an instrument of class struggle. Shop assistants and workers by hundreds of thousands were organised into "struggle teams" under these committees to

expose the "corrupt practices" of their employers. The employers, helpless victims of forced confessions, mutual accusations, investigations, mass arrests and public trials, were ordered to pay unbearably heavy fines in addition to being given long prison terms or death sentences.

Foreign business interests on the mainland have not fared any better. I have only to recall that it was at the time of such terrorist activities that Great Britain finally came to the decision to liquidate her business interests in all parts of the mainland of China—interests which were valued at over 840 million U.S. dollars.

I could go on for hours and days giving you such instances of communist tyranny but time does not permit me to do so. Nevertheless, from what I have just said it is already as plain as day that under the communist rule incentive to production has completely vanished and there is no sign that private business can even exist.

On the other hand, we employers of Free China take pride in reporting to you that the past year has been one of increased production and further social progress in Taiwan. Through closer co-operation among workers, employers and Government, the production of practically all principal commodities has shown steady increases year after year. At the time of the return of Taiwan to China in 1945, the output of coal was only 794,000 tons for the whole year; in 1950 it rose to 1,400,000 tons, and in 1951 it rose further to 1,760,000 tons. The output of gasoline was 2,480 kilolitres in 1945; it went up to 31,000 kilolitres in 1950 and 80,000 kilolitres in 1951. Such examples of increased production can be multiplied. This general increase in production is due to many factors, but among them the most important one is higher productivity. In this connection, I would like to endorse the Director-General's statement in his Report that "in present conditions higher production must be sought chiefly through increased productivity". As Taiwan is only a little larger than the metropolitan area of the Netherlands, its resources are of necessity limited, and especially so because of the heavy drains upon them resulting from the Government's efforts to strengthen the defence of the island against aggression. In such conditions increase of production can only be sought in an increase in productivity.

This higher productivity is a direct result of the very amicable and co-operative relationships which have happily existed between the employers and the workers. One of the most significant features of the economic conditions in Taiwan has been the great harmony between capital and labour in the past few years. It is achieved because both labour and capital realise that only through close co-operation between them can the interests of both parties, as well as those of the nation, be best served. Last year there were some labour-management disputes in the public and private enterprises in Taiwan, but each of them was quickly settled either through direct negotiation between the employer and the workers or by means of arbitration and mediation in which the Government took part.

Since March 1950 the Government has brought into effect its labour insurance scheme. For the first time in the history of China large-scale labour insurance is successfully carried out. Under this scheme all workers employed in public and private factories, mines, salterns, communications and public utilities in Taiwan are required to be insured against injury, disability, death and old age; in the case of women workers the insurance also covers maternity. Towards the cost of insurance the Government and the workers contribute 20 per cent. respectively, whereas the employer bears the remaining 60 per cent. The premium that the worker has to pay actually amounts to 0.6 per cent. of his monthly wage. Under this scheme the security of the worker has received an additional safeguard. Not only the workers but also we employers feel happy about this important step forward.

In conclusion, I may add that, in keeping with the objectives of the I.L.O., we employers in Free China are exerting all our efforts to co-operate with the workers and our Government to effect greater production and a more equitable distribution so as to enhance the standard of living of the working population and to assure both to the workers and to the employers a fair share of their common labour. We sincerely believe that it is through the strength of social justice that we can effectively combat the subversive activities and tyrannical aggressions that are now threatening the world.

Mr. WILSON (*Employers' delegate, Liberia*)—Speaking for the Employers' group of my country, I wish to associate myself with the speakers who have preceded me in their high praise and congratulations to the Director-General for the broad, informative and practical suggestions made in his Report on present world conditions and those problems that should be of immediate concern to us during this Conference.

The item on the agenda of this Conference to which I have devoted most of my attention and on which I have principally based my brief remarks relates to minimum standards of social security and the contributory responsibility which employers and employees bear to each other.

In our approach to the question, a co-operative and not a controversial attitude should influence our deliberations. The one dominating factor that cannot be overlooked is the indispensable relationship which each bears to the other. In other words, labour without employment is as a horse without a rider and, conversely, capital investment remains static without the machinery necessary to increase or retain its potential value.

The objective therefore should be to find a solution by a process of thorough investigation of the barriers which stand in the way of an assimilation of those two vital and major factors in business intercourse. First and foremost in the process is a fair assessment of each other's just rights, and the adverse circumstances which make difficult, if not impossible, the extension of all the considerations one should give to the other.

The point I desire to make is simply a warning that labour should not insist unconditionally on a steady rise in wages and other securities without regard for setbacks to capital investment, which come in so many forms. Capital and employers on the other hand should be willing to share within a reasonable margin the net benefits accruing to investment in which labour is an indispensable contributing factor.

The "open-door" policy of my country has inspired confidence and a willingness to risk local and foreign capital. The problem now is not so much one of employment as of the demand for higher wages and other social benefits. In this employers are willing to co-operate to the fullest extent to meet the demands of the workers. Yet there is one predominating factor which must enter the picture when considering the employment side of the case, and that is the helpless position in which employers are placed in the inflationary process, which gives them no security for stabilisation in any field of investment. The situation possibly is different in highly developed and industrialised countries where the large margin of net income in any favourable business period can bear the strain and can survive a succeeding business inflation.

The Employers' delegate from my country, speaking at the last session of the Conference, stated among other things that the workers in Liberia are mostly agricultural with primitive standards, and are seasonal workers. I share this viewpoint to a great extent, but wish to add that with the steady increase in business—commercial and industrial—and the technical "know-how" to which our workers are adapting themselves, and with the steady rise in the cost of living, labour is becoming aware of its rights and safeguards in a measure far in advance of the employers' limited capabilities. The employers are willing, and agree in principle, to provide a basis of limited security regulated by the quality of the work and the period of service with the employer.

Our Government delegate has told you of the steps already taken, and also envisaged by the Government to provide extended minimum social security to the working classes, and in a like manner to stimulate the employers' interest in high and more extensive investment so as to open more opportunities for employment.

It is in agriculture that most Liberian employers are investing, and by this effort, with the help of the Firestone Rubber Company and other foreign investments, our unemployment problem is being steadily solved. The regulation of wages and other safeguards to employees constitute a demand on their part which should not overbalance the minimum benefits of capital investment in this field. The employers have, nevertheless, made no attempt to reduce present rates of pay, and in some cases where the shortage of labour threatens suspension of work increases in farm wages over normal rates are offered by employers and paid to ensure the labour supply for the continuance of farming operations.

This process over a number of years constitutes a risky speculation, for the fruits of the investors' labours are exposed to market fluctuation.

tuation, crippling in some instances the enterprising efforts of some farmers. In no case has labour been willing to share these inflationary reverses or to minimise its demands for normal consideration during the period of speculative investment by employers. Employers are, nevertheless, not stressing the point of contribution by labour in this respect, but what we ask for is moderation in demands for consideration, which in some instances exceed the capacity of the employer. As it applies to agriculture, so does it apply to other business enterprises in the country. In approaching this problem, as I mentioned in the first part of this brief speech, a conciliatory and not a conflicting attitude should characterise our relations with each other.

This item on the agenda has been, and is still being, thoroughly explored by the Committees. I have every reason to believe that some formula acceptable to workers and employers will finally be worked out before the adjournment of this Conference, and I hope that the States Members will find no difficulty in agreeing to it.

The employers of my country are grateful for the technical assistance which has been made available by the I.L.O.; also for the assistance of the United States and for fellowships and scholarship grants now being made available by other friendly countries to Liberian students. These are plain indications of real goodwill and a desire to raise our standard of economic security so that our contribution to the ever-expanding efforts of the I.L.O. and the United Nations will be more outstanding and impressive.

Peace at home in every State Member of this Organisation lays the basis for world peace, and this can only come about by mutual understanding and satisfactory co-operation between all the elements of which the population of the country is composed. Our sympathy and respect for the workers and our determination to extend increased security and compensation for their services will be of paramount concern to us, and we hope in the meantime that a like spirit of co-operation will be extended to us by the workers.

I thank you for the opportunity of making this brief statement to the Conference in the name of the employers of Liberia.

Mr. THOM (*Workers' delegate, Australia*)—At the outset I congratulate Mr. de Segadas Vianna on his election as President of this 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. His outstanding work as Minister for Labour, Industry and Commerce in the United States of Brazil has well fitted him to guide this Conference in its deliberations and we know that he will ably assist in making the work of this Conference a milestone in the history of labour relations.

As a delegate who has not previously represented his country at an International Labour Conference, I approach this discussion of the Director-General's Report knowing that many of the delegates here are so well versed in the matter of international labour problems that I find it difficult to compete in making a contribution to this discussion that will be of value in helping to solve the many problems

that confront the International Labour Organisation.

On behalf of the Australian workers' delegation, I commend the Director-General and his staff on the comprehensive nature of the Report and the fund of information submitted under each of the headings outlined. This shows that a great volume of the work provided for in the Constitution of the I.L.O. has been carried out and that many plans for future extension of this work are in hand.

Recognising the wide ambit of work that must be accomplished to give full effect to the aims and objects of the I.L.O., and the necessity of having a maximum membership of States, it is pleasing to know that the number of Member countries is gradually increasing. It is only by having all nations or States as Members and represented at these conferences that the greatest possible progress can be made to achieve the objects of the Constitution.

This will also help to insure that all States Members will progress towards a full measure of social justice which, ultimately, will flow from the adoption of humane conditions of labour particularly for those people who in the earlier years of our history have borne the yoke of depression only because there was no body such as the International Labour Organisation to give a lead by means of international discussions and decision and to bring before nations the very great value of bettering the working and living conditions of their people.

The Director-General's comments and conclusions in regard to the economic position sound a warning that unless many countries are able to adapt their economies to the rapidly changing circumstances of the present time there will be little or no prospect of improving working and living standards generally in the near future.

Much has been said about greater productivity being one of the main factors that would ensure a stable economy. Many suggestions have been made as to how this should be achieved, but whilst more profit for the employer is at present the greatest driving force in the urge for more production, it cannot be expected that workers will be willing to exert their best efforts to assist in achieving greater productivity.

The great value that would accrue from better relations being established between employers and workers has not been fully taken advantage of and in my humble opinion this will be a very substantial factor in any drive for greater productivity.

When the expression "better relations between employer and employee" is used it should be understood in its widest possible terms, so much so that if it is to be of any value it can only be described as complete co-operation between employer and worker.

Two very good examples of how greater production was achieved arose during the early period of the last war, when it became the responsibility of all sections of the people to sink their differences of opinion in regard to industrial matters and co-operate to a maximum extent in order that the lives of their people should be saved and their countries and nationalities be preserved.

In the first instance production committees were formed on which worker and management were represented. Information regarding methods of production was conveyed to workers and their suggestions regarding improved methods of production accepted in many cases. They also knew that whilst their wages were pegged their employer's profits were limited and that in fact the nation was being helped rather than the individual gaining from the increase in production.

In many countries extraordinary efforts were exerted through the full co-operation of management and worker, not only to equip efficiently all sections of their armed services but also to produce sufficient primary products to sustain and clothe their civilian populations and finally to bring about an early and successful termination of the war.

The second instance also shows clearly how co-operation on a national scale was responsible for overcoming a grave difficulty caused by the extra production required in Australia during the early period of the last war.

When the target of war production was fixed it was found that there were insufficient tradesmen to perform the skilled work necessary to produce the huge quantities of material required for war purposes, and at the same time provide for the civilian population.

The co-operation of employers and unions was sought by our Government to introduce a scheme whereby unskilled workers were allowed to perform some of the simpler work at that time carried out by tradesmen.

In order that tradesmen's jobs should be protected when normal times returned the Government enacted legislation which provided for the machinery to give effect to the agreements reached, between employers and unions, on this matter.

This machinery provided for committees of employers and unions presided over by a Government chairman to be set up in each State to deal with local matters and for a Commonwealth Committee similarly constituted to deal with policy and references from the State committees.

This scheme of co-operation between employers and unions was found to be so effective that on the termination of the war the legislation was amended to allow young men who had spent their youth in the fighting services, thus losing the opportunity of becoming tradesmen, to receive practical training in industry and also to receive technical training necessary to equip them properly as skilled tradesmen.

It can be readily seen from these two examples I have quoted that when a national crisis occurred the only way it could be overcome was to seek to obtain co-operation of employers and employees at the national level. This was accomplished during the war period; therefore it would be just as effective in times of peace.

If greater productivity is one of the main factors in meeting the present economic difficulties, and I agree that it is, I suggest that Governments should hasten to obtain maximum co-operation between employers and workers and so allow workers to play their part in increasing productivity without having to

fear that this will only bring extra profits to the employer and jeopardise the worker's job because of over-production.

We have noted with interest the section of the Director-General's Report which states that "there is no one secret of higher productivity" and that "action to promote higher productivity needs to be taken simultaneously along a number of different lines".

Special importance is attached to certain factors and one of these is the "adequacy of incentives to higher productivity afforded by the system of remuneration in use".

Experience of incentive systems or payment by results has shown in Australia that production considerably increases under these schemes; and whilst our workers are mindful of the necessity for adequate production for the welfare of the nation they also realise from experience that incentive payments or payment by results can, with the rapid development of industry, become a menace to continuity of employment and the security of the worker.

One cannot help but point to the textile industry throughout the world today as one of the industries that has for many years operated under incentive payment systems. In several countries, including Australia, over-production has occurred and many thousands of textile workers have become unemployed.

The same may be said of the radio and light electrical appliance industries in our country in which, because of the light nature of the work, incentive payments are largely in force.

It has been said that one of the causes of over-production in these industries has been the operation of incentive payments which encourage the workers to compete with one another in producing more, and yet they only receive a slightly higher rate than workers paid on a time basis.

Through humanity being what it is, we have witnessed, where incentive schemes have been introduced, the unfortunate situation of worker competing with worker to maintain his or her employment and so in fact becoming part of the machine of production, thus losing that dignity of the individual to which every human being is entitled.

Arbitration laws prescribing incentives and payment by results do not and cannot adequately deal with the many abuses that can occur under these systems.

Whilst legislation does govern conditions of payment and quotas under which such systems operate, it cannot govern the human instinct of workers forced by economic circumstances and assisted by unscrupulous employers to over-produce to such an extent that they cause mass unemployment.

In regard to this matter I wish finally to say that as all countries are already heavily committed to the pursuit of a progressive social policy and as the United Nations, under Article 55 of its Charter, is pledged to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development, it is difficult to visualise in these objectives any place for incentive payments unless they are strictly controlled on a national basis.

It is pleasing to read in the Director-General's Report of the efforts of the I.L.O. in assisting to prepare legislation in the fields of industrial hygiene and safety, workers' compensation, employment contracts, wage determination, conditions of work of women and young workers, weekly rest, holidays with pay, workers' welfare and recreation, labour inspection and living-in conditions in agriculture.

Such subjects as mentioned are already controlled by legislation in Australia, but after many years of experience in these fields it has been found that much has yet to be achieved.

It is a source of satisfaction that some of the matters mentioned are being dealt with at the present conference and, no doubt, the ultimate decisions on such subjects will form a very important guide to the future moulding of labour legislation for underdeveloped countries and will assist to rectify anomalies in the existing legislation of other countries.

Much commendation is due to the I.L.O. for providing fellowships to enable selected persons to study, at first hand, labour legislation of the more advanced countries in order that they will be able to advise Governments on the introduction or extension of such legislation. In connection with this matter I wish also to add that the Electrical Trades Union of Australia is proud to say that one of our younger officers, Mr. John D. Keenahan, has been awarded the first Australian fellowship by the I.L.O.

The publication of a revised edition of the International Labour Code is also commended as this code has been accepted by many countries as the foundation upon which to build their labour legislation.

One cannot help but agree with the submission of the Director-General in relation to the proper training of labour inspectors for the effective application of industrial legislation. This aspect is most important because experience has shown even in advanced countries that labour legislation can only be effective according to the ability of Governments to police such legislation and the ability of labour inspectors properly to understand its application.

Having observed the work performed and realising the difficulties encountered in an international conference, where so many languages are spoken and such diverse opinions expressed, we can have no doubt that a grand job is being done in reaching unanimity on many of the subjects discussed. A continuation of this good work during coming years must bring further success to the aims and objects of the International Labour Organisation in spreading social justice to all peoples and thereby ensuring the greatest measure of peace among nations.

Interpretation : Mr. JOUKHADAR (*Government delegate, Syria*)—The Director-General's Report gives us an opportunity to take part each year in a very interesting discussion of an international character where each of us can discuss the points raised in the Report and explain the situation of his own country.

This exchange of information, ideas and experience at the international level is of greater interest in that it is presented by persons of great competence belonging to the various groups

—Governments, Employers and Workers—and it is precisely this tripartite collaboration which distinguishes the I.L.O. from other international organisations.

As the Director-General's Report points out, the I.L.O. has been considered since its establishment as an international platform for the discussion of these problems and as a centre for research and investigation with a view to promoting social progress.

As Government representative of Syria, may I now explain briefly some of the general lines of the economic and social policy of my country?

No social progress can be achieved except within the framework of adequate economic development, and on the basis of this principle Syria, which is an essentially agricultural country, has aimed mainly at development in this field. The successive Governments have always devoted their best efforts to agricultural development. During the past year a series of measures has been taken with this end in view. I would like to mention three in particular, for they are specially important. They relate to the regulation of cotton growing, to the distribution of State lands to the peasants and to the five-year scheme for large-scale works.

Cotton, a new source of national wealth for Syria, represents according to 1951 statistics a sum of 55 million dollars, and makes up about 35 per cent. of our exports. It provides the raw material and gives a basis for existence to the most important of Syria's industries.

The easy and sometimes huge fortunes amassed in Syria in 1949 and 1950 by cotton growers led to over-rapid and over-wide extension of cotton plantations, and the result was that their maintenance and their irrigation suffered greatly. The 1951 crop was disappointing and even catastrophic for many growers, owing to the lack of technical supervision and to the appearance of the cotton worm. In order to preserve this national asset the Government, in agreement with Egyptian experts and with the F.A.O., has issued a series of legislative decrees providing that a special licence must be obtained before cotton may be grown. In this licence, which is issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, the area to be covered and the exact situation of the plantations are specified, and it is issued only after the planter's possibilities have been examined.

A Cotton Office has been established, the function of which is to protect cotton growing and to supervise the operations of ginning, classification, baling and export.

These sensible provisions, which all aim at improving Syrian cotton cultivation, would not have been sufficient had they not been supplemented by other provisions of a more directly economic character.

Thus, the Syrian legislature has concerned itself with the control of the quality of seeds and the prevention of their mixture. A special service of the Cotton Office is competent for the sterilisation of seeds, the classification of cotton, the supervision of export and publicity abroad.

The second of the three measures to which I referred just now is the distribution to peasants of State lands. These make up about four-fifths of all land in Syria. They belong to the State in full property or in possession.

Under previous legislation the Administration of State Lands could only handle land and buildings entered in the real estate register. The operation of registration was in itself a difficult one, and many persons took advantage of the situation to take possession of wide areas belonging to the State but not entered in the register.

The new legislative provisions confirm the squatters' rights in respect of a maximum of 150 hectares in the areas of extensive cultivation and 50 hectares in the other areas, the squatters' rights on the remaining land not being upheld. Furthermore, the new Act authorises the Land Administration to distribute State lands to peasants capable of operating them themselves in exchange for modest payments spread over a period. In this way, any peasant who is fit to do so can operate land.

On the basis of this principle, the new provisions provide for the return to the State of land which has not been developed in the two years following its cession or renting.

This same legislation authorises nomad tribes to develop land outside inhabited regions. There is a vast area of this land fit for development, but previous legislation prevented these tribes from developing any land at all. These provisions deprived the State of the benefit of the labour of part of the population, whereas now it is possible for the nomads to settle down and work on the land.

Most of the peasants who receive State lands are, however, not in a financial position to develop them properly, and consequently an Act has been passed authorising the Agricultural Bank to make them seasonal loans with facilities for repayment. Furthermore, a legislative decree has made the Agricultural Bank responsible for the sale on credit to farmers of machinery and motor pumps. The result of the use of better machines and better technical procedures has been the extension of the cultivated area and the development of agricultural output. The shortage of agricultural labour from which the country suffers has caused an increase in the demand for agricultural machines.

The Agricultural Bank has imported 285 new tractors and 165 motor pumps and began to distribute these last spring.

Thirdly, I would refer to the establishment of a five-year plan of large-scale irrigation works, water supply, the drying of marshes and the equipment of ports. The total cost of this plan is estimated to be 243 million Syrian pounds, distributed as follows: 50 ½ million in 1951, 67 ½ million in 1952, 61 ½ million in 1953, 45 ½ million in 1954 and 18 million in 1955. The Syrian Government is now negotiating with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the granting of a loan to carry out this plan.

I should now like to give some details regarding one of the projects for which the five-year plan makes provision, namely, the draining of the Ghah marshes. This is already fully prepared and work has started. The Ghah is an enormous plain along both banks of the Orontes river to the north-west of Hama. It is 60 km. long and 10 km. wide and has an area of 60,000 hectares. Twenty-five million

Syrian pounds have been earmarked for this work, and the Board charged with the carrying out of the scheme has called for contracts for the draining operations. Several firms submitted offers to undertake the thorough survey necessary. A Netherlands company received the contract and is now operating.

In the industrial field the Government of Syria is continuing to encourage industrialisation and to protect the young industries. It has issued certain Customs regulations with this object and has concluded economic and commercial agreements with various countries. Furthermore, the Ministry of Finance has been authorised to guarantee the loans made by banks to industrial companies provided the sum in question does not exceed half the paid-up capital of the company. The total of these guaranteed loans is 16,510,000 Syrian pounds.

Social reforms have spontaneously accompanied our agrarian and economic reforms. They deal particularly with the protection of public health, the protection of the family and of mothers, the improvement of conditions of life in rural centres and the spread of agricultural instruction. Studies are at present being made and committees of technicians are drafting a code of agricultural labour and a social security scheme to supplement the labour code already in force. My Government will certainly have recourse to the experience and technical assistance of the I.L.O. in these fields.

Such are the main features of some aspects of Syria's economic and social policy. I am sure that we are well on the way to a social and economic recovery which will soon give excellent results.

In conclusion, I express my appreciation for this valuable Report of the Director-General and congratulate the I.L.O. on having at its head such a highly qualified and eminent individual as Mr. David Morse.

Mr. TEDJASUKMANA (*Employers' delegate, Indonesia*)—As the Employers' delegate from Indonesia, I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to give you, in connection with the Report of the Director-General, a picture of conditions in Indonesia and to quote some of our economic and social problems.

I am convinced that the I.L.O. will be able to promote world-wide international interest in our attempts to create social stability in our part of the world; I consider this to be the foundation for any legal democratic order and for free enterprise.

In trying to sketch for you the economic background of Indonesia, I must first draw your attention to the gigantic task which our young Government faces in having to transform the colonial economic structure into one which will embody the national and social aspirations of our 75 million people.

Under the colonial régime, Indonesia was primarily an exporting country, susceptible to world market trends; a country where the standard of living of the masses rose and fell according to the prices of its export goods in the world market; a country where the volume of imports depended to a large extent upon the industrial production of the governing colonial homeland.

In the past two years the Government of our country has taken steps to make Indonesia self-supporting. The plan was, and is, to build up a country which is not only an exporting but also an agrarian and industrial country. The first two years after the transfer of suzerainty by the Netherlands to Indonesia represented a boom period. Our exports found a good and willing market abroad. However, although this period provided for the Government a good opportunity of acquiring foreign exchange, it did not prove so beneficial to the establishment of economic stability in the country itself. Inflation developed, caused at least in part by insufficient imports of many articles of daily consumption. On the other hand, exorbitant wages had to be paid in Indonesian rupiahs, which was of no great advantage to the labourers because all increases in wages were promptly followed by increases in the prices of daily necessities. Furthermore, the importation of non-consumption goods was and still is handicapped, chiefly as far as concerns capital goods, which are so much needed for rehabilitation, for the establishing of new enterprises and utility works. The chief reason for this handicap is the fact that the producing countries are giving preference in many cases to their rearmament programmes.

Referring to a remark in the Director-General's Report which says "Where a country is unable by its own efforts to achieve full employment, other countries should seek ways to help to bring its unemployed resources into production", I may say on the basis of my own experience that the Government of my country welcomes foreign investment.

In this connection it may be useful to give a short review of the lines upon which our Government has decided and which it is following in its programme for the industrialisation of the country.

First, the vital enterprises, in the sense of public utility works, must be Government enterprises. Secondly, enterprises destined by tradition to be run by the autochthonous population must be protected. Thirdly, there are a number of enterprises in which the participation of foreign capital, together with that of Indonesian capital, is encouraged. Fourthly, other enterprises than those mentioned above, including a vast territory for plantations and big industrial enterprises, are encouraged to make use of foreign investment. In addition, elaborate plans exist to open up vast territories for the cultivation of rice, the staple food of our population.

My short sketch of our economic background would not be complete if I did not mention the reverse in our exports since the end of last year.

International regulations have brought about a debacle in rubber prices, and the international price of tin has been to our disadvantage. Attempts from our side to obtain an improvement in these prices have been fruitless. Such a situation has had its repercussions upon other sectors of the country's production and had consequences in the social field.

In speaking about social problems, I must first of all mention that the Indonesian popu-

lation, already physically weakened by centuries of colonial life, has suffered greatly from the war and from its struggles for liberty. Our Government faces not only the heavy task of finding ways of improving quickly the welfare of our population; it also has to tackle the acute problem of bringing back to civil life a great number of guerrilla fighters. This problem the Government hopes to settle by taking steps in the economic and social fields, for instance by opening up big areas of rice-fields, and stimulating the establishing of all kinds of enterprises, small, medium or large, which can employ great numbers of people.

So far as the problem of work is concerned, the Director-General says very rightly in his Report: "The desire for improved conditions of life has often been one of the main causes of the growth of movements for liberation and Governments of newly independent countries have found social policy to be one of their main concerns".

In addition, the Government of Indonesia has embarked rapidly on the regulation of labour problems. The majority of the employers back the politics of the Government and we are trying hard to put the regulations into force in our enterprises. That labour problems occur fairly often, notwithstanding the application of Government regulations and co-operation from the employers' side, must be attributed to the extraordinary economic and monetary circumstances of the country, and particularly to the uncertain situation in regard to prices and wages. Especially since the collapse of rubber prices, the situation has become a dangerous one. Wages for plantation labourers must go down and social improvements must be postponed, although we employers are aware of the fact that the living costs of our workers will not go down and that certain social emoluments, such as sickness pay, provision for old age, housing problems, etc., are necessary. Another point in our social welfare problem is the shortage of rice, involving high prices for this most necessary food.

There is, however, one silver lining to be observed in our cloud of troubles. As an employer I can state that the efficiency of our workers has improved in the recent past. In the harbours and on the majority of plantations it has again reached pre-war level. The Government, however, still maintains the legal seven-hour day which has not, up to the present, been replaced by the very desirable eight-hour day.

One of the points in the Director-General's Report which attracts my special attention is his remarks on co-operation between workers and employers, and its immense importance for social peace and production. As a matter of fact, we in Indonesia really do have experience of how unfortunate any misunderstandings between workers and employers are. The greater part of our misunderstandings can be traced back to racial problems and to political factors. Actually, a considerable number of the employers consist of the commercial circles of the former colonial power, whereas the workers count among them large numbers of the population who in the past few years have actively taken part in the national revolution. It is therefore my firm conviction that co-

operation between workers and employers, especially in a rather young national country like Indonesia, can only be achieved in conjunction with a national sense of unity. This is therefore an opportunity for me to state that at the present moment we employers in Indonesia seek a national platform upon which we shall soon be able to meet the workers without prejudice.

There still remains for me the agreeable task of commenting upon the activities of the I.L.O., especially with regard to specific regions. Bearing well in mind the warning of the Director-General not to anticipate any disparities between different regions of the world, we must nevertheless see that the specific problems and special interests of certain parts of the world are taken into due consideration—and not least those of South-East Asia.

I think that I should be lacking in my task as a delegate to this Conference if I did not put forward my deep conviction that, should there not be in Indonesia a rapid economic development and a corresponding raising of the standard of social welfare, millions of people will increasingly lose their belief in democracy. It is for this reason that I express the hope that the I.L.O. will continue with its regional activities—with those in Indonesia in particular—and, if possible, even increase these activities.

Interpretation : Mr. GARCÍA (*Government delegate, Peru*)—In the name of the Government of Peru I am particularly glad to speak on the Report of the Director-General, which defines so clearly and precisely the economic and social problems facing the world today and which indicates the manner in which the I.L.O. can contribute to finding means of solving these problems at least in part. I would like particularly to congratulate Mr. Morse and the Office on this important document, which is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the problems with which we have to struggle and the best means of solving them.

The collaboration of Peru with the I.L.O. has been very close in recent years both as regards the work of the Conference and of the Governing Body and in the regional meetings and technical assistance programmes. I would therefore like to tell you briefly of some of the recent achievements of my country within the spirit of the Declaration of Philadelphia and of the international Conventions and Recommendations.

As a logical consequence of the development of our labour services, there has been established in Peru a Ministry of Labour and Indigenous Affairs which is an independent body and has sufficient resources to study the problems facing the workers in the cities and in the fields, to improve the relations between employers and workers and to promote general welfare. Its influence on the proper enforcement of legislation respecting hours of work, wages, holidays, industrial relations, women's and children's work, agricultural work and maritime occupations has been invaluable. The experience gained by the Ministry of Labour through its work has enabled it to supplement and consolidate in a draft Labour

Code the safeguards and benefits obtained for the workers during 40 years of labour legislation. Before this Code becomes law it will be considered by the sectors concerned. The preliminary draft of the Labour Code only deals with principles and basic and general matters, the enforcement of these principles being left to special regulations. It aims at extending to all activities the benefits at present enjoyed by any specific sector. It also encourages uniform methods of dealing with analogous juridical situations in order that the legal protection of labour may be more effective. It applies the principle of equity where no legislative provisions exist, and aims at providing permanent solutions based on a human approach to the problems concerned. The International Labour Office has given us its aid with the authority which it has derived from its experience and technical knowledge, and the suggestions which it makes on the preliminary draft will be duly borne in mind.

The implementation of principles and methods of co-operation by means of regional congresses in various parts of the country has been particularly effective in promoting greater harmony in dealing with the problems of workers in the different industries; employees in banks and in commerce, and with trade union problems. Provisions facilitating direct collective relations are also of great value, and in this regard it has been prescribed that every workplace must have permanent services to deal with workers' claims and must keep up-to-date registers of contracts of employment and labour agreements open for examination by the persons concerned. Provision is also made for the workers' right to have access to the technical services of the Ministry for any assistance or advice they may require. The establishment of tripartite conciliation and arbitration boards and of tripartite committees for the study of general problems has led to indubitable advances in conditions of employment in vital activities such as agriculture. In agriculture last year better wages were obtained and new practices put into force to accelerate the building of houses, to regularise the supply of rations and to introduce improvements in other services and conditions of work. Just and considerable increases of wages were obtained for transport and communications workers and for workers in the petroleum, mining and cement industries.

Great progress has been made in Peru in the field of social security since compulsory sickness, maternity, old-age, invalidity and survivors' insurance was introduced for manual workers 16 years ago. Since then our insurance scheme has applied in full the principles laid down in the Conventions approved by the International Labour Conference, and in this way we have covered all contingencies which may reduce or remove the workers' ability to work or to earn, except the risk of involuntary unemployment. No distinction is made between employees in industry, commerce and agriculture, despite the very great difficulties which the coverage of this latter group involves. Among the risks covered special attention has been given to sickness because it is the most frequent and because it may possibly lead to invalidity and premature death.

When the social insurance scheme began to operate preference was given in Peru to the procedure of using for this purpose existing hospital establishments, although these were insufficient in number and capacity in the cities and, still more so, in the rural zones or smaller industrial centres. Hospital assistance to persons in need had been provided by the State in the past and it is difficult for a public hospital scheme to rid itself of the traditional idea of charitable aid, apart from the fact that it does not possess the necessary facilities for renewing its equipment, organising medical services in shifts and providing the sick with all the resources of science. Therefore it was decided in Peru that special insurance hospital services should be established. Pending their construction and coming into operation, workers were not required to pay a contribution and the work of construction was financed from Government and employers' contributions. This plan was most successful and we have already been enabled to build social insurance hospitals at Lima and nine provincial cities. To begin with it was not possible, for various reasons, to include professional and independent workers in this scheme of compulsory social insurance. This omission has been corrected by the present Government, which has established social insurance for salaried employees, making no distinction between Government and private employees nor as regards coverage of the various risks.

Following the same procedure as in the case of the social insurance scheme for manual workers, the area where the insured population is most dense will be chosen for the construction of social insurance hospitals for salaried employees. We have already begun in Lima by building the Central Hospital according to plans and specifications prepared in the United States. The hospital will have 850 beds, adequate provision for out-patient consultation, and the most modern equipment and installations. We are now beginning the construction of regional hospitals at Arequipa and Chiclayo, and these will serve insured persons in the areas in question.

Lastly I must refer, in connection with the social improvements achieved in my country, to the Act which has just established the National Health and Welfare Fund for the specific purpose of helping to improve health conditions in Peru and of contributing to the biological protection of its inhabitants. The Fund's resources will be at least equal to those of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and it will take part in the campaigns to control and prevent infectious diseases, particularly tuberculosis, smallpox, malaria, typhus, leprosy, venereal diseases and others predominant in the various parts of the country. It will co-operate in the establishment of maternity and child protection services all over the country, it will help to rectify the shortcomings of the hospitals with regard to services for diagnostics, prevention, rehabilitation and treatment, and it will also help to extend the housing construction projects, to plan the improvement of surroundings, and in the training of specialists in the various branches of public health, and will take any other action which may directly or indirectly protect the

lives of individuals and raise the level of assistance.

Peru has always shown interest in and striven to follow the guidance given by the International Labour Organisation and has received from the I.L.O. valuable technical aid in preparing and introducing its own programmes. At the request of my Government, the Office arranged a Regional Social Security Seminar at Lima in December 1951, which was attended by representatives and officials from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Venezuela. As the Report of the Director-General points out, the I.L.O. helped in the establishment of a model employment service office in the Lima-Callao area. An expert on migration questions has worked with us for a year on the studies undertaken in this field by the appropriate departments of my Government. Finally, in collaboration with the United Nations, F.A.O., U.N.E.S.C.O. and W.H.O., the I.L.O. has organised a technical assistance mission which—at the request of several Governments, including my own—is soon to visit Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador to do the preliminary work which will enable a series of specific technical assistance projects to be implemented at a later stage for the improvement of the standard of living of the indigenous populations.

In closing I would like to wish success to our work, the fundamental objective of which is to improve the conditions of life of all inhabitants of the earth, irrespective of their race or geographical situation. In uncertain times like the present may it prove an effective contribution to greater friendship between our peoples and to world peace.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Mr. Tinoco Rodil, Minister of Labour of Venezuela, who is honouring the Conference with his presence.

Interpretation: Mr. TINOCO RODIL (*Minister of Labour, Venezuela*)—I am very happy to have the opportunity today, as Minister of Labour of the United States of Venezuela, of addressing the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference and of extending to the delegates to this Conference the most warm greetings of my Government, which is following very closely and with special attention the discussions of this Conference and is keenly awaiting its conclusions.

I must express my gratitude to the President of the Conference and to the delegates for the gesture of friendship they have extended to me in permitting me to speak before this assembly, which carries out so steadfastly its lasting and creative work. This is the first visit which a Minister of Labour of my country has made to the headquarters of the Organisation. I can assure you that it is in itself a proof of the interest which my Government has in the achievements of the International Labour Organisation and in its determination to reach more equitable solutions for the serious problems of mankind.

In accordance with such ideals the Government of Venezuela is determinedly putting into operation a vast programme for the advancement and welfare of the community

in all respects. In the social field the work which is being done corresponds to the motives which inspire this general programme. For these reasons, among others, we are happy to maintain the very closest relationship with the I.L.O. and to receive from the I.L.O. the fruit of its experience, which may assist us in our task, since we have maintained, and we shall maintain, our faith in international activity based on loyal principles as a means of achieving the happiness of the nations and harmony among them.

My Government has constantly manifested its concern in carrying out its obligations as a State Member, and I am happy to be able to tell you here that the tripartite delegation which is attending this Conference is the largest one which my country has ever sent during the many years in which it has been a Member of the I.L.O. As a member of the Governing Body, to which it was elected at the last session of the Conference, my Government considers itself even more obliged to contribute to the greater success of this Organisation and is taking particular pains to give its collaboration on the same footing as other countries, with the assurance that co-operation in the international field will make possible a greater development of a comprehensive programme of technical assistance which is so necessary in many regions of the world. Also, in agreement with the Director-General of the I.L.O., we are preparing a suitable reorganisation of the service of the Ministry of Labour which is responsible for relations with this Organisation. In this way we shall be in a better position to give suitable and efficient attention to these relations. The Ministry for which I am responsible is preparing the necessary studies in order to ratify further Conventions, and I can tell you that, in general, Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference have been a source of inspiration for our legislators and for our administrative activity in these matters.

In this respect, we have been greatly interested in obtaining on various occasions the assistance which is offered by the Office to States Members; negotiations are in progress for the carrying out of projects of a social nature or the improvement and intensification of the technical progress of some services.

The authority and the respect which the I.L.O. has acquired in the many years during which it has engaged in fruitful social and humanitarian work should be a safeguard for its future work, but at the same time a stimulus and a warning to all the Members which make up the Organisation that they should defend its sane, wise principles and its very existence, in the face of certain trends, motivated by less admirable interests, which might attempt to involve it in fields which are foreign to its purposes. Thus, at these very meetings, on various occasions words of warning have been spoken by voices of authority in the face of marked tendencies to deform the mission of the Organisation and to turn it aside to the field of political differences and disputes. These prudent concepts should be a bulwark of defence for the very existence and authority of the Organisation.

In my country advanced legislation governs relations in this field, and laws on social security,

agricultural work, co-operative societies and labour rights supplement the basic standards of rule in the social field. The signing of collective agreements, freely discussed by trade union organisations with the undertakings and with the encouragement of the authorities, has, in particular, broadened the protection enjoyed by large sectors of the workers and thus in our principal industries—petroleum, construction, and iron, for example—conditions of work in many ways go beyond legal provisions.

In the field of trade union activities the Government recognises that the trade unions are a strong and progressive factor for the free play of economic and social forces. The trade union is an active body created for the defence, development and protection of the occupational interests of its members. It shares in the economic and social life of the country in order to provide a balance of power in the face of capital and to make up for differences of economic capacity between the undertaking and the individual worker. Holding this point of view, the Government not only recognises the existing organisations and is prepared to recognise those which may be formed in the future, but also encourages and defends them and gives them every facility for development. All the trade union organisations and their representatives act in full freedom with the guarantee and protection of the law. Political influences within trade unions have been the greatest obstacles to the development and strengthening of our trade union movement. Demagogic and sectarian groups are making an effort to bind the lot of the trade unions to theirs and do not hesitate to sacrifice the unions as their own political desires dictate. The Government, in favouring non-interference of outside elements in the proper functioning of trade unions, does not make any attempt to replace such elements for its own benefit but merely indicates the suitable channel to the workers so that their representative organisations may attend to their specific interests and in this way ensure their stability and progress without compromising them in the contingencies of political struggle.

These socio-political principles connected with the right of association and the free exercise of this right in the country have been reiterated by the present Government of Venezuela on many occasions; they were made very clear recently in the May Day celebrations in a speech which I had the honour to make to the Venezuelan workers.

Before closing I should like to say how important I consider the Report which the Director-General, Mr. Morse, has presented to this Conference. I should like to congratulate him most warmly for the lofty objectives in regard to social collaboration brought out in this Report. In the name of my Government, at the same time as I thank the illustrious President at this session of the Conference, Mr. de Segadas Vianna, I should like to express to you my best and most sincere wishes for the success of your discussions and for the continued vigorous existence of the International Labour Organisation.

Interpretation : Mr. AZAK (*Government delegation, Turkey*)—I should first of all like to associate myself with the congratulations addressed to the Director-General, Mr. Morse, for his extremely interesting Report on the great economic and social problems of the world, for having courageously outlined the difficulties we are facing, and for having indicated within the framework of a progressive social policy where the solutions may be found.

The Director-General, faced with the sometimes discouraging realities of the economic and social situation, has been able to avoid the dangers of pessimism and despair leading to apathy and those of imprudent and Utopian optimism. His Report not only points out in what conditions we should be able to regard the future with confidence, but in reminding us of sacrifices, the inevitable price to be paid for liberty and security, he makes it clear that international collaboration is the first of these conditions.

The Turkish Government delegation fully approves the views expressed in the Director-General's Report. It hopes that this instructive Report will serve as a source of inspiration for the resolutions and decisions of this Conference.

The hopes that the world had placed at the end of the second world war in the rebuilding of a new world of peace and of social harmony have not been realised. If in many countries efforts for reconstruction have allowed industrial and agricultural production to attain and even to go beyond the pre-war level, solidarity and international collaboration have remained at an unsatisfactory level.

As the Director-General has so well said, lasting peace is impossible without the effective solution of the economic and social problems which now harass humanity. That is why, more than ever, the economic and social development of the insufficiently developed countries has acquired first importance. Slowly but surely the free world is realising that the welfare and security of the advanced countries and the development of the insufficiently developed countries are closely linked and interdependent. Therefrom springs the urgency of the assistance which can be furnished, through the United Nations and the specialised agencies, by the more advanced countries which possess the necessary economic and financial resources, as well as the necessary technical experience and "know-how".

It would be dangerous to lose sight of the fact that conditions now exist in the underdeveloped countries which prevent the realisation of a systematic social policy and that these conditions are aggravated by the insufficiency of national income and of *per capita* income, and by the high cost of living and inflationary tendencies which are becoming more and more evident.

Prosperity and the development of these countries must in the first place result from the national effort, but this effort often meets with difficulties created by the unfavourable economic situation throughout the world and by the sacrifices called for by national defence programmes. The countries which have consented to these sacrifices in order to consolidate their national defence and thereby

to discourage aggression have served the cause of peace in the world and deserve the help of all those who enjoy peace as a result of these heavy sacrifices.

The International Labour Organisation has since its foundation ceaselessly endeavoured to bring about social justice and social peace in the world in spite of difficult conditions, economic depressions and war. It has thus been able not only to develop an International Labour Code but to inaugurate, under the energetic and able direction of Mr. Morse, activities directed towards practical realisations. No one can doubt today the utility and the importance of these operational activities.

Fully conscious of the fact that social peace, like social policy, constitutes an indivisible whole, the International Labour Organisation has rightly placed the emphasis on its activity in underdeveloped countries. It knows that in these countries, particularly, legislative action can only have practical results if it is helped by the assistance that the Organisation itself can furnish, in order that the standards of social progress which it promotes may be put into practice. The economic development of these regions, the access to a satisfactory standard of living and the bringing about of full employment, depend largely on international investments. Nothing here is more conclusive than the example, both social and economic, of assistance plans like the Marshall Plan and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance of the United Nations and the specialised agencies.

Some may consider this question of international investment to be outside the I.L.O.'s field of activity, but in my view the close relationship which exists between this question and the prevention of unemployment, the raising of the standard of living and economic development cannot be denied.

The United Nations and the specialised agencies should study this question thoroughly and reinforce and co-ordinate their activities with a view to solving the economic and social problems of the underdeveloped countries. They should give a new impetus to international investment and, particularly, extend the action of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The Report of the Director-General clearly shows how the efforts made for national defence during the past year have prevented economic development and the raising of the standard of living in various countries. Nevertheless, from this pessimistic picture we can draw two conclusions which might offer us a certain consolation. First, these efforts for national defence have, in spite of all the difficulties they have created, ensured from the technical, material and moral points of view encouraging conditions for the prevention of aggression. On the other hand these efforts have brought about an appreciable reduction of unemployment. Nevertheless, let us hope with the Director-General that the period of sacrifices and unproductive efforts will soon be finished and that all the economic and social evils which they bring about will disappear.

One extremely interesting aspect of the Director-General's Report concerns the difficulties of adaptation during the period of

transition which will follow the completion of national defence efforts. It is evident that this transition would be greatly facilitated if, in the meantime, the advancement of the underdeveloped countries could be brought about and if the purchasing power of the great masses of these countries could be increased.

Interdependence between advanced and economically underdeveloped countries renders international collaboration still more necessary. We are convinced that, in the same way as it is necessary on the national level to bring about equilibrium and harmony between different classes of the community, so economic equilibrium and social harmony on the international plane are the only foundations of lasting peace based on social justice.

I wish now to speak of what we have done as regards social policy in the last year in my country. Turkey being an essentially agricultural country, we have undertaken a large programme to assure to all categories of workers on the land the ownership of the land. The agricultural wage earner has been granted the same minimum wage fixing system as industrial workers. In spite of the difficulties created by the immigration of a large mass of refugees from Bulgaria, no slowing down of the programme destined to better the conditions of our agricultural population has been felt.

Within the framework of the Labour Code a new law has granted to workers payment during their weekly rest and on public holidays. The application of the law on sickness insurance has been extended to cover a larger number of industrial regions, and the law on old-age insurance has been modified so as to increase the benefits. The institution for workers' insurance, which has received technical assistance from the I.L.O., has considerably enlarged its activity.

Labour legislation, which still applies principally to workers in industry and commerce, is to receive a large and important extension very soon. Bills for the regulation of the conditions of work of agricultural workers and of seamen are in preparation.

A law has recently been adopted which regulates the conditions of work of intellectual workers employed in newspaper offices.

The scope of certain important provisions in the Labour Code has been broadened to include small undertakings.

Parallel to this legislative action I would like to mention certain practical steps which have been taken to put the law into force: first of all, the reorganisation of the placement and employment services in the spirit of Convention No. 88.

During recent years the trade union movement has made real progress. Trade union organisation has become a force which is able to make itself felt in bettering the conditions of life and work of the workers. This development is such as to facilitate the democratic policy of the present Government tending to bring about measures of social progress through consultation and collaboration with employers' and workers' organisations, in harmony with the real needs of the country.

Social policy in Turkey is largely inspired by the principles and standards of the Inter-

national Labour Organisation, and benefits from the assistance of the I.L.O.

Turkey has ratified the Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention (Revised), 1949, and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949. The organisation by the I.L.O., in collaboration with the Turkish Government, of a social security seminar in Istanbul for the countries of the Near and Middle East greatly benefited social security administrators in those countries. I wish to emphasise the importance of this type of technical assistance, which not only enables contact and exchange of experience to be made but also makes for understanding among the countries of one region. We hope that the examples of these seminars will be multiplied as far as possible.

The setting up in Istanbul of a Manpower Field Office for the Near and Middle East is a fact which deserves special mention. I wish at this time to thank Mr. Morse publicly in the name of my Government for the great understanding which he has shown in this question. We are persuaded that this field office, which is soon to begin its activity, will be of great assistance in studying and solving questions concerning manpower in the Near and Middle East countries.

My country has also received during 1951 the assistance of four I.L.O. experts on social security and is now preparing the application of a programme of fellowships designed to facilitate the training of staff for the Ministry of Labour. The Turkish Government highly appreciates all this technical assistance which it has received from the I.L.O.

Turkey is sincerely resolved to make every effort towards social justice and to collaborate very closely with the I.L.O. It is in this spirit that the Turkish delegation has taken part in this Conference. Because of its tripartite character and through its almost universal composition, this Conference furnishes an opportunity of observing the great problems of social policy in the world. I hope that the problems analysed by the Director-General with such wisdom, breadth of vision and courage may receive in this world social parliament all the attention which they merit. May the decisions which our Conference reaches efficiently serve the cause of social justice and of peace throughout the world.

Mr. AHMAD (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I rise to speak in the name of the workers of Pakistan, who have reposed their faith in the aims and objects of the International Labour Organisation and who look to the I.L.O. for the solution of the various problems which they are facing.

There was in the past a good deal of misunderstanding in the minds of the Asian workers regarding the I.L.O.'s profession and practice, but the I.L.O.'s activities during the past few years in connection with underdeveloped countries, through the technical assistance programme and other measures, have caused the clouds of misunderstanding to disappear to a considerable extent. It is sincerely hoped that the services of the I.L.O. will be more appreciated and utilised in a better way for the material well-being and

spiritual development of mankind after the achievement of political freedom by the countries which are still struggling against exploitation and domination by the imperialist powers. Only then will the Declaration of Philadelphia, which says that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, justify its incorporation in the Constitution of the I.L.O.

Coming to the subject under discussion, I have great pleasure in placing on record my appreciation of the excellent Report presented by the Director-General to this session of the Conference. The Report shows a penetrating grasp of the great social problems and also suggests remedies for the solution of these problems. It is now left to the Conference—and especially to the Government delegates—to decide how these problems should be tackled.

The Director-General says on page 35 of his Report that, in spite of the progress of over 30 years, the affirmation made in 1919, in the preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., that “conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled”, has not lost its validity. This observation is nowhere more applicable than in the countries of Asia and Africa.

Pakistan, like other countries in Asia, is an agricultural country, and the well-being of the agricultural population may be construed as the well-being of 80 per cent. of our people. The second world war affected the agricultural people in such a way that in undivided India as many as 500,000 people died of starvation in 1943 in Bengal alone. The second world war also made the rich people richer and the poor people poorer. Many of our agricultural people who had some land for cultivation before 1939 were compelled to sell this land in order to save themselves and their families from starvation during the war. The result has been that these people have been added to our unemployed population.

Our underemployment problem is more acute than our unemployment problem, and its magnitude can better be imagined than described. The industrial development which is taking place under the direction of the Government will no doubt offer work to some of the surplus manpower, but it is impossible to absorb all the surplus manpower in the industries. The real remedy will lie in the development of agriculture and in the encouragement of co-operatives and handicrafts. I am glad to know that the I.L.O. is fully alive to the situation and has started surveys and field enquiries for the purpose of determining the extent of underemployment and of framing proposals for practical remedial measures.

The conditions of industrial workers are also far from satisfactory. Although their money wages have increased to a certain extent, their real wages are disproportionately low compared with the rise in prices of the essential commodities which constitute for the workers the minimum necessities for maintenance. Unfortunately, when the workers

demand an increase in their wages they are asked to make sacrifices in the interest of the country, whereas no measure has been introduced by the Government to keep prices within their reach. It is, therefore, apparent that the workers cannot think of better housing facilities, of recreation, of culture and of education when it is difficult for them to solve their problems of food and clothing. These conditions prevail not only in Pakistan but in all the countries of Asia.

The Director-General has given an account of the ratifications of Conventions on page 41 of his Report, and he appears to consider the reports of ratifications sent by Governments as some measure of success, but we find that in some cases the ratifications apply more on paper than in practice. We regard Convention No. 87 concerning freedom of association and Convention No. 98 concerning the right to organise and to bargain collectively as the Magna Charta of our trade union rights.

I cannot help saying that the principles underlying these Conventions are not followed in many Asian countries. On the contrary, the trade union rights of the workers are ruthlessly suppressed, especially in the industries and offices under the management and the control of the Governments of many countries in Asia. I can cite many instances of illegal arrest and the dismissal of workers whenever they have tried to organise trade unions and submitted demands for higher wages or better service conditions in Government industries and offices.

The employers in Asia, including those of my country, whether they be non-Governmental or Governmental, have not yet accepted trade unionism as a reality or even as a coming event. We are neither sorry nor surprised about this attitude where the non-Governmental employers are concerned because we are confident that the new consciousness which is dawning on the workers in Asia will create such a force that these employers will be compelled to accept trade unionism in its true sense, willingly or unwillingly. We are facing greater difficulties in exercising our trade union rights when the employer is the Government. In this case anybody talking of trade union organisation is marked either as a communist or as a dangerous man in the country.

We who believe in a free and democratic trade union movement in accordance with the ideals laid down by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions are not only facing resistance from the agents of totalitarian powers but are also experiencing greater resistance from the employers and the Government in carrying on such a movement. Even those Governments which have ratified the Conventions concerning freedom of association and the application of the principles of the right to organise and to bargain collectively are violating the provisions of these Conventions in one way or another by issuing restrictive departmental directives to the organisations of salaried employees and workers under pain and threat of non-recognition of the unions. I think it is the duty of the I.L.O. to collect these restrictive directives, to scrutinise them carefully, and to point out to the Governments concerned to what extent their actions affect the application of the above-mentioned Conven-

tions, and also to remind them of the obligations entailed in ratification. If this much is not done by the I.L.O. itself, I really see no necessity for maintaining the various branch offices and national correspondents.

I also wish to take this opportunity of telling these Governments that, if they really wish to raise the people's standard of life as they often profess, they must forthwith change their entire outlook on this vital issue and allow the workers to organise freely and play their due part in preserving freedom and democracy.

In conclusion all that I wish to add is that there is still time to secure full social justice through the instrumentality of the I.L.O., provided that the States Members honestly and wholeheartedly carry out their obligations towards this great Organisation and thus fulfil the hopes and promises of our time.

Mr. SHARP (*Government delegate, Australia*)—An earlier speaker in this debate expressed the view that when the history of this century is written the greatest attainment will be seen to be not material advancement but progress in the universal acceptance of the ideals of social justice. If that be so, the International Labour Organisation will have shared in full measure in that attainment. It is not surprising that year after year our Director-General should be able to draw inspiration from the concepts of social justice, since this Organisation is itself the concrete expression of those ideals, and this annual debate is perhaps the best measuring rod we could have of the extent to which the ideals of social justice are accepted. For our achievements in this direction are measured perhaps even less by the instruments, be they Conventions, Recommendations or other, which enter the statute books than by the changes, often imperceptible to ourselves, which occur in our basic thinking. What were objectives fought for against bitter opposition in the early days of this Organisation, today we are able to take for granted, and so progress is maintained.

This year the Director-General has directed our attention especially to the planning and development of operational work and technical assistance in the less developed regions of the world. This work is the newest and certainly the most imaginative in our march towards the ideals of social justice. It is one thing to fix our sights on social objectives within our own particular countries. It is another and a far greater thing to be ready to move beyond our own confines into practical aid for others.

Because of the great possibility it gives us of reaching our goal we believe that technical assistance is one aspect of this Organisation's work which must be developed with imagination but also with care. It must always be seen in its proper perspective. From the budgetary viewpoint alone it is a task of serious dimensions. Quite apart from the provisions of the regular budget the I.L.O. is planning expenditure on technical assistance of somewhat over two-and-a-half million dollars. Here indeed is room for a vast expansion of fruitful activity.

Australia has been a firm supporter of the aims and purposes of the United Nations

Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It is equally an enthusiastic participator in the Colombo Plan for the Economic Development of South and South-East Asia. These two programmes are not competitive for they have the same aim. That aim is the achievement of a fuller and better life for the peoples in the newly emerged independent and democratic countries in that region, through the application of improved techniques and of material resources from more developed countries.

Because of our interest and experience in the region of South and South-East Asia in which we live, it may be of interest to the Organisation if I mention a few aspects of the working of the Colombo Plan which have a wider relevance or a direct bearing on the I.L.O. technical assistance programme.

There are two major sections of that plan; first, a six-year programme of economic development to which Australia has pledged a contribution of £A 31.25 million, and secondly a technical co-operation programme to which we are contributing approximately £A 3.1 million. Under our economic development contribution for the first year of £A 8.75 million, foodstuffs and a wide diversity of equipment were allocated. To expedite the procurement of supplies in the light of requests from recipient Governments and of Australian resources, a Director of Colombo Plan Supplies was recently appointed in Australia. Through this appointment the Australian Government hopes to achieve, on the one hand, a more thorough assessment of our capacity to meet requests, and, on the other, a better co-ordinated Australian contribution in the field of economic development, supplies and technical equipment.

My Government has already informed the United Nations and specialised agencies, including the I.L.O., that it is prepared to consider providing equipment for the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance from Colombo Plan funds, where the United Nations or the specialised agencies are prevented, through lack of funds or for other reasons, from carrying a project to completion.

However, I emphasise that the Colombo Plan is not intended to reduce United Nations attention to South and South-East Asia, and we would expect the United Nations and specialised agencies to apply their own resources, as far as possible, to the projects which they have begun or have in contemplation before seeking additional funds from Colombo Plan sources.

To turn to the other aspect of the Colombo Plan, namely, the Technical Co-operation Programme, the Australian contribution of £A 3.1 million is to be spent in four main fields, namely fellowships and scholarships, special schools and seminars, provision of experts and provision of technical equipment. So far Australia has offered 300 fellowships and scholarships to students from South and South-East Asia and, in addition to 12 who have completed their studies, there are 122 Asian scholarship-holders in Australia at the present time. Special schools and seminars have been arranged, for example in public

administration and social services, and a number of short-term visits to Australia have been made by officials to observe our procedures. To date a total of 18 experts has been provided by Australia. We recognise that the recommendations of experts should be adequately followed up and that in many cases it is necessary to link expert assistance with the provision of technical equipment. We were interested to see that the Director-General in his Report has endorsed this point.

In addition to these Colombo Plan commitments, Australia has agreed to two contributions to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance: the equivalent of something over \$400,000 covering the first eighteen months, and a second of \$200,000, with a possibility of a further \$60,000. We have provided a number of experts and have made available training facilities in Australia. We have informed the United Nations and the specialised agencies, including the I.L.O., that we are willing to take 60 trainees in the current year.

In both these spheres—the provision of experts, and the granting of fellowships or training facilities—the limiting factor is not necessarily the availability of funds. In this connection we agree entirely with the Director-General when he says “the provision of an expert (or any other form of technical assistance) is not an end in itself”, but that we should “relate the work to the general development plans and needs of the country” receiving the expert or other technical aid. The tendency should be resisted to count aid merely by the number of experts in the various countries or by a simple statement of expenditures made. Our feeling has been that in some agencies the effort to spend technical assistance funds has been greater than the effort to plan on a far-sighted scale. Should this tendency continue, recipient countries might lose confidence in the Expanded Programme. Sound spending rather than quick spending is likely to win the confidence of both recipient and contributing Governments. In this we believe that the I.L.O. has followed sounder lines. It has, perhaps through its longer experience of international administration, avoided the temptation of exhausting resources simply because they were available without full regard to effective use. The Director-General and the Governing Body are to be congratulated on this realistic approach.

The Director-General rightly notes that secondment of experts “naturally puts a heavy strain on the administration concerned”. Especially in a country like Australia, where essential programmes of national development make heavy demands on scarce technical skills, there are very real limits to the number of experts that can be sent overseas. However, Australia will continue to make available as many experts as her resources allow.

We believe that future co-ordination between the Expanded Programme and the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Co-operation can best be achieved by co-ordination within Governments, by effective reciprocal representation arrangements and by effective consultation at the field level. Formal machinery is less necessary than a determination to work

together at all levels. Here we are in a field that is comparatively new to administration and for which procedures appropriate to other realms of administration may be quite inadequate.

This applies not only to international relations in technical assistance programmes but also to the work within each country in carrying out those programmes. Considerable experience has already been obtained by many countries and I would like to refer briefly to some of the problems which we have encountered in connection with fellowships.

The first problem is that of determining the extent to which Fellows can benefit from study and experience in another country. Whilst it is true that in the long run almost all Fellows do benefit, the extent of that benefit in the short term must be measured by the utilisation of that experience by the Fellow on return to his own country. An instance with which I was personally concerned may illustrate this point. Whilst we were very happy to meet a request to train Fellows from a labour department in a neighbouring country in our employment service techniques, we felt that because the Fellows would be studying procedures which would not all be appropriate to the conditions in their own country, it was desirable for their visit to be preceded by a short visit to Australia by their senior officer, who would in fact be the officer determining policy measures in employment service matters. Such an officer, we felt, would be of assistance to us in planning the programme of training in the light of the needs of his own administration. Moreover, he would be in a better position to utilise the experience gained by his officers when they returned to his administration.

Within the host country there must be careful organisation of the training or study programme if loss of time at the start of the fellowship term is to be avoided. This can only be done if the planning officials are given a fairly extensive knowledge of the Fellow's background. This information should include not merely essential educational qualifications and an official position but also a statement of the duties which the Fellow has carried out, where this work fits into the other work of his department or organisation, the structural relationship of the Fellow's position to other members of that organisation and the broad ends to which the organisation's work is directed.

Instances have arisen in Australia, and doubtless elsewhere, too, where valuable time has been lost because the planners in the host country were unaware that a field of study, for example social welfare, covered activities markedly different from those included in the Fellow's own country. These difficulties are gradually being resolved with experience but there is still need for care if frustration of both Fellow and host is to be avoided.

On the selection side we believe that a basic qualification for receipt of a fellowship is a reasonable skill in the language of the host country, especially in communities such as ours where ability to converse in more than one language is unfortunately rare. Instances have arisen in our experience where, with every goodwill on both sides, the language

barrier in technical matters has resulted in the Fellow receiving little, if any, benefit. Associated with this is, of course, the need for educational qualifications appropriate to the expanded field of study, a prior understanding of the problems which face the Fellow's country in the field of his study and ability to utilise the knowledge gained during the fellowship when coming to grips with those problems.

The importance of human relations can never be overstressed. Much has already been said and written on the need for care in matters of reception and accommodation. I want to add only one thing. It must be remembered that a person visiting a new land has a lively interest in the life, manners and scenery of that country. This should be encouraged and time provided for Fellows to see something of the host country other than through lectures and field work. We have found that, in the case of short group courses, Fellows settle down and apply themselves to training with better results when one whole working day a week is allotted as free time for shopping, sight-seeing and so forth, than when the full working week is exhausted with lectures and seminars.

Finally, there is need for host countries to encourage, without fear or favour, Fellows to criticise constructively the over-all approach of the host country in each case. We have noticed a reluctance in some of our overseas visitors to question the value of particular study courses planned or other aspects of the fellowship arrangements. That is understandable in the circumstances but there should be no fear of offence to the host. Fellowships under technical assistance arrangements must be placed on a basis of mutual understanding and it is only by critical appraisal by both Fellow and host alike that the particular programme and those to follow can be made really effective as a contribution to the raising of technical skills and through that to higher living standards.

Interpretation : Mr. KYRIAKOPOULOS (*Workers' adviser, Greece*)—The past year has contributed very little to reducing the international tension and to improving the conditions of the workers throughout the world.

The two opposing camps continue to face one another and most of the countries devote a large part of their national income not to the satisfaction of social needs and to raising the standards of their people but to rearmament.

For the free democratic countries, this sacrifice is indispensable to the maintenance of their independence. Yet however small it may be compared to the value of that which it enables them to save—namely, liberty—it is nevertheless heavy for many of them, and for some, even, it is almost intolerable. My little country could say a great deal on this matter. Nevertheless, the need for continuing rearmament in order to secure the defence of democracy obliges free countries to undertake a number of obligations which they should not neglect or ignore.

These obligations are common to all the free States but are particularly heavy on the

most powerful and on the most advanced. It amounts to this : on the one hand the States should not permit rearmament to reduce the standard of life of their people ; and on the other, they should aid States which are weak or underdeveloped to bear the cost of rearmament and to improve the conditions of their workers by providing them with the capital necessary for the investments which would permit production to be increased. This is indispensable, because, as the Director-General rightly says, " If the risks of war are finally overcome it will not be done by military means alone. Peace must . . . be . . . actively promoted by the positive and creative solution of mankind's problems."

Unfortunately, although we all recognise the justice of this view, appropriate action has not been taken to put it into practice.

In many countries, military expenditure, which is large, has involved a reduction in economic activity, a restriction of exchange and an increase in unemployment or underemployment. This is particularly true in my country which, in order to defend the region in which it is placed, has to make sacrifices proportionately much too great, although everybody knows that it has had to face enormous destruction during the second world war and has had to struggle for five years in the front line against communist imperialism.

Forty-seven per cent. of the ordinary budget of my country is devoted to the army and the security forces in the country, because Greece, although small and although much of our country has been destroyed, is obliged to maintain an army proportionately greater than those of any other country, not excepting the United States.

In these conditions and having regard to the continual reduction in the aid received from the United States, no progress, or hardly any progress, has been made in the sector of reconstruction because there is no more capital available for investment in the country and the Government, fearing inflationary pressure which may follow unproductive military expenditure, takes action which only increases economic depression and unemployment.

As the Director-General rightly says, the hope of a better future upheld people during the long years of war and occupation. This is particularly true of the Greek people who sacrificed all for the cause of liberty, democracy and social justice, and who hoped that peace would allow them to live in dignity. However, it finds today that international social justice is to a large extent an idea without substance. This is due to the fact that the powerful do not prove very comprehending towards the weak.

If social justice is to be established among citizens at the national level, it must also be encouraged internationally among States. If the effort of rearmament is not to harm the standard of life the factors governing the conditions of this effort must first of all be determined in an equitable manner.

The cause of social justice calls our Organisation to enter on a new path. The I.L.O. could make a precious contribution to the

establishment of fair methods of distributing the cost of rearmament and thus to the work of any organisation seeking to promote sincere collaboration between the nations and thereby to safeguard peace.

I would like to deal now with another point in the Report, namely the statement that the standard of life of the workers does not depend merely on increased production but on the course of international exchanges. The free circulation of goods between the different countries has been considerably restricted in recent years owing to inflation, unfavourable balances of payment and protectionist or imperialist tendencies brought out by the war.

Thus, the countries which were particularly affected by the war, and especially those which were already industrially underdeveloped, were abandoned to so-called freedom of trade which, with its unrestricted competition, does not allow them to place their products on the international market.

If it is believed, therefore, that international exchanges must be expanded, an effort must be made not only to secure freedom of trade, but still more so (and this is an obligation on the industrially developed countries) to aid all nations in finding an outlet for their products on the international market.

This may be done by granting assistance aimed at improving the conditions of production and, until the resulting improvement actually occurs, by establishing a programme which would cover international economy as a whole but relate first of all to international trade. In fact it is necessary to determine the international background for commercial exchanges, otherwise the industrially underdeveloped countries may find that the product of their labour has lost all value, despite the importance of the social capital invested in it. Such a procedure would not give rise to great difficulty, since already a large part of international trade is in the hands of Governments which buy such large quantities of goods that they become the most important factors in the movement of commodities and the determination of prices.

Indeed, such a procedure ought to be adopted, and our Organisation could make a useful contribution to it by studying methods of rational distribution of products on the international market and establishing an international trade programme so as to aid the other international agencies with more direct jurisdiction in this field. Such an effort would perhaps be the only positive way of immediately guaranteeing that the agricultural and industrial workers of the underdeveloped countries might dispose of the product of their labour.

The question of improving conditions of production and of raising output in order to reduce costs is bound up with that of increasing productivity, to which the Director-General rightly attaches particular importance in his Report.

The Greek working class fully realises the necessity of increasing productivity and is prepared to collaborate with its Government and employers in any programme aimed at this target, but it must insist on the following point: in any effort to increase productivity, regard must be had to the fact that unemploy-

ment and underemployment are already considerable in Greece, and that no effort must be spared to prevent them from increasing further owing to the introduction of new productive methods (*i.e.*, technological unemployment). This can only be done by increasing investments.

We would like to pay a tribute to the I.L.O. for its efforts to apply an international migration programme, but it must make a still greater effort to overcome the difficulties and counteract the reactions which have made the results obtained so far unsatisfactory.

Both in this particular respect and in a more general way the achievement by the I.L.O. of the objectives it pursues will depend not so much on the goodwill and abilities of those at the head of the Office as on the determination of States Members to collaborate sincerely in improving the situation of the workers throughout the world, in securing victory over fear and hunger and achievement of the ideal of social justice. Just as on the national level we have upheld the principle of co-operation with the employers and the State with the object of settling disagreements—and we have now had the satisfaction of seeing our efforts crowned with success in Greece, by the recent promulgation of a law intended to bring about such co-operation—we insist on the necessity of active and sincere co-operation among all free peoples, for the achievement of economic progress and social justice.

All States must, however, realise that social justice and peace cannot exist without liberty.

It is a fact that there are today peoples and workers in servitude, not only beyond the iron curtain but on this side also. If we really want to pull back that curtain and to obtain the liberation of the millions who are dying in forced labour camps to the east, we must first of all restore their liberty to those who are deprived of it in violation of all human and moral laws, of the Declaration of Philadelphia and of the principles of the United Nations regarding the right of peoples to determine their own lot.

I am referring now to the workers of Cyprus, whose appeal to the I.L.O. failed owing to a technicality, so that the substance of the question could not be examined. The substance is Great Britain's refusal to allow the population of Cyprus to determine its own future, to be free, with the result that this population loses all prospect of a régime of social justice.

After the rejection of the appeal regarding the Cyprus Workers' Confederation, an appeal arising from the refusal of the British Governor of the island to permit the annual congress of the workers of Cyprus to be held—a flagrant breach of freedom of association—the ruler of the island felt himself encouraged: first of all he permitted the congress to be held on 25 May (perhaps with an eye to appearances); but then, when the congress had been held, he summoned the Secretary-General and all members of the executive of the Confederation, who had just been triumphantly re-elected, and accused them before the courts precisely of having held this congress. The case came up on the 18th of the present month and I am still unaware what the decision was. One may,

however, be certain that my Cypriot colleagues were found guilty.

That is the truth regarding the situation in Cyprus, and facts cannot be changed by the fine speech made by the Honourable Minister of Labour in the British Government who, speaking from this platform last Thursday and wishing to explain his Government's policy regarding the colonial peoples, said that the British Government agreed that political freedom should be granted parallel with economic development and social progress.

But here lies the very danger in which peace and liberty are placed by the British Government's policy. In order to find a pretext for refusing political liberty to the people of Cyprus, whose civilisation is age-old, the Government keeps this rich island in a state of economic depression and restricts all

social progress, maintaining conditions of work which violate the principles of this Organisation.

I would like to protest from this platform, in the name of all the workers of Greece, against the oppressive action taken by a State Member of the I.L.O. against my enslaved brothers in Cyprus. That Member is violating their trade union freedom and I am sure I can count on the solidarity of the representatives of all countries, and particularly on that of my British colleagues.

We represent the workers of a small country, but we feel that, as a class and as a nation, we have been faithful to the principles in virtue of which we are asking for the support of our comrades and of the peoples of countries more powerful than our own.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Ventura (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Preto (substitute for Mr. Calheiros Lopes) Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Wahida Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Heinrich (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Chachuat (substitute for Mr. Hauck) Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Jonkhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Goulet)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle) Mr. Lacroix	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Mr. Borstlap	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Buckland Mr. Graham Kerr (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Velutini Mr. Graterol Mr. Ochoa
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafaï Mr. Keyvan	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Vict-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Kolský	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Tuason	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Veber
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas	
<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester			

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Tinoco Rodil (*Minister of Labour, Venezuela*), Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber (*Saar*), Mr. Gros (*United Nations*).

SIXTEENTH SITTING

Saturday, 21 June 1952, 3 p.m.

*President: Mr. Dravid*REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall resume the discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. TUAN (*Government delegate, China*)—This year, as in the past two years, I find great satisfaction in reading the Report of the Director-General. It gives us not only a lucid account of the activities of the Office in the past year but also a clear picture of the general trends of the world situation. Therefore I should like to associate myself with the sentiments of the many previous speakers in complimenting the Director-General and his able staff for this admirable work.

However, as mere words of praise would be barren, and even obstructive to progress, I deem it necessary to point out some of the shortcomings of the Report, in the hope that the Director-General will be in a position to eliminate them. As pointed out by the Chinese Workers' delegate yesterday, the glaring omission in the Report is the total absence of any mention of the situation both in the Chinese mainland and in Free China.

The lot of 450 million people should be of deep concern to the International Labour Organisation, as they form one-fifth of the human race. In the present struggle between freedom and tyranny, the unfortunate fate of Chinese workers behind the Iron Curtain should be given special attention so as to make a contrast with their brethren both in Free China and in free countries elsewhere. As to the conditions now obtaining on the Chinese mainland, the Chinese Workers' delegate and the Employers' delegate have both adequately reported to you in their speeches. I will only call your attention to the fact that in the past three years a huge massacre has taken place on the Chinese mainland. While the communist publications announced "only" two millions "liquidated", the figure of the victims,

in our estimation, reached the appalling number of 15 millions. This unprecedented genocide is still going on with unabated fury. The whole Chinese mainland is now in fact converted into a huge concentration camp, where inmates are given hard labour without compensation pending their final liquidation. Forced confessions, mutual accusations, mass arrests, public trials and mass executions are the order of the day. As a result many of my compatriots on the mainland resort to suicide as their only way of escape. In a city like Shanghai there are nearly 100 suicides every day. In such a state of affairs it is indeed ridiculously incongruous to talk about human rights, human dignity or freedom of association, or other guiding principles of the International Labour Organisation.

That the Chinese workers in their hearts are resolutely determined against their oppressors is evidenced by the following episode. The communist régime, under the order of the Kremlin, has conscripted young men, mostly farm workers, to fight in Korea. Among the 20,700 Chinese war prisoners taken by the United Nations Command, 15,600, that is more than three-quarters of the total number, have expressed their determination to resist forced repatriation. The sample of this cross-section shows clearly that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people are dead against the communist rule.

In the Preamble to the International Labour Organisation's Constitution it is clearly stipulated that injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people would imperil peace and the harmony of the world. The present situation on the Chinese mainland is the total regimentation of the whole working population for a purpose directly threatening the world peace in defiance of justice and humanity. It is therefore all the more imperative that the lot of the Chinese workers on the mainland should be made known to the world through the International Labour Organisation.

While we welcome the measure taken by the Director-General to close the Shanghai Office,

which had become only a propaganda agency for the communists, we strongly urge the Director-General to open a branch office in Taipei so as to enable the I.L.O. to get all the information concerning both Free China and our communist-occupied mainland.

In Free China, as a result of the land reform introduced in 1949, providing that land rent should not exceed 37.5 per cent. of the total yield from the main crops, rice production has shown a phenomenal increase. The income of the tenant farmers was increased, on the average, by 30 per cent. Rural economy has been greatly improved. We now think that our agricultural production has reached a highly satisfactory stage and we must now turn more attention to industry. For this reason we are particularly interested in technical assistance as envisaged by the International Labour Organisation. My delegation is gratified to note in the Director-General's Report that the main emphasis of this Organisation's work is being shifted more and more from international labour legislation towards the more practical and urgent task of providing technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. Indeed, in a world like ours, where the basic economic and social conditions and requirements so widely differ, a general improvement of the working population's well-being cannot be realised solely by legislative means, just as international peace and security cannot be maintained merely by the signing of treaties, conventions and charters. Such an improvement will be possible only when the margin of the discrepancy in fundamental conditions between the economically advanced countries and the underdeveloped countries is substantially reduced. In order to raise the living standard of the underdeveloped countries, technical aid is of course the most direct and effective means which lies within both the competence and the resources of this Organisation. I am therefore happy to say that my Government wholeheartedly supports this timely scheme. We sincerely hope the International Labour Organisation will further extend and intensify its activities in this most important field.

We people in Free China are now engaged in a life-and-death struggle against dark forces that have already engulfed our mainland. Our success in the last bastion of liberty will strengthen the confidence and hope of the Chinese people everywhere. Being fervent believers in the great principles of the International Labour Organisation we want to co-operate with the Organisation to the best of our ability, so as to put in practice these guiding principles in China. In this task we believe we have the support of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of this great Organisation.

Mr. SAMJONO (*Government delegate, Indonesia*)—As in previous years the Report of the Director-General is indeed an enlightening analysis of the economic and social issues of the world at present.

Its survey of such a broad field of manifold problems affecting the working and living conditions of men expresses the warm feeling of a thorough scholar. It must, however,

be discouraging to meet so many obstacles while trying to realise these high social ideals in a world full of conflict and controversies.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to repeat often enough the appeal which the Report makes for goodwill and co-operation among the nations through the intermediary of a suitable organisation, such as the International Labour Conference, which aims to bring together the minds of men and groups from different nations. This is a simple view—a creed if you like—with which my Government associates itself because it believes that only in an atmosphere of national and international peace will it be able to overcome all the difficulties with which it is faced.

For the past two years we have studied this problem at this international forum, always bearing in mind the difficulties which we are facing every day; but although the problems facing us are extremely complex, we really are trying to avoid the vicious circle described in the Director-General's Report.

We have therefore followed a balanced and progressive policy in the social field. The preamble of the social chapter in the Constitution of our Republic states that social justice is one of the five constituent principles of the State.

The rights of every citizen to work, to have decent working conditions, equal pay for equal work, and fair wages giving security for his family and his dependants, compatible with human dignity, are also guaranteed, while the Government is required to promote social security, improve labour conditions, combat unemployment and make provision for old-age pensions and the care of widows and orphans. It should be understood that my Government is fully aware that the realisation of social justice is a tremendous task. First of all we have to cope with the colonial structure of the past and with the various economic forces and factors originating from the colonial era, as well as with those people who still think in outworn terms of old-time industrial relations.

Furthermore, we still have to overcome the great handicap caused by the shortage of national exports—a legacy of a typical non-metropolitan policy. All this is slowing down the pace of our national reconstruction.

The consequences of extremely low standards of living and the low level of wages previously imposed on our people are still evident today. In addition, there is the problem of overpopulation in Java.

The second world war and the years of turbulence and revolution which followed it have increased the difficulties through the disintegration of the economy and the problem of the demobilisation of our armed forces and their return to normal civilian life.

Despite all these dramatic historical events, a new Ministry of Social Affairs, with a Directorate of Labour, has been founded, this Directorate having been reorganised a short time afterwards as a separate Ministry of Labour. This Ministry of Labour started its activities by laying the foundations for social legislation with national coverage. Its main activity was directed towards legal provisions for the benefit of the workers. Moreover, the

law of 1947 on industrial accidents and the labour law of 1948, containing provisions for the protection of workers, as well as other legislation, were enacted during this turbulent period. The Ministry has also been concerned with the expanding of the Employment Service. The I.L.O. Convention on this subject has been taken as a guide, although this Convention has not yet been ratified by the Government.

The Government is therefore doing its utmost to keep the organisational equipment of this service in line with its contribution to the task which the Government is shouldering at present; that is, to raise the standard of living of the people by increasing national production. Within its programme of national welfare, it must ensure the best possible organisation of the employment market as an integral part of the national programme for the achievement and maintenance of full employment and the development and use of productive resources. To that end, it is aiming at a balance between demand and supply of the labour force through employment exchanges, through migration (that is to say, mostly transmigration from one island to another), and through vocational training, vocational guidance and employment counselling, while recently, as a stimulus to creating and enlarging the employment market, credits have been granted to undertakings providing jobs for the unemployed.

In the field of social security and workers' welfare, preparations have been made and partially put into effect for sickness funds, old-age benefits, and so on, while consideration is now being given to workers' housing.

In line with the above measures, the Government attaches much importance to a sound and democratic construction of workers' movements and organisations. To this end, our Constitution provides for trade union rights and the right to strike and hold demonstrations. However, despite all the efforts made to apply the principles of social justice, labour unrest in our country still causes us much anxiety, though there is no more than is considered normal in other countries. This unrest is due to the fact that provision has only recently been made for the workers to be able to express their views freely, and naturally, they now have more freedom of expression than the very limited freedom they enjoyed during the colonial period. In this regard, a law on the arbitration of disputes, enacted last year, shows the desire for the stabilisation of industrial relations.

In its present programme the Government has included the question of the improvement of labour legislation. It hopes thereby to increase labour output and to bring about fair wages for the workers and their dependants, in accordance with our constitutional principles of human dignity.

The Government's interest has been adequately focused on the problem of raising labour productivity while going forward with its labour policy. It has, therefore, recently prepared a Bill on collective and individual agreements, wages, labour courts, conciliation and arbitration, social security and other provisions of labour legislation. All these measures have been accompanied by many

others in the economic field, such as a more stringent price control, import and export regulations, control of foodstuffs and fiscal policy.

In conformity with the solutions which we consider adequate to remedy our great difficulties, we found some points of contact in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance of the United Nations and in other international technical assistance programmes. We naturally began by submitting all offers of technical assistance to thorough examination, since assistance does not psychologically suit newly-won independence. But with the progress of years, our people have become aware that technical assistance can be of benefit to our own reconstruction.

In the labour field, my Government has, after long preparatory work, accepted technical assistance both from other Governments and from the I.L.O. It recently placed an order in the United States under E.C.A. for equipment for a vocational training centre and trainees will shortly be sent to the United States and to Great Britain.

The International Labour Organisation has also granted fellowships to my country and my Government has made a request for six I.L.O. experts.

Before closing I would like to make one or two observations. First, technical assistance should be a simple deed of goodwill of a co-operative character without any afterthought of political aspirations. Secondly, under the increasingly interdependent economy of the world, technical assistance should be rendered as an economic imperative in order to arrive at optimum productivity and exploitation of the world's resources. Thirdly, whereas technical assistance mostly refers to underdeveloped countries, it should be borne in mind that in the case of expert assistance the selection of experts must be most thorough, as circumstances in those territories may require the patience and tact of the true pioneer.

Mr. TERAMOTO (*Government delegate, Japan*)—As a Government delegate of Japan, I take it as a great honour to be present at this session as a fully-fledged representative of my Government after a lapse of 14 years. May I take this opportunity of expressing my hearty gratitude to the distinguished delegates of all countries who have supported our readmission to this Organisation, and also to the officials of the I.L.O. for their good offices.

The Director-General, in Chapter III of his Report, under the heading of "Labour Legislation and its Application", gives detailed information concerning the progress being made in this field by many countries, in close collaboration with the International Labour Organisation. In connection with that information let me add some explanation on this occasion about our labour legislation which has been submitted to the present session of the National Diet.

At present our National Diet is deliberating on the draft amendments to the labour legislation, namely, the Trade Union Act, the Labour Standard Act, the Public Corporation Labour Relations Act and the Labour Rela-

tions Adjustment Act. These amendments have been drafted by the Government and are based upon recommendations submitted by tripartite labour legislative committees. They were drafted in conformity with the principle of democracy established during the Occupation, with a view to making the legislation more adaptable to circumstances which are constantly changing and developing. Unfair labour practices are prohibited by the provisions in the Trade Union Act, but the scope of these provisions is altogether too narrow at present. The definition of unfair labour practices will be extended this time to cover every possible case for the protection of the rights of workers. Other amendments to the Trade Union Act are concerned with minor problems. These amendments are supported by the representatives of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, including the Director of its Labour Legislation Department.

The Labour Standard Act, enacted in accordance with suggestions made by the Occupying Powers, has been criticised as having some points inharmonious with prevailing conditions in Japan. However, the Government has stuck firmly to its policy of maintaining the current labour standards. In revising this legislation an attempt has been made only to adjust such points as concern the technical implementation of the Act, as the representatives of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan have themselves admitted that it is too strict. However, through the present amendments, much progress will be achieved and trade unions will be authorised to participate in supervising many cases, and also the exceptional clauses respecting minimum age will be abolished.

During the Occupation the employees engaged in public enterprises operated by State or local public bodies were prohibited, by an Order of the Occupation, from exercising the right of collective bargaining, on the ground that they were public service personnel. This Order is now replaced by the National Public Service Act, and the Local Public Service Act. The Government, however, intends to change its policy by the proposed amendments to the Public Corporation Labour Relations Act, so that public service personnel, totalling 621,000, engaged in the main public enterprises, such as the postal, telegraph and telephone services, should recover their right of collective bargaining, since they were not given this right under the present Public Service Act. With regard to this point, the tripartite Labour Legislative Committee failed to reach a conclusion, owing to strong opposition on the part of the employers' representatives. Nevertheless, the Government has drafted the amendments in an effort to contribute to the healthy development of trade unions, in defiance of powerful objection in various quarters in the country. Needless to say the workers to be affected are supporting this revision wholeheartedly.

According to the revision of the Labour Relations Adjustment Act, the Minister of Labour is authorised to make a decision on an emergency adjustment in cases where labour disputes in public utilities are likely to injure

the public welfare seriously if allowed to take their own course. For a period of 50 days during the emergency adjustment the Central Labour Relations Committee is required to try to settle the dispute by conciliation, mediation, fact-finding, and the use of the other powers vested in it; no act of dispute is permitted to be carried out during this period. This is the sole point with regard to which the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan is now opposing the Government and the National Diet. During the Occupation there existed, besides legislation enacted by the Diet, Orders of the Occupation which were superior to the legislation enacted by the Diet. General strikes organised by the trade unions were banned by one of the Orders of the Occupation. Although the National Diet decided to continue to enforce a good many of these Orders after the termination of the Occupation, my Government neither enacted legislation to ban general strikes, which might undermine trade union activities, nor did it introduce "injunction and compulsory arbitration" which were strongly demanded in some quarters. This time the Government, in amending the Labour Relations Adjustment Act, has only established a 50 days' emergency adjustment period in the case of disputes which would cause serious damage to the public welfare. My country has no emergency legislation at all at present. My Government has considered that an emergency adjustment of this nature is indispensable for the protection of the public welfare.

In the plenary sitting a few days ago the Workers' delegate of my country severely criticised all these revisions as being retrogressive. He criticised the revisions of the Trade Union Act, the Labour Standard Act and the Public Corporation Labour Relations Act, which are supported by the representatives of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan which he represents. But his phraseology is familiar to us. Everything done by the Government is frequently criticised as being retrogressive or reactionary simply because it is done by the Government. It is true that leaders of trade unions in my country are trying to wage political strikes to oppose the revision of the Labour Relations Adjustment Act which is now being deliberated by the National Diet. But it would be a violation of democratic principles for the trade union movement to usurp the function of the duly elected representatives of the people as a whole by superimposing union judgment upon legislation and administration. The latest information from my country is to the effect that the political strike is rapidly deteriorating.

Because of its geographical adjacency to Korea, Japan is being exposed to serious influence by the Korean war. Recently, disturbances have frequently been caused in our country by organisations which plan subversive activities, and their threats cannot be lightly dismissed. It is our firm belief, however, that the most effective means to cope with such threats is to promote the healthy and sound growth of free and democratic trade unions and to take active measures to stabilise the national livelihood. And it is from such belief that the Government is planning progressive amend-

ments of the labour legislation and surmounting the various difficulties which it faces in the present circumstances.

As Japan is passing through a period of transition from having been an occupied country to being a sovereign State and different contentions are being sounded out as to how to deal with national problems, it would be very difficult to gain from overseas a precise picture of what is going on in my country. I hope, however, that all of the delegates present will appreciate the policy of the Japanese Government, which I have outlined above, in respect of the proposed amendments to the labour legislation.

Interpretation : Mr. AFCHAR (*Government delegate, Iran*)—While paying tribute to the efforts of the I.L.O. and its Director-General for the very full Report which he has put before us this year, and for the clarity with which he has surveyed world problems, I should like to refer briefly to recent developments in the social policy of my Government and the progress it has achieved this year in the field of social insurance for the workers. Those who follow the march of world events will have noted that the progress has been achieved in spite of the difficulties which are being faced by the Iranian people, the most important of which is the economic crisis that we are going through at present.

All the eminent experts met together here will agree with me that financial difficulties have always been an obstacle to the achievement of social reform, and this is true of Iran as well as of other countries.

Some years ago this same Conference, when it met at Philadelphia, laid down certain principles in a Declaration which has since become famous and which in the opinion of some people marked a turning point in the social history of the peoples just after the war. It was stated particularly there that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere" and that "labour is not a commodity". It is to struggle against poverty and its evil consequences, both for my own country and for others, that the Iranian people unanimously decided to take advantage of their natural wealth in the best interests of the country. The Iranian Government is doing all it can to devote the revenue thus acquired to improving the social conditions of the working people.

From this platform last year the Iranian delegate informed the Conference of the views of my Government on certain aspects of the question of the nationalisation of the oil industry of Iran. This year, in order to correct some impressions which may perhaps have been created by the publication of a book which was prepared in haste and about which there has been some propaganda, I should like to submit to the Conference a leaflet which is at the disposal of all delegations and in which all of you will be able to find information and evidence in photographs, some of which have not previously been published, on the conditions of the Iranian workers in the oil industry before nationalisation.

Under the economic pressure of general poverty the whole of the Iranian people, and

more especially the workers, demanded that the State should nationalise the oil industry throughout the country. The Governments which hesitated to meet this demand were obliged to resign.

This demand has become a reality and it is useless to try to disguise its importance by speeches or newspaper or cinema propaganda.

If it is remembered how many national loans have been subscribed to by the workers of my country we can realise how much they are interested in the matter. It is true that measures have had to be taken to prevent sabotage which is being carried out by certain elements who are opposed to the real interests of the country, but "freedom of sabotage" is not recognised in any country.

The existence of the trade unions of which Mr. Keyvan is the representative, and his unfounded criticism, are proof of the complete freedom enjoyed by the workers of Iran.

A study of the Director-General's Report makes us realise the fruitful activity which the I.L.O. has carried on during the past year. The Director-General has cited the results obtained and has discussed the principles which the I.L.O. has followed, but while pointing out the obstacles which were met with he has preferred not to stress them or to dwell on them. We hope that the future will show that this is the right policy.

My Government is devoting all its efforts to fighting the true enemies of humanity—that is to say, poverty, sickness and inhuman working conditions. Under the social security schemes now in force in Iran the Iranian workers can participate in tripartite organisations. The branches of the Workers' Social Security Fund, already established in all the industrial centres of the country, look after the needs of the workers in cases of need. The cases in which benefits are provided are as follows: sickness due to work or industrial accident; sickness or accident incurred when away from work; sickness or accident suffered by the wife, children or other close relatives of the worker; old age or incapacity for work; in case of marriage of a man or woman worker; where the worker has a large family; maternity benefits for working women; and survivors' benefits for the dependants of indigent workers.

The co-operatives which were recently set up to raise the level of the industrial and agricultural workers are expected to increase in number. We have greatly benefited by the advice given by the I.L.O. experts in setting up these co-operatives.

We have also appreciated the work of competent experts in other fields who were sent to us through the I.L.O.

The hour of social development has struck in Iran and His Imperial Majesty the Shah has set the example by taking the initiative in distributing some of the lands belonging to the Crown. These lands have been given to the workers who formerly cultivated them as tenant farmers, and steps have been taken to keep the land in their hands for a long period.

A very large number of international labour Conventions and Recommendations have been submitted to our parliament. These instru-

ments have been approved by the parliamentary labour commission and will very soon be incorporated, as they stand, in the legislation of Iran. I must, however, draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that the industrial legislation of Iran has already been influenced by the principles laid down in these Conventions, so that actually most, if not all, of these Conventions and Recommendations have already been applied in practice in Iran. A number of Bills for the purpose of improving the living conditions of industrial and agricultural workers are ready to be placed before our legislative authorities.

In conclusion, I hope that the present international unrest, to which the Director-General refers in his Report, and which results from the lack of manpower in certain countries and unemployment in others, will not continue much longer, and I hope that the wisdom of mankind will contribute to saving peace.

Mr. PATTEET (*Representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*)—I should like first of all to thank the President and Vice-Presidents for having given me the pleasure and honour of addressing you at this Conference. As one of the last speakers in this general debate, it is quite natural that I find it somewhat difficult to add any new element to what has already been said in different quarters. In fact, if we look at the speeches which have been made so far from this rostrum, we can almost say that all of them have been built round some six or seven main ideas, and we can make a summary of these speeches by using the words "technical assistance", "productivity", "inflation", "international trade", "development of I.L.O. activities", "caution" and "freedom of association and full trade union rights". In all the different ways in which these subjects have been treated here, one conclusion was common to all, and that is the urgency of any action for which these problems call.

I might just go back to the sentence used by the representative of the Government of Brazil when he said "progress or perish, that is the dilemma of the peoples of our time". If ever the Director-General thinks of giving a title to his Report, I would suggest that he should make it "Progress or Perish". Even if we cannot, in the limited time which we are allowed to use in this debate, dwell upon all the details of the programmes and problems which the Director-General has raised in his Report, it is true that the will which underlies every sentence of that Report is to push this Organisation along, to promote any action he can take and to stir up the minds of those who want to put on the brakes and even to go back, if they were courageous enough to say so.

On the problem of technical assistance, it is true that the people of the underdeveloped countries have been proclaiming their needs, have been speaking to you, exposing their difficulties and their poverty. On the other hand, it has been said: "Let us develop these technical assistance programmes which we may initiate". Finally, we found some people saying: "Yes, but let us at the same time be careful and let us not go too far because it may create other difficulties". If we are

always going to bear in mind the word "difficulty" instead of the word "progress", I think that this Organisation will perish, and that would be a bad thing for the world as a whole.

It is true—and we have to say it frankly—that during the past year the I.L.O. has been the object of criticism in all quarters and is at present the object of a campaign, on the part of the reactionary powers of the world, which no words are able to qualify, a campaign by those powers which, in the name of a so-called socialist system, of which they are the creators, aim in reality at nothing less than the disappearance of human dignity.

If the I.C.F.T.U. as such has been able to state its views on most of the problems before you, it has certainly proved that it is interested most of all in the life of this Organisation and in the possibilities which are given to the Organisation to fulfil its duties, not only by referring in speeches to what is written in the Constitution or in the Declaration of Philadelphia, but by bringing to the man in the street, to the man on the job, the things he needs and expects from this Organisation.

If we think about some of the arguments which have constantly been repeated, let us consider for one moment, for instance, the message brought to us by Mr. McGrath on behalf of Mr. McCormick. It would be so easy—it would even be very pleasant and amusing in a way—to tell Mr. McCormick something about the famous theory of free enterprise, etc. It would be very amusing to find in that same speech, in those same paragraphs, contradictions which are so outstanding that one really cannot believe that one man alone was able to put them together into a single speech. But let us not do that! If Mr. McCormick and his friends are of the opinion that free enterprise is essential to the well-being of the world, we say: "All right, let it be essential, but do not forget, on the other hand, that we think that a second essential element, and a more important one, is the fact that free and fully-fledged trade unions should exist". I wonder what we could say in this Organisation if there were no longer free and fully active trade unionism.

As Mr. Ramadier indicated in his opening speech, this Conference could be called a labour conference on freedom of association. Never before has the importance of free trade unions been stressed so many times as it has been at this Conference. In that respect, we have heard arguments which we have heard before. We have seen that in some countries trade unions and their rights have been curtailed because their leaders were so-called agitators, trouble-makers and other names of this kind. One of the greatest men in this Organisation, Léon Jouhaux, was once called an agitator. Another of our greatest men—second to him in this Organisation—the Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Ramadier, was once called a trouble-maker. Can you say that these two men have not proved to be in the right and to be whatever they wanted to be, unlike the people who made these accusations without foundation?

We have also heard no later than yesterday that in some quarters there is a lack of satisfaction with the way in which the I.L.O. is

dealing with complaints regarding the violation of trade union rights. We have heard from the lips of Mr. Le Léap that the World Federation of Trade Unions is not very happy about the result of its complaints to the Governing Body. Well, let us state very frankly that the I.C.F.T.U. itself is not very happy either with the procedure adopted by the Governing Body, and that the I.C.F.T.U. could say that as long as it depends only upon Governments to allow the I.L.O. to be active in this field we cannot progress. That is true. As long as there is a rule that Governments have to allow the investigating committee to make an investigation, it is true that no progress can be made.

However, those who criticise the I.L.O. should be prepared to criticise themselves. If we took a look at the I.L.O. files as carefully and with as much attention as Mr. Le Léap and the W.F.T.U. have done, we should see, as they should have seen, that the only two Governments which have not replied are those of Poland and Czechoslovakia. That is the truth.

I do not cite this example just to embark upon a political discussion. Our interest in the future, our interest in what is going to happen to this Organisation, our interest in what is going to happen to the United Nations as a whole, is not of the kind that brings us back always to political arguments without any real foundation. And it is just because we believe that, in the framework of the United Nations—not in the framework of any given Great Power but in the framework of a common understanding between all peoples—this Organisation can go on, that we hope and expect that it will bring to us all the peace we desire.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I call once more on Mr. King, Workers' delegate of Liberia, whose name appears on the list of speakers but who was not present when his turn came. If he is not in the hall, the Conference will adjourn.

(The Conference adjourned at 4 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Hammerl) Mr. Rudolph	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sköberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Suominen	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerini)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet	<i>France :</i> Mr. Rainadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Jouhanx	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Kazerani	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Alamgir
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Cahill (substitute for Mr. Maguire)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Goulet)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Cisternas	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle) Mr. Lacroix	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Heinrich (substitute for Mr. Eckerberg)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. Carter	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč	<i>India :</i> Mr. Menon	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Saabye (substitute for Mr. Larsen)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Borstlap	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Mason (substitute for Mr. Buckland)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Delaney
<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Ballester			

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin (Saar), Mr. Patteet (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions).

SEVENTEENTH SITTING

Monday, 23 June 1952, 10 a.m.

*President : Mr. Delaney*REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now continue the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Interpretation : Mr. LICKI (Government delegate, Poland)—When carefully perusing the Report of the Director-General and listening to the many speakers who have spoken from this platform, one cannot avoid reaching a sad conclusion regarding the present state of the International Labour Organisation.

The discussions which have been held have shown even more clearly than the Report of the Director-General that the International Labour Organisation is systematically undermined by a tendency which prevents it from following the road of constant improvement of the standards of living of the working classes and of sincere international co-operation. This tendency has the aim of transforming the I.L.O. into a docile instrument in the hands of the United States Government and of connecting it closely with a policy of aggression and war preparation.

It is obvious that, from month to month, the domination of a single power over this Organisation is increasing. This is a sign of a dangerous situation which is constantly becoming more serious, of a situation in which the I.L.O. is forced to play a very undignified role—that of a mere screen.

The main note of the Director-General's Report, and one which has dominated the discussion, is the justification of war preparation, the tendency to present the armaments race as a solution to unemployment, to veil the fact that the positions acquired by the working classes, such as the improvement of working conditions, social security, political and social liberties, are gradually being invaded and destroyed by the capitalist monopolies and the Governments which they serve.

It is sad for me to have to realise the extent to which this Organisation is at the service of

American imperialism, but I know very well, and this fact has been demonstrated several times in the Committees and plenary sittings, that the opposite tendency—represented within this Organisation by the countries desiring liberty, by the socialist countries where the people only desire to continue constructive efforts to ensure peace, prosperity and constant economic, cultural and social development—supported by certain delegates of capitalist countries, exercises an attractive influence in spite of every effort to undermine it, in spite of every pressure. This is the tendency towards ensuring increased international co-operation without regard to political and economic systems, based on a footing of complete equality and reciprocal advantages, the tendency towards ensuring real social progress.

Our adversaries know this as well as we do. They try to go against it by seeking to fool others and to fool themselves. Here are some examples.

The statements made from this platform concerning the United States have been directed towards presenting this country, which outstrips all the other countries in the race for armaments and leads them against their will and against their national interests towards catastrophe, as a paradise on earth—a paradise, no doubt, but only for the capitalists!

How easy it was to make this assembly forget the oppression and the poverty of 15 million American negroes, the shameful practice of lynching, the poverty and misery of the migrant agricultural labourers, the millions of workers who, having left their employment to "improve their lot", now find themselves left free to starve, the four million small farmers who are being eliminated from production, and the slums in the cities and in the country.

But these facts cannot be forgotten, and it is according to these facts that the United States must be judged.

In one of these statements it was said that half the world still lives today without sufficient food and housing, without satisfactory

opportunities for education and exposed to illnesses which could, however, be prevented.

If these words are to be taken seriously we find ourselves facing a paradox, an absurdity. The people who maintain they would like to prevent the misery endured by half the world are, at the same time, destroying the Korean villages. They say they would like to fight against disease, and, at the same time, they are spreading death through bacteriological warfare against a nation whose only wish was to follow peacefully the road to freedom.

We are told that food, clothing, housing and schools are needed, but enormous sums are being spent in preparation for a war of aggression and destruction.

But what is the truth hidden behind these contradictory words?

The truth is that if the American monopolists had not started the war in Korea, if they had not brought about an atmosphere of hysteria and violence, "American free enterprise" would have had to face a catastrophic economic depression and millions of the working classes would have been unemployed.

And if the United States economy has been able, so far, to avoid a serious economic depression, it is thanks to the methods which I have just mentioned and because they have elaborated a clever system which has allowed them to transfer the burdens of this policy and to throw them upon the nations of Western Europe and on the underdeveloped nations. I believe that this fact makes it superfluous for me to engage in polemics concerning technical assistance and to point out why the expression "trade rather than aid" has been used against the satellites of the United Nations.

Let me give you another example. We heard a few days ago that the 1952 budget of a certain country has earmarked 22 per cent. of the national income for defence "against aggressive neighbours". The truth is that this country is not threatened by anyone but that the policy of the rebirth of capitalism and of the transformation of the country into a base for American aggression is costly to its working population. The *Business Week*, an American weekly financial newspaper, has written with reason: "Tito is the least costly instrument of the United States in the cold war against Eastern Europe".

A third example. The representative of the I.C.F.T.U. has taken the same road. When speaking of the persecution of the trade union movement throughout the world he said that the Polish Government had not answered the charges made against it of violations of trade union rights. I believe that in his entire intervention there is no more truth than in the statement which I have just referred to because all he says is completely contrary to the facts.

I will finally give you the example of productivity. Productivity has been presented to us as a remedy which could save the sick and as an essential condition for social and economic progress, but it must be remembered that productivity, under capitalist conditions, brings about increased exploitation of the worker and that at present it is only a method of financing cheaply the armaments race. The working class is wary of productivity which, within the framework of capitalism, has only brought

about a lack of industrial safety, an increase in the number of accidents, a decrease in wages and an increase in unemployment. Under the capitalist régime productivity only represents greater effort and greater hardship and the worker does not profit from it.

It is regrettable that the International Labour Organisation, instead of devoting all its attention to the solution of essential problems, wastes its time in dealing with secondary problems.

The problems which today constitute the basis of economic and social security are peace and international security, the lack of which would put an end not only to the discussions of the International Labour Conference, but, above all, to the lives of millions of human beings.

This Organisation can achieve lasting results only if it frees itself from the imperialist policy of the United States, if it points out the dangers which threaten the peace of the world and social progress, and if it opposes these dangers with all the resources at its disposal.

Interpretation: Mr. PLEŠEK (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—The Director-General's Report tells us (on page 33) that: "The threat of war overshadows every other issue but it must not blind us to the great and pressing social problems which lie behind it. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the peoples of the world are suffering from shortages of the most elementary necessities. In many countries the people stand in dire need of food, housing, health services and elementary education."

With these words the Report removes the veil from the burning problem facing all the countries of the world today, the problem which any organisation which pursues peaceful objects must face.

It is regrettable that the Director-General in his Report omits to reveal the real causes underlying the threat of a new war and that he pretends not to recognise the promoters of this new war and the authors of the armaments programmes as well as the harmful consequences of this policy which the Report has not been able to dissimulate. These consequences have been very clearly revealed in the discussion of the Report.

The United States budget for the present year, the United States being at the head of the aggressive imperialist bloc, allocates two-thirds of its total expenditure to war objectives. The 1953 expenditure for this purpose in the United States will be three-and-a-half times as great as it was in 1950. Disregarding the rise in prices, the other budgetary expenditure will be reduced by 9 per cent. compared with the 1950 figure. The sum earmarked for military purposes in 1953 in the United States is two-and-a-half times as big as the entire national income of Great Britain. The expenditure directly intended for military purposes will reach in 1953 a figure four times as great as that of 1950. During the fiscal year 1953 for every dollar spent on housing, welfare and health services the United States Government will spend \$20 for military purposes.

As a result of pressure by the United States nine Western European countries belonging to

the N.A.T.O. have already more than doubled their expenditure on preparations for war.

One of the principal instigators of United States aggressive policy, Mr. John Foster Dulles, recently restated, only a few days ago, the real objectives of the feverish over-armament policy in an article entitled "A Policy of Boldness", which appeared in *Life* on 16 June 1952. He says in this article that the objectives of the policy of the United States will not hold "unless our purpose goes beyond confining Soviet communism within its present orbit".

This confession having been made, Mr. Tobin repeats here the attempt he made last year to show the great world power for peace as being the very cause of the fantastic over-armament policy of the United States and its satellites.

We have once more been witnesses of a lying declaration and one refuted long ago, which maintains that the Soviet Union did not demobilise at the end of the second world war. This attempt at propaganda, directed at charging the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies with being responsible for the re-armament programmes, is bound to fail. It is refuted by simple fact, which Joseph Stalin set out in his reply to an address of the ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Attlee. Stalin said that no State, the Soviet Union no more than any other, can fully develop its civil industry, undertake the construction of big systems like the hydro-electric networks of the Volga, the Dnieper and the Amu-Darja, which require budgetary expenditure of several thousand millions, practise a systematic and continuous policy of reducing the price of consumer goods, which also requires budgetary expenditure of thousands of millions, invest hundreds of thousands of millions in the reconstruction of the national economy ravaged by the German occupying forces and, at the same time as all this, multiply the strength of its armed forces and develop its war industry. Such a policy, Stalin pointed out, would obviously lead a State to bankruptcy.

Indeed, even the authors of the lying propaganda directed against the Soviet Union know very well that the peoples of the world fear not the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union but the bellicose policy of the United States.

Mr. Dulles further declared at the Annual Dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on 12 May 1952 "The hard truth is, as my recent visits in both the east and the west have made clear to me, that many of the peoples of the world have less fear of the Red Army than that the United States may rashly precipitate atomic warfare".

Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, giving, in the number of 21 June (which you may find in the hall of this building), an account of his trip to the United States, says: "I asked one public man why America in her comparative safety was so much more frightened of war than we were in Europe, and he said: 'If people were not frightened how should we get Congress to vote the present appropriations for armaments?'".

Having said this I am sure that our Conference can ignore the fairy-tale accusations made against the Soviet Union and the Peoples'

Democracies, whether these fairy tales are spread by the authors of American policy itself or by hired porters such as Tito and Chiang Kai-shek.

We have been witnesses of an attempt by the defenders of the aggressive policy of the United States bellicose alliance to give an upside-down version of the history of the post-war years. The failure of this attempt was shown, for instance, by statements claiming that this alliance is "not using the techniques of subversion and falsehood in an attempt to undermine democratic Governments".

In fact there should be added to the "assistance" granted by the United States to the members of this alliance the figure of \$157 million for foreign war propaganda by press and radio and \$100 million for spying and various activities in the Peoples' Democracies and socialist countries with "the aid of persons residing in these countries or having fled from them".

In the article by Mr. Dulles to which I have referred, "A Policy of Boldness", Mr. Dulles expresses his dissatisfaction regarding the scope of these subversive activities despite the fact, as he says himself, that "some highly competent work is being done at one place or another to promote liberation. Obviously such activities do not lend themselves to public exposition."

I would merely like to add that Mr. Dulles' use of the word "liberation" is as queer as that made by one of his colleagues of the words "freedom and independence of nations" when speaking of the assistance given by the United States to other countries.

An editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* of 27 February 1952 entitled "Aid and Independence" says: "Action in several countries lately shows that some nations fear the Greeks—or, more precisely, the Yanks—bearing gifts. An Indonesian cabinet has been forced to resign because it accepted economic aid from the United States. Mexico has just joined the list of nations turning down American help. Behind these actions is a widespread suspicion that the aid programs of the Mutual Security Agency are intended to tie the recipient countries firmly into the American orbit."

The *Boston Herald* of 23 March 1952 says: "Our give-away program—and we might as well admit the truth—is becoming exactly what we vowed it never would become. We have created not a commonwealth of free nations, but a solar system. It was foolish to pretend in the first place that (the peoples) could enjoy our benevolent influence without accepting our control. Economically under the Marshall Plan, militarily under the Atlantic Pact and now politically under Mutual Security, the American solar system has become discernible."

So much for the American defence of the liberty and independence of other nations.

The American comments which I have just quoted reveal the essential questions which the Director-General ought to have dealt with in his Report, questions which our Conference cannot evade if it wishes to fulfil its task.

When resigning from his post as Director-General of the I.L.O. in 1941, i.e., during the

most difficult period of the second world war, Mr. John G. Winant indicated in his Report of 14 February of the same year that the peoples "had seen, particularly during the past decade, the unbelievable gap between the world's capacity to produce and consume and actual standards of production and consumption". The Report also declared that "an unemployed or poorly employed population is no basis for winning the peace".

Once more today the workers of the capitalist world can observe the "unbelievable gap" to which Mr. Winant refers, between the capacity to produce, used in preparing for a new war, and their own need to consume.

The countries in the peace camp, where the working peoples are masters of their own destinies and direct their own affairs, oppose this gap with the example of their economic effort and their cultural achievements.

These countries, in agreement with hundreds of millions of workers in the capitalist countries, oppose the efforts to keep the world in a state of warlike tension with proposals for the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great powers, as well as proposals to reduce armaments and to prohibit atomic and bacteriological warfare. They bring their determination to collaborate in commerce and economic affairs against the policy of commercial discrimination and economic cold war.

A policy of preparing for war cannot give sense to the lives of the nations nor inspire the activities of the international organisations. The I.L.O. should take up its stand resolutely in defence of peace if it does not wish to fail in its mission.

Mr. KING (*Workers' delegate, Liberia*)—It is indeed an honour and a great pleasure to address the delegations represented at this International Labour Conference, to speak on behalf of the working class of Liberia, whom I have the honour to represent here, and to discuss the Report of the Director-General. I must first ask for him God's blessing for his fruitful thought for the working classes in general and for his keen interest in the International Labour Organisation.

In Chapter I of the Director-General's Report he refers to the rise in the cost of living in many countries. Permit me to say that the working class of Liberia also suffers from this rise in the cost of living. Liberia, as you know, is an underdeveloped country where labour is but newly organised. We are fighting hard to overcome the difficult problems connected with the organisation of workers unacquainted with modern industrial life. What we in Liberia need at this time is a properly organised trade union in keeping with international labour standards, and we certainly would be glad if some unions could find it possible to send someone to us to help us to organise our trade unions properly. The workers in Liberia are experiencing many difficulties due to the high cost of living, and they would receive better consideration from the employers if they were well organised.

The Government of Liberia has tried to adjust disputes between the workers and the employers from time to time, and has facilitated the provision of medical aid for the

workers at the expense of the employers and made it possible for compensation to be paid to workers in case of injury received during the course of work on a given project.

It is through the International Labour Organisation that the workers are today receiving more attention from the employers, who cannot now use the whip of domination over the workers as they did before. I wish to mention two practices of the employers of Liberia vis-à-vis the trade unions in Liberia. First, they would rather employ workers who are not members of a union. Secondly, they would discourage trade union membership among other workers.

These sinister practices have caused many strikes on the part of the trade unions which would not otherwise have been necessary, and the Government has had to intervene between the unions and the employers to prevent unpleasantness. The employers have yet to realise the link between the working classes and themselves.

The I.L.O. speaks of peace, freedom and co-operation between the working classes and the employers, but there cannot be peace, freedom and co-operation as long as there is a tendency on the part of the employers in the respective countries to dominate labour, when there is dignity in labour and the working classes realise this fact. Workmen and employers will be for ever like David and Saul until they value the service of the workmen. I have sat in this Conference Hall and heard a lot of flowery speeches from the employers, and in the various Committees they are opposing every measure designed to bring some good to the working classes. There is an old maxim which says "live and let live", but the employers say that they should live and the working classes must die.

I am pleased to inform this Conference that the workers of Liberia are physically strong and healthy. The United States Public Health Service in Liberia, hand in hand with the Liberian Government, greatly helps the working classes throughout Liberia to keep strong and healthy. The Liberian Government has built modern hospitals with equipment for the protection of the health of workers, with the result that the death rate among the working classes has been kept very low.

In conclusion, I must thank you for allowing me the time to speak on behalf of the working classes of Liberia. May God continue His blessing upon you!

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I now call upon Mr. Cachecho, Workers' delegate of Syria.

As he does not seem to be present, we have come to the end of the list of speakers on the Report of the Director-General.

I should like to take this opportunity to extend to the many delegates who have participated in this discussion our profound gratitude for the work that they have done and for their contribution to the efficiency of the work of the International Labour Organisation, at the same time expressing my gratitude for the attention paid by the many delegates who sat through this long discussion.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I now call upon Mr. Afchar, Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, to present his report.

Interpretation: Mr. AFCHAR (*Government delegate, Iran; Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture*)—Mr. Larchevêque, the Reporter of the Committee on Agriculture, has been obliged to return to Paris urgently and I therefore take it upon myself to make some introductory remarks on the Report of the Committee on Agriculture.

The Report of the Committee on Agriculture has been printed and circulated, and it does not, therefore, seem necessary for me to read out the text to you.

The Reporter of the Committee which was charged with examining in the first discussion last year the question of holidays with pay in agriculture, had submitted to the Conference the first proposals of this Committee, which aimed at the working out of a Convention, to be supplemented by a Recommendation. The Conference adopted these proposals under the conditions with which you are familiar.

On the basis of these first proposals, which became conclusions following the vote of the Conference, the competent services of the International Labour Office drew up a proposed Convention, supplemented by a proposed Recommendation. These texts were then submitted to the Governments for their observations. These initial drafts were worked over and revised to take into account to the greatest extent possible the observations received.

The Committee on Agriculture has examined, in the course of the present session, the texts thus revised, which were submitted to it. In the course of its working sittings it brought to the drafts proposed by the I.L.O. services only secondary modifications; the fundamental texts remain the same. That is to say that the texts submitted today for your approval remain perfectly in conformity with the spirit of the conclusions which you approved last year. They deal only with questions of principle, leaving to Governments the question of selection and application of methods in accordance with the conditions which seem most appropriate to them in order to attain the objectives. The texts remain sufficiently flexible in their drafting to be applicable everywhere. This is the opinion of the great majority of the Government members of the Committee and of the Workers' members as a whole. I am therefore of the opinion that the Conference can adopt these proposals in all tranquillity.

In this connection, I think that I should insist on the fact that unanimity was achieved immediately in the Committee in regard to the substance of the problem—that is to say, on the appropriateness of having an international regulation recognising the right of agricultural workers to a holiday with pay after a period of continuous service with the same employer. As you will see from the report of the Committee, the divergences of opinion which were manifested related solely to the

form which the international regulation should take.

Taking up their arguments of last year, the Employers' members of the Committee urged that it was appropriate to give to these regulations the form of a Recommendation only. This opinion was shared by a certain number of Government members—and more particularly by the Government member of India—who urged the complexity of the agricultural structure in their particular countries, the under-employment existing and the administrative difficulties which would be created by the ratification and application of a Convention.

Among the arguments against the idea of a Convention advanced from the Employers' side it was stated that in a number of countries in which a system of holidays with pay existed these holidays were in general determined by way of collective agreement or some other similar form of regulation, and that the adoption of a Convention might create in those countries difficulties of a practical and administrative character.

It is, however, precisely in order to take care of these possible difficulties, while at the same time ensuring a uniformity of principle in the international standards to be established, that the Convention has been elaborated in very flexible terms, not only envisaging the application of a wide variety of methods, such as determination by national legislation, by collective agreement, by arbitration awards and by special bodies, but leaving latitude for the utilisation of any other possible method which may be approved by the competent authority.

It is for this reason that the Committee on Agriculture has wisely abstained from specifying the minimum duration of the holiday or a minimum duration of continuous service, and has seen to it that the Convention presents no character of rigidity which might impede its ratification or its application.

It is for the second time, after an interval of many years, that the International Labour Conference is called upon to fill in some of the gaps in the International Labour Code, and to grant to agricultural workers a certain parity of treatment. It seems to me particularly desirable that the objective which has been urged for industry and commerce for a long time now should be extended also to agriculture.

The question of holidays with pay is, of course, only one aspect of the social problems of agriculture which the I.L.O. has the duty of studying. Consequently, the adoption of a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation should not in any way imply that the Conference relegates to a secondary plane other important questions. The present session, however, is called upon to pronounce on a question of principle, and it is this consideration which must prevail in connection with the instruments which are submitted to you.

I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture, to request you to adopt the texts which are now submitted to you.

I have also, as Reporter, to draw your attention to the fact that the Employers' members of the Committee on Agriculture have seized the Conference at the last minute of an amendment purporting to replace, in the preamble

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VII.

to the proposed Convention, the term "Convention" by the term "Recommendation". This amendment brings an essential modification to the proposals of the Committee on Agriculture. It aims, indeed, at transforming the international regulation entirely by giving to it the form of a Recommendation instead of the form of a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation. The amendment therefore at the same time goes against the conclusions which the Conference adopted last year and against the decision taken by the Committee on Agriculture which I have had the honour to present to you.

In these conditions, if the Conference is decided to adhere to its conclusions of last year and to give effect to the proposals of the Committee on Agriculture tending to the adoption of a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation concerning holidays with pay in agriculture, it will see fit to reject the amendment submitted by the Employers' members of the Committee.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The general discussion is now open.

Mr. PHILLIPS (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I am very grateful for the opportunity of saying a few words on behalf of the Employers' group on the subject of this report of the Committee on Agriculture. May I just make it clear beyond all doubt that every member of the Employers' group subscribes fully to the principle of holidays with pay in agriculture. There is no issue on that subject at all. In fact, the only issue of substance that was before the Committee on Agriculture and which divided the Committee was simply on the form and manner in which our generally declared aims should be presented.

Now, who are the people for whom we are seeking to legislate if we adopt this Convention? In effect, the greater part of the working population of the world—something like two-thirds of the working population of the world—are involved here; millions of people engaged in primary production in conditions which are as diverse and varied as the very pattern of agriculture itself. There are many countries, like my own, the United Kingdom, which have had for many years appropriate machinery in the form of statutory boards for dealing with this matter.

Other countries, of course, deal with the subject by collective agreement or even by individual agreement; yet others legislate directly on the subject. All these methods have in the respective countries worked to the reasonable satisfaction of the parties concerned. But for all these a Convention on the subject represents no advance whatever. Indeed, a Convention in the present form may well create difficulties as respects ratification by such countries as my own in which a statutory body has been established with full power to deal with the matter and without any limitation upon its competence.

This objection to the present form of the Convention applies with equal force in the case of those countries in which paid holidays are dealt with by collective or individual agreement, since ratification of the document before

you would entail at once a limitation of the freedom to negotiate.

I am bound also to point out that there are other features of this proposed Convention which create difficulties even for those States in which a system of paid holidays in agriculture has been in operation for many years. I would draw your attention in particular to Article 5 of the Convention. This seeks to import certain principles which in many cases depart from established practice, and indeed are contrary to the whole spirit and tenor of the proposed Convention. May I give you one or two examples. Is it logical to say in Article 1 that the right to a paid holiday shall only arise after a qualifying period of continuous service, and then to speak in Article 5 of proportionate holidays for lesser periods of service? Is it in accord with Article 8, which makes void any agreement to relinquish or forgo a holiday, to speak in Article 5 of payment in lieu of the holiday? Is it fair that in an occupation like agriculture a young man should have longer holidays than an adult, as is contemplated by Article 5?

However, there is a much more fundamental question than those already raised. The real object of our work at this session of the International Labour Conference, and at all our conferences, is to make some progress towards a solution of the many problems affecting the lives and happiness of millions of workers throughout the world.

Does the Conference really believe that a Convention on holidays with pay in agriculture is likely to make any contribution of substance in that direction? To think so is to delude oneself. A Convention on this subject is inevitably bound to be rigid. Is not this the very reason why the Convention, of general application, on holidays with pay, passed 16 years ago, has only been ratified by ten countries?

The considerations which I have already mentioned apply with particular force to the underdeveloped countries, including the non-metropolitan territories. It is true that in the latter case a certain flexibility is provided for by Article 35 of our Constitution, but the passing of this Convention would nevertheless raise hopes and expectations which Governments and those familiar with local conditions well know to be unrealisable today.

The Convention, for example, calls for adequate inspection and enforcement, which in some of these vast and often inaccessible regions is quite impossible. It implies denial to the worker of the right to accumulate holidays, which is so often desirable in cases in which the worker wishes to return to a distant home in order to spend his holiday.

The objection to a young worker having a longer holiday than an adult would apply with special force in some of these underdeveloped countries and the non-metropolitan territories, in which such a principle would be entirely alien to firmly established customs and traditions.

How much more hopeful and realistic would it be to place a Recommendation on our statute book. In that case the fact that all the objectives specified in the instruments were not immediately attainable would not result in

action upon the instrument being regarded as utterly impracticable and out of the question. On the contrary, it would remain for all the countries as a guide and constant stimulant to take such forward steps as were practicable at any given stage of development.

I do not propose to detain you longer and I propose to conclude as I began. The Employers' group unanimously subscribe to the principle of holidays with pay in agriculture, but they are convinced that the most realistic and effective method of gaining the common objective is by means of a Recommendation rather than a Convention, and I therefore appeal in all sincerity to the Conference as a whole to show their recognition of the real facts of the situation by supporting the amendment which I now submit on behalf of the Employers' group and which has been circulated to the Conference. The purpose of this amendment is to substitute the words "a Recommendation" for "an international Convention" on the second line of the final paragraph of the Preamble.

Mr. MENON (*Government delegate, India*)—The Committee on Agriculture has decided, by 55 votes to 42, in favour of a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation. The majority were in favour, but it will be seen that there was a substantial number of delegates who expressed the opinion that a Convention would be rather premature.

It would be definitely premature in the case of underdeveloped countries, and I say this categorically in respect of my own country. We in India are as anxious as anybody else to do everything we can for the betterment of conditions of work of the agricultural worker, who is the backbone of the economy of an agricultural country. We have a population of 356 million, of which 249 million depend on agriculture. Of these 249 million, again, it can be assumed that a substantial proportion consist of agricultural wage earners. We have felt for some time that while we have done a good deal for the much lesser proportion of industrial workers, agricultural workers have not been given the amount of attention they deserve. We are very well aware of that. The average employment of the agricultural worker in India, however, is only 152 days in the year. The problem before us in India, therefore, is not of providing holidays with pay for agricultural workers but the much more important one of finding avenues of alternative employment so as to give these persons a chance of earning a livelihood during the long period that they are out of employment through no fault of their own.

Even if holidays with pay were to be given to agricultural workers, I feel that there would be no guarantee, so far as my country is concerned, that under existing conditions advantage would be taken of these holidays. The workers, who will be in any case employed for about 152 days, might work with other employers, and there is no continuity of employment under the same employers, at least for a large number of the workers. We feel that however important the problems of the agricultural worker are, the basic problems require prior consideration. We are actively

engaged in dealing with the question of land reform, to do away with the old feudal system of landlordism. In India it has created a great many problems for us but if we succeed in getting it through satisfactorily, we will have done a good job. In addition, we have enacted the Minimum Wages Act which includes, among others, agricultural workers. The idea behind that Act is to ensure that the agricultural worker who is not paid even a minimum wage now will be paid so that he will have some means of keeping body and soul together. There is the other important question of housing, which is also receiving our attention.

I do urge that, in these circumstances, for my country to adopt the Convention relating to holidays with pay in agriculture will be totally unrealistic and if I were to subscribe to the adoption of a Convention I would only be raising false hopes in the minds of millions of agricultural workers in my country. This I am not prepared to do. I now find that an amendment has been moved for adopting a Recommendation and not a Convention. This is in accordance with the attitude taken by my Government all along and I propose to support it. However, if that amendment does not go through, and if a vote is taken in regard to a Convention, though I am quite convinced in my own mind that we will not be able to ratify a Convention in my country, I will not stand in the way of other countries which would like to adopt a Convention. In the event, therefore, of the proposed amendment for a Recommendation being negatived, and if a vote is taken in regard to a Convention, my country will abstain from the vote.

Mr. NEWMAN (*Employers' adviser, United States*)—I am a farmer in the western part of the United States. I have spent my entire life on farms, first as a worker and now as an employer. Therefore, in discussing the proposed Convention on holidays with pay in agriculture, I speak from personal experience. I wish to express my appreciation to those representatives of Government, workers and employers whose efforts enabled our Committee to draft the text with at least some measure of relationship to actual farm life.

From the outset, however, the whole concept of a Convention upon this subject seemed to me as objectionable as it was futile.

May I say flatly that I am in favour of holidays with pay in agriculture. But may I state with equal emphasis that I am absolutely opposed to paid holidays imposed by statutory enforcement. The element of legal compulsion which is inherent in the very nature of a Convention is contrary to the principle of free and voluntary understanding which should be the basis of employer-employee relations not only in farming but in anything else.

The futility of such a Convention lies in the fact that in my opinion it cannot be ratified by most Member countries, and can have no practical effect whatsoever. It would be meaningless except as a document which might be used for political propaganda—and I think that is its main purpose.

There are many thousands of farms in our country where the farmer has one employee.

He usually eats his meals with the farmer's family. He may live in the farmer's house. He is usually paid on a monthly basis, and if he wants a day off he asks for it and gets it. It would not occur to him however, to ask for a day off in an urgent harvest period. On the other hand, when he wants his longer holiday, that too is worked out on a basis of mutual satisfaction. I venture to say that the workers on an average American farm get now on this basis far more holidays with pay than they could possibly get under the compulsory terms of the proposed Convention.

There are larger agricultural enterprises, of course, which employ larger numbers of men; but here again the same voluntary arrangement prevails. For example, let me tell you about the farm I operate. We have 26 year-round hired workers. They work 5½ days a week, with Saturday afternoons off with pay. They are guaranteed over 300 paid days per year.

During the year they get a week's holiday with pay, plus nine more days off with pay, scheduled to fit in with our national holidays. For instance, when Christmas falls on a Thursday they do not come back to work until Monday.

If, instead of taking his paid holiday of a week, a man prefers to break it up into several long weekends, to go deerhunting in the hills or fishing in the ocean, that too can be arranged. I was amazed when it was actually proposed in our Committee that any such freedom of choice on the part of the worker should be forbidden by law, and that he should be compelled to take his paid holiday only as dictated by statute. Fortunately, we all agreed eventually that the worker himself should be allowed to have something to say as to how he preferred to take his own holiday. What I have described to you is simply the situation customary in my part of the country. I might add that several of our men have been with us for 20 years, and most of them for over ten. That, too, is typical. The year-round workers on our farms need no law to get them paid holidays; they are doing very well under the voluntary system which is traditional in the United States and I am convinced that they would resent and oppose any attempt to impose upon them a compulsory system enforced by law.

The fact is that this proposed Convention treats the farm as if it were a factory. Its framers were thinking in terms of industry, not of farming. Most of the food of the world is produced by small individual farmers under conditions to which concepts based upon industrial collective bargaining do not apply. If the I.L.O. wants to help the farm workers of the world it should forget the idea of compulsory legislation and shift its efforts to technical assistance in co-operation with the F.A.O., which will help the underdeveloped countries of the world to produce more food per man. There is here an enormous field for really productive work. It is a field in which trained experts from the leading agricultural countries are already making a valuable contribution.

I think it is a cruel hoax upon agricultural workers in underdeveloped countries to go home and to say to them "See what we have done for you: we have passed an international law giving you holidays with pay". Do you

think that any permanent support for the I.L.O. can be built upon any such basis? What would this Convention mean to millions of farm workers in the world who work only 150 to 200 days per year? I might say that even by discussing this subject of holidays with pay in agriculture at this Conference at this time we are putting the cart before the horse. As the great underdeveloped countries of the world solve their problems—problems they are attacking so vigorously—they will at the same time approach full employment in agriculture. At that time let us start on a sound basis to help those who need the help of the I.L.O. May I suggest that the sound basis is free and voluntary co-operation.

It appears that some Governments and some Workers at this Conference have too long held to the misguided and ill-advised stand that they must have a Convention at any cost. This position is taken without considering whether a Convention will actually help those whom we seek to help—very probably the poor record of Conventions ratified and the resultant adverse effect on I.L.O. prestige in the world is due mainly to this stand dictated by politics instead of simple unselfish thought.

With the intention of making the I.L.O. a stronger force, to help give it a new and more active life, I honestly and sincerely suggest to some of the Governments, as well as the Workers, that they conscientiously re-examine their position both as to their action now and in the future.

I therefore strongly urge that you vote against this document as a Convention.

Interpretation: Mr. NOGUEIRA (*Government delegate, Uruguay*)—When the vote was taken in the Committee on Agriculture on the text of the Convention we are now considering I was in the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and therefore I could not take part in the vote. The Uruguayan legislation on the subject is more generous in general and in some details than the provisions of the Convention; my Government therefore approves the Convention and we intend to speed up its ratification by Parliament.

The same is true of the Conventions concerning maternity protection, minimum standards of social security, protection of the health of workers in places of employment, etc.

The Government delegation of Uruguay could not take part in the discussions of the various committees but we are especially interested in stating that we support the adoption of every measure which tends to improve progressively the living conditions of the workers.

My country possesses excellent social legislation though, naturally, it is not perfect. Only by closing one's eyes to the evidence, however, could one censure for being slow a country which introduced the eight-hour day and provided for old-age pensions some years before the I.L.O. came into being in accordance with the terms of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. I want to take advantage of the vote on the Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture to remind you in a few words of facts which

everybody knows about the social legislation of Uruguay—which, like everything else undertaken by human beings, could be improved upon, but which will probably never need the spur of international action in order to find itself among the most advanced.

I do not mean that we are better than others, but I would like to say that circumstances have favoured us because we have an ethnically uniform population, few illiterates and a temperate climate, and are staunch defenders of freedom and not faced with the troubles which great power and too great wealth frequently cause in the lives of some nations.

You now know why the Government delegation of Uruguay has limited itself to speaking little and to voting in favour of everything that constitutes progress in the struggle for the welfare of the worker, which is the welfare of most people and the basis of peace.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—As a member of the Committee on Agriculture I defended at its meetings the amendments to the draft Convention and to the Recommendation concerning holidays with pay in agriculture which were submitted jointly by the Polish and Czechoslovak delegations, and I must say that we do not feel particularly happy about the final text of the Convention. Speaking for my country I wish to state simply that the Convention and supplementary Recommendation will, in their present form, be of little significance to Czechoslovak agricultural workers. They have their holidays with pay guaranteed by our Constitution and by an Act in implementation thereof. This Act does not discriminate between agricultural workers and workers in industry. The minimum holiday with pay is a fortnight for adults and three weeks for young workers up to 18 years of age, and a gradual extension of holidays with pay is granted according to length of service, irrespective of any changes in the worker's place of employment.

Holidays with pay form only a part of the facilities which our agricultural workers have gained from the People's Democratic order in Czechoslovakia. Land reform, completed after 1948, and the transformation of our agricultural policy along socialist lines have freed the Czechoslovak agricultural worker from the exploitation of his rights. The National Insurance Scheme has given him social security. The inclusion of agricultural production in the general production plan and the regulation, through this plan, of the market for agricultural produce have contributed to the stability of the living conditions of agricultural workers and to their steady improvement. The mechanisation of our agriculture, the help of the State tractor stations and scientific institutes, and the work of the agricultural co-operatives have made the tasks of the agricultural worker easier. The level of education and culture in our country has risen.

It is clear even from this brief analysis that the Convention now under consideration by the Conference cannot introduce any new principles of betterment into the life of the agricultural workers in my country as their social security and their standard of living are

on a much higher plane than that envisaged by the Convention. But this being so, there is no justification for the suggestions which have been made during the Committee's discussions, and some of which have been repeated here today, implying that the countries in which the agricultural workers already enjoy a high standard of living and social security have no interest in this Convention, and that it would be better to leave the decision on its provisions to those countries whose legislation might be affected by its adoption.

Our workers have achieved their present standard of living after a hard struggle against reactionary forces, and the majority of them still remember the exploitation to which they were subjected in the time of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. They understand very well the situation, in so many cases unbearable and, from the human point of view, intolerable, in which agricultural workers in the capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial territories find themselves. It is therefore from the point of view of international working class solidarity that the Czechoslovak working people are interested in this Convention. The concern inspired by this solidarity is certainly no less genuine than concern based on self-interest.

We are therefore of the opinion that this Conference must take into account the full scope of the situation of agricultural workers for whom this Convention is intended. As has been stated by several delegates in the Committee, it is generally known that holidays with pay is not the most important and the most pressing problem which these workers face. In the majority of States exploitation of agricultural labour by private landowners and landlords still exists. This exploitation affects the vast strata of human society in a number of countries where agricultural labourers form the majority of the population. This exploitation is especially cruel and inhuman, degrading the human dignity of men, women and even children, particularly in the colonial and dependent territories. There is the problem of landlordism as such, and the question of land ownership, which have to be solved in order to give those who toil on the land their proper place in society. There are millions of agricultural workers and millions of their families starving as a result of conditions which keep them out of work.

The Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture will not in itself help to change the hard conditions of life and work which still prevail in so many countries, in most of which the right of the workers to fight to change these conditions is either denied or violated in a shameful way. But even if this Convention does not tackle the fundamental problems, needs and demands of the exploited agricultural workers, it may be that just in the background of the full picture of their situation they themselves attach to this Convention a certain significance which transcends the field of social legislation covered by the provisions of the present text. It may be that they can understand it in their own way as a kind of symbol of their right to equal status with industrial workers, and as a sign and a weapon—even if only a weak one—in the fight for their final liberation from exploitation.

The amendments which the Polish and Czechoslovak delegations put forward at the Committee stage of this Convention had but one purpose—to strengthen it so that it could help more effectively the workers in those countries where they are still in need of help, and so that it could encourage them in their fight where they still have to fight.

We have noted—and I say this with regret—that the Report of the Committee on Agriculture does not convey adequately enough the nature of the argument which was going on during the Committee's deliberations. It was precisely because this Convention would strengthen the hand of the agricultural workers that the Employers' group, with the help of some Governments, used every possible means to make the Convention weak, so that it would lose its value for the workers. By using jointly the threat that a strong Convention would be wrecked by the plenary sitting, the Employers and the Governments, which obviously have the interests of the employers more at heart than those of the workers, have excluded from the provisions of the Convention the minimum duration of the holiday with pay and the minimum period of service, without which the Convention is pretty non-committal.

Even the specification of maternity among the temporary interruptions of service which may not affect the length of the holiday was refused, as it was regarded as likely to endanger the possibility of the Convention being adopted by the Conference. A majority of the Committee has deliberately left the Convention overloaded with escape clauses which make it possible for Governments to ratify the Convention without being obliged to do anything about providing more favourable treatment for young workers, for instance. The result is that we have in front of us a Convention which contains no operative clauses.

I had the unpleasant opportunity, at sittings of the Committee, of pointing out the disagreeable way in which this result has been obtained. Under the joint pressure of the Employers' group and some Governments, the Workers' delegates in the Committee on Agriculture gave up the fight for what they knew was right. There is a striking difference between the ruthless class war being conducted outside the halls of this Conference against the agricultural workers and the conciliatory way in which the reformist trade union representatives in the Committee on Agriculture consented to be cornered by the Employers' group and submitted to the Employers' ultimatums.

We think that the plenary sitting of this Conference should know about these circumstances in order better to understand the last-ditch resistance of the Employers' group against any Convention at all, as manifested by the amendment presented to the plenary sitting suggesting that the Convention should be transformed into a Recommendation only. The Conference, as well as the agricultural workers, whose interests are, after all, at stake in this whole matter, ought to understand the double purpose of this move on the part of the employers. It is, on the one hand, an attempt to wreck the Convention if possible. After all, the employers never like raising the hopes and expectations of the workers. It is, on the other

hand, an attempt to cover up from the eyes of the masses of agricultural workers in capitalist and dependent countries the tacit agreement between the reformist trade union leaders and the employers that the Convention, if passed, should remain a weak one.

The Czechoslovak delegation will vote against the amendment of the Employers' group, and, as the Convention, with all its weaknesses, proclaims the principle of holidays with pay for agricultural workers, this delegation will vote for the Convention and the Recommendation as submitted, hoping that the agricultural workers will make the best of them when fighting consistently for their rights.

Interpretation: Mr. PEREIRA JARDIM (*Government delegate, Portugal*)—I have asked to speak in this discussion because I participated in the work of the Committee on Agriculture and because I think that certain points should be emphasised.

I will not take advantage of this opportunity either to speak of agricultural legislation in my country or to discuss doctrinal points of view, because I feel that this is not the opportune time to do so. What I do want to say is that we are here preparing an international Convention and for that reason we should consider the real situation of the man who tills the soil, of the agricultural worker, and not the abstraction of a few rural workers who seem to have obtained already everything they could hope for and even a great deal they do not desire.

I agree that the agricultural worker does not consider holidays with pay to be his most important problem. I agree also with my friend, the Czechoslovak delegate who preceded me, that there are many other points which have to be solved within our Organisation. But at the moment this Conference has this one concrete point before it and cannot, for the sake of looking forward to an ideal which is far removed, abandon the instrument before it because it is thinking of further horizons. We must look at realities.

That is why it seemed to us that the fundamental thing was the text. And because we recognised the impossibility of achieving, by means of a Convention, a text which could cover all the various aspects of agriculture, we expressed within the Committee our support for a Recommendation. We did not do that because we were opposed to the principle of holidays with pay for agricultural workers. The Christian morality applied in my country would be against a vote opposed to such a principle. We believed that the most important matter was to reach a possibility of carrying this principle into practice and not to produce a text which, just because it was called a Convention, would be regarded as satisfactory.

That is why within the Committee we expressed ourselves in favour of a Recommendation, which might have produced something more positive. We found ourselves at times in a paradoxical situation, for the Workers voted against us when we were defending the workers. But the Workers told us, and I am sure with very good grounds, that when they weakened their defence on points which appeared essential they did so in a constructive

spirit and in order to achieve unanimity within the Committee.

We must say that the Workers have been extremely conciliatory. We have reached a point, in fact, which seems very strange, when the Employers attack a Convention which should be acceptable to them and the Workers defend a Convention which does not seem to their advantage.

In these circumstances, for my Government, a Government which is concerned with social questions and is anxious for the advance of the legitimate and just aspirations of the workers, a Government which has a Christian concept of life, it was not possible to take the part of one side or the other.

We believe that with this Convention we are trying to do something for the agricultural workers. Take a look at the Conventions which the I.L.O. has adopted. Some date from 1921, others from 1927, others from 1933, and only one from last year. In our long years of work, very little has been done for agricultural workers. Some Conventions are simply a dead letter—so much paper. The number of ratifications of these Conventions should be taken into consideration. I believe that if we simply try to achieve such a “dead letter” Convention, the agricultural worker will simply go on working in the various countries without even hearing of our work. I therefore think that the most important achievement of the Committee on Agriculture is the conclusion set out in the penultimate paragraph of the Committee's report, expressing the unanimous wish that the Governing Body should take the steps necessary to ensure that the discussion of agricultural questions by the Conference should not be subject to long delay after the present session.

With that we agree, and my Government has the intention of supporting firmly, in the Governing Body, every effort to improve the lot of the agricultural worker. We will continue to work for this Organisation in every field where our co-operation can be useful, so as to achieve a labour code for agricultural workers. When we have realised that aim and ensured to the agricultural worker a minimum of protection, a Convention on holidays with pay will be a successful step forward and will take a place of great value in the legislation ensuring the rights of the agricultural worker. For these reasons, my Government will abstain.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I must advise delegates that I have a considerable number of names on my list of speakers, and I would therefore request that they be as brief as possible.

Mr. NIYAZI (*Workers' adviser, India*)—The Workers' group in the Committee on Agriculture has given full thought to all the aspects of the question of granting holidays with pay in agriculture. The group is quite convinced that the international regulation should take the form of a Convention, and for two reasons. The first reason is that moral pressure could then be exercised on the Governments of those countries where agricultural labour is not well organised, in order

to gain recognition legally of the rights of the working class and to ensure protection to this most neglected class—the agricultural labourers.

The other reason is that the Workers are anxious to strengthen the hands of those workers under advanced Governments in order to secure holidays with pay in agriculture.

In some countries agriculture is being industrialised, and even some of the under-developed countries are planning reforms in the agricultural field. It is therefore essential that young workers and useful workers should be attracted to agriculture, and this is only possible when they get better terms. The tendency on the part of workers in some countries to migrate to cities where working conditions are more attractive must also be checked.

The Employers' group has subscribed to the principle underlying this question but they are interested in having a Recommendation instead of a Convention. The arguments put forward by the Employers' group are not convincing. The Workers, considering the difficulties of some of the Governments, decided that the Convention should be flexible and therefore withdrew their suggested amendment to the article in which terms and period of service are mentioned. This proves that the Workers' group is realistic in its outlook.

If the idea of having a Recommendation is accepted, I am sure our whole cause and object will be jeopardised. I think that the Employers' group wants to weaken the regulation, with the help of some Governments which are opposing the form of a Convention in view of the peculiar conditions in their countries. The Employers' group wants to take advantage of this situation, and my submission to these Governments is therefore that they should not put obstacles in the way of the workers of other countries and should not allow the Employers' group to take advantage of their situation.

It is also a matter for surprise to me that the Employers' group is opposing the Convention *en bloc* although some of them are granting holidays with pay in their own countries. They think, however, that if they could get the support of some Governments then they also would be able to oppose the whole idea.

I want to say a few words about my own country, India. The main opposition is, I think, coming from India. Industrial labour in India represents 5 to 6 per cent. of the whole working class, whereas agricultural labour represents 65 to 70 per cent. It is a well-known fact that India is facing food problems and in my opinion the bad conditions of the landless agricultural labour are one main cause out of half a dozen. Agricultural workers get very low wages and not a single piece of legislation is fully applied to them as yet. As they have been placed in a very bad position, therefore they are not working hard and therefore the production of the country is hampered. So if better terms are given to agricultural labour in India I am sure that strong and useful labour will be attracted towards the agricultural field and thus help towards obtaining greater production.

I appreciate that my Government will not oppose the idea of the Convention. I know there are obvious difficulties for India in view

of the peculiar conditions existing in that country, but I do hope that the situation is not beyond improvement and that in the course of time the Government will be able to ratify the Convention.

I want to be very brief, and I appeal to all the delegates of the Conference to consider the way in which the Office has presented the rest of the Convention, after considering all the aspects of this problem. I earnestly appeal to all delegates, on behalf of the Workers' group, to vote in favour of the Convention and to help the working class to obtain something in the agricultural field.

Interpretation: Mr. RAMADIER (*Government delegate, France*)—The French Government asks the Conference to reject the amendment submitted by the Employers' members.

It seems to us that in a matter like this, after long years of reflection and study, the International Labour Office has a right to expect to reach some result, maybe modest, but at least a concrete result.

A Recommendation is a wish expressed by the Conference. It does not involve any other obligations for the States Members beyond supplying, when requested, a report on the situation of the problem in their countries and, in addition, providing the competent bodies with information on the position adopted by the Government. It is an act of propaganda which can have its importance and its usefulness and which, where there are important divergencies of opinion or delicate problems to resolve, open up issues of a practical character. But it is not an act which takes its place in international labour legislation.

It is now about 16 years since this problem was first dealt with by the Organisation. It was examined in 1936 when the International Labour Conference adopted a Convention on holidays with pay. At that time a resolution was adopted inviting the Governing Body to consult the Advisory Committee on Agriculture and to come back to the Conference when a certain degree of concordance between the different opinions had been achieved.

There was, of course, the world war which set back the work of the Committee, but the Governing Body, the Office and the Committee nevertheless had full time for reflection.

Now at last, conclusions are brought before us. These conclusions, moreover, are extremely modest, for after all, the Convention submitted to us consecrates a principle. It says there shall be holidays with pay in agriculture, and those Governments which ratify this Convention are bound to give such holidays with pay.

But neither the ways and means, the methods, the regulation, nor the duration are determined.

If you compare the 1936 Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture with the Convention which is before us today, you will see the enormous difference. The principle alone is embodied in the present draft Convention and all the problems of a more delicate character—though only slightly so—are cast out into the Recommendation which supplements the Convention.

And yet in face of such a simple, modest, flexible draft Convention, we are being asked

to hold back. I would understand that we might be asked to stick to a simple Recommendation if it were a question on which we did not have the very extensive experience which we do have, in fact, in the field of holidays with pay in agriculture. I would understand that we might have some hesitation in adopting a strict Convention which would bind countries to very severe regulations, so severe that many Governments would back out and that the Convention would risk not being adopted.

But what is the situation in fact?

We have before us a very old agricultural practice, as the United States delegate has just told us. In most of the countries of Europe, way back almost to the Middle Ages, there has always been, between the end of the contract—which may be in autumn or spring, according to the country—and the beginning of the next year, an interval of about a week during which the workers, though they have already hired out their services for the following period, may dispose of their free time as they wish, by visiting their relatives, or whatever it may be, before going to work with the employer who will have their services for the following year. As the wage is fixed over the year as a whole, it may be said that for centuries now the practice of giving holidays with pay in agriculture has existed—it is not an innovation. Moreover, many laws and regulations have dealt with that custom by legislation. There were certainly fewer in 1936 than there are today, but at the present time about 30 countries have laws or regulations covering holidays with pay. They may vary, but the variations are not perhaps very considerable and already it may be said that half of these countries have national laws or regulations permitting them to ratify the Convention immediately without modifying in any way the texts which regulate this question in their respective countries.

Practically the whole of Europe and practically the whole of Latin America have introduced these innovations into their legislation, as well as a certain number of countries scattered throughout the rest of the world. The others will follow.

It does not seem possible to me, in the presence of this movement of legislation, to restrict ourselves to speaking of free enterprise, of the liberty of the employer and of the liberty of the worker to discuss and negotiate with the employer—these are out-of-date formulae, these are formulae which would condemn all social legislation. There is no longer any country in the world which can hang on to such arguments as these.

And now, are we in the presence of a Convention which will bind countries in any excessively strict or narrow way, in such a way that we cannot take account of the infinite variety of conditions, according to countries, to climates, and to cultures? I do not believe that in the International Labour Code there is a Convention so flexible as this one. One speaker stated that it was empty. It is not empty. It lays down the principle. It says there shall be legislation. It does not say any more. For the rest, it gives indications, it opens the way. But it says there shall be legislation on holidays with pay. So that when a country

has passed legislation on this matter and when it has ratified the Convention, the workers in agriculture will then have the certainty that in spite of the fluctuations of internal policies in their country, the obligation will subsist, that the matter is regulated by law. The law may be modified in detail but there will always be the essential thing. It is not much. It is, as I say, one of the most flexible Conventions which has ever been put up to us, but it is still a certain step in the right direction. However, this progress will only exist if we deal with it as a Convention, and not as a mere Recommendation. In such a matter as this, to go below the level which has been fixed by the Office and by the Committee which is submitting these conclusions to us would be to say that the International Labour Office is not interested in this problem, and is setting up between the worker in industry and the worker in agriculture such a barrier as to imply that while there may be social justice for the former the latter must simply wait.

I do not think it is in anybody's mind to do this, and for this reason we ask you, very urgently and insistently, to reject the amendment submitted to you by the Employers' group and to vote for the proposals of the Committee.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—Mr. Ramadier has said a great deal of what I would like to have said, and I do not propose to repeat it at this stage. It is not my normal practice to come to the rostrum and deal with technical matters that are on the agenda. I prefer that the advisers who have to deal with these subjects in the Committees should deal with them in the plenary sittings; but on this occasion, without having been informed, I knew that the Employers would submit an amendment to the effect that we should have a Recommendation instead of a Convention, and it is because of my knowledge of what has happened in past years that I felt I would like to say something on this subject this morning.

This Committee has worked very hard to get agreement. Some of us in this Conference year after year have persuaded our colleagues not to aim too high but to try to establish the text of Conventions which can be applied, and the attitude of many of our colleagues has therefore been modified very considerably and, as Mr. Ramadier has said, in this particular text there is a shining example of moderation in the hope of getting a Convention. But I know that this amendment has not been moved merely because of the report of the Committee on Agriculture; this is part of a declared policy of the Employers' group in this Conference year after year. It was initiated four years ago; it has progressed until now. The attitude of the Employers—and I challenge them on this—is that there shall be no Conventions but that there shall be Recommendations and resolutions only. This is what they are trying to bring this Organisation to. Well, we in the Workers' group accept that challenge.

Mr. Newman comes from the United States. It is his very first visit to Geneva, but he has

very soon been indoctrinated. Mr. Newman says that the attitude of this Organisation to its Conventions is dictated by politics. I took his words down and that is what he said. I think it is a most unworthy remark. Whether he was referring to the Workers' representatives or the Government representatives—because we know he was not referring to the Employers' representatives, naturally—I do not know. He went on to say that in his country, and certainly on his farm, they did not need this Convention because they had conditions far superior to those laid down in the Convention. That, I assume, is why he opposed it. I cannot understand his reasoning on that.

Let me point to something a little concrete in this connection. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which represents employers generally, I believe, this year has said that reliance upon Conventions and draft treaties should be abandoned in favour of Recommendations or resolutions. These are the exact words used by Mr. Newman in his speech from this rostrum this morning. In fact, what employers are saying to Governments is that there must be no legislation from this Organisation in the future; there must be no legal international instruments which lay down minimum conditions for workers in any sphere of activity, industrial or agricultural. That is the challenge which the Employers are laying down. We, as the Workers, take it up; and I hope the Governments will turn down this amendment emphatically.

Mr. STOKMAN (*Workers' adviser, Netherlands*)—I am happy to have the opportunity of saying a few words, and I thank you for this, as a substitute delegate of the Netherlands and representative of the Christian Agricultural Workers' Union.

The subject with which we are dealing is a very important one. If we consider the draft report, then I state that the Committee has threatened this point of holidays with pay, seriously, on the basis of Report IV (2). Many amendments were proposed, but only one has been accepted; that is the text of Report IV with a small modification. I am sure that the Workers are disappointed that their amendment in Article 3 for a minimum length of holiday is not accepted. The right of holidays with pay is very important, as recognised in the proposed Convention now before us. This Convention is very flexible, which should make it less difficult to accept. I regret that in the Committee some Government and Employers' delegates did not accept it. Why should this Convention not be acceptable? Nobody denies that workers should have holidays with pay. I cannot understand that there should be Governments which deny the social right of holidays with pay for agricultural workers, and therefore I cannot understand why some members of the Committee voted against it. I cannot understand it, speaking as a worker and as Secretary-Chairman of the Netherlands Foundation for Workers and Employers. It is necessary that this Convention be accepted and that the Governments ratify it. The fact that a large number of other Conventions have not so far been ratified does not form an

argument to reject this proposed Convention now. We must begin by accepting this simple but important Convention.

In the Netherlands, agricultural and horticultural workers have ten to twelve days' holiday a year by collective agreement, but there will be other reasons as well for accepting this Convention. It is very important for agriculture that social provisions and measures should not forget the economic signification. It is important that, from the point of view of production costs, we work on a common basis; that is why, even from the economic point of view, I affirm that it is necessary to accept this Convention. One knows that in agriculture, economic co-operation is very important and this is the same for social problems on grounds of equal rights with industry. I am sure that this Convention can contribute to it and will be accepted with satisfaction by the workers of the whole world.

Agricultural workers work hard. They need holidays with pay, and we have to help them to obtain their social rights. They understand that the I.L.O. is a very important organisation which acts for all workers, employers and communities. I appeal to you all to accept this Convention, supplemented by a Recommendation, for the following reasons: to guarantee the workers' social rights; to establish good co-operation between employers, workers and Governments; for the equal carrying of the load-cost of production; for the improvement in social position of both workers and employers.

Mrs. BEYER (*Government adviser, United States*)—Holidays with pay is the accepted practice in industry and commerce, and to a certain extent in agriculture, in the United States. This practice has come about not through legislation but through collective bargaining and individual arrangements. Furthermore, there has been no interest evidenced in legislation on this subject.

Agriculture in the United States is largely seasonal. Only 10 per cent. of farm workers have year-round employment with the same employer. It is common practice to give these workers holidays with pay, but the vast majority of farm workers work on farms less than three months during the year. For many of them, the fundamental problem is insufficient employment and too much leisure. There would be great difficulties in our country in adapting and implementing a Convention on holidays with pay to meet the needs of seasonal workers in agriculture—the group that needs protection the most.

For these practical reasons my Government will abstain from voting on the proposed Convention and Recommendation before us. We add our hope to that of the Committee that in the future the I.L.O.'s programme will give attention to the basic problems of agricultural workers—steady employment, higher annual income, better housing, health facilities and education—with a view to raising the standard of living of the most depressed group of workers the world over.

Mr. TURNER (*Workers' adviser, United States*)—It is true, as has been said by a

number of speakers here today, that the proposed Convention is not as good as we should like it to be.

The Workers voted against a number of amendments which would have strengthened the Convention, on the grounds that by having a Convention that could meet with more general support in the plenary sitting we would have a better chance of getting it through. However, we do believe that it is so strong that, if it is passed, it will be of tremendous help to workers everywhere. It is also true that holidays with pay are not the most pressing problem of agricultural workers all over the world.

The question of full employment, the question of unemployment, migratory labour, seasonal unemployment and so forth are much more pressing problems.

However, much work has been done on the Convention which we now find before us. The text has been worked upon for two years. It is now in its second discussion here before this Conference. The majority of the members of the Committee which sat upon this problem have come before us with a recommendation that it be adopted as a Convention. The free nations of the world, all over the world, seek to win the friendship and support of the working people. The doctrine of communism is not directed at employers. It is not directed at bankers. It is not directed at business men. It is not directed at the owners of large farms. It is, however, directed at working people.

Throughout the world the free nations of the world and the international tribunals have taken decisions on the problems which have come before them which would gain the friendship of working people all over the world, at whom alarming propaganda is directed.

The position taken up by the United States Government in my opinion is not consistent with the position that has been taken up by that Government all over the world, the position which has sought to let the world know that we are one of those nations that in all cases are going to do everything possible to raise the standard of life and hope of all these peoples.

To me, as a supporter of the foreign policy of the United States Government, it is a source of deep disappointment that it has decided to take the position that it is going to take. I believe that if a Convention emanates from this Conference it will immeasurably help workers all over the world. It will be something like a beacon light to point to all over the world in an attempt to persuade Governments, employers and other individuals to grant holidays with pay to workers.

I call upon this Conference to reject the recommendation that has been put forward by the Employers and to vote for the Convention which is before this body.

Interpretation: Mr. TESSIER (*Workers' adviser, France*)—I intervene at the request of my friend and colleague, Jouhaux, who has had to leave the Conference for a short time. I do so simply in full agreement of thought and on exactly the same lines as Jouhaux himself.

My purpose will be to indicate the feeling of regret, of disappointment and even of concern which might be caused by the attitude adopted on this subject by the Employers' group in the Committee on Agriculture. On a question which has been before the Organisation for a long time now, and which has been subjected to very close study and minute analysis in the different stages before it has come before this full assembly, should we take a negative attitude which really risks challenging the working and the very existence of our Organisation? A speaker in the course of the present discussion showed great reserve and expressed some criticism in regard to the text which the Committee has produced. He made some disobliging and superfluous remarks in regard to what he called "reformist trade unionists". But he concluded by saying, with a wisdom upon which I congratulate him, that he would vote for the text, even though it seemed to him inadequate because too moderate, as it was nevertheless a Convention. Now I think we have reached the core of the problem. We must not forget that what has been at the basis of our institution and remains its guiding line is the progress of international social legislation throughout the world. If countries have already taken generous—one might even say courageous—steps in the field of holidays with pay in agriculture, these countries have the moral right to expect that the Organisation should foster legislation which, embodied in the labour codes of all countries, will enable an equivalent standard of protection to be reached.

I urge you to reflect that a negative position on subjects like this would challenge the very existence of this Organisation. That is why I extend an appeal to the Employers' group to revise its position so that we may reach a positive conclusion.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—The United Kingdom Government is in favour of the adoption of international regulations regarding holidays with pay in agriculture. In the United Kingdom, holidays with pay have, in fact, been enjoyed by agricultural workers for many years. Indeed, our law and practice may be said to be generally in agreement with the Convention now before the Conference. In Great Britain, however, holidays with pay are fixed by independent statutory authorities known as Agricultural Wages Boards, whose Orders are given the force of law. These Boards are not under any legal obligation to fix holidays with pay but they are empowered to do so and they have, in fact, done so. This Convention, however, appears to lay a direct obligation on the Government of the State Member to secure that an annual holiday with pay is granted, and in view of the position which I have just described this raises a difficulty for my country.

The same kind of difficulty arises for the United Kingdom Government on the proposed Recommendation, which in addition contains a number of provisions which are not in accordance with our own practice.

While, therefore, the United Kingdom Government recognises that the regulations now proposed may prove of value for a number of countries, it does not feel that it can do otherwise than abstain on the vote.

Mr. BERINSON (*Government delegate, Israel*)—I wish to express my satisfaction at the fact that the Committee on Agriculture was able to produce a Convention on this important subject which concerns hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world. The Government delegates of Israel are going to vote in its favour.

I wish, however, to voice my regret that this Convention is deficient in a matter that is, to my mind, of fundamental importance. It affects not only the Convention under consideration but Conventions in general. The proposed Convention does not specify the minimum period of annual holiday with pay to be granted to agricultural workers or the minimum period of continuous service necessary to qualify for such a holiday, but merely declares that such workers should be granted an annual holiday with pay after a period of continuous service to be determined according to the conditions prevailing in each country. I do not minimise the significance of this declaration. It constitutes an important step forward, and that is why our delegation is going to support the Convention. I hope that my Government will ratify it at a very early date in view of the legislation which is already operative in our country. But what I do deprecate and believe to be a mistake is that the Convention does not specify a minimum duration of annual holiday.

The primary purpose of a Convention dealing with a definite condition of employment, such as holidays with pay, hours of work, etc., is to lay down definite minima which should govern the employment of the workers concerned in the various countries. This minimum standard has a double meaning. It assures to the workers minimum decent conditions of employment which are necessary to preserve their health and to give them proper conditions of work and life and to augment their happiness as human beings. A Convention is also meant to prevent unfair competition as between the various countries on account of conditions of work which may be considered to be unfair from an international point of view. The Workers on the Committee on Agriculture have striven for a Convention—and quite rightly so. They have, however, deemed fit to forgo their demand for a specified minimum holiday with pay, in order to rally as many Governments as possible behind the principle of a Convention. A Convention, to my mind, is not valuable so much on account of its name or form but for what there is in it. We have a saying—"Do not look at the kettle but at what there is in it". I am afraid that in some cases matters of substance are given up for a mere form. This is regrettable, for it leads us away from the real purpose of an international Convention. I do hope that this will not serve as a precedent to be followed in the case of other Conventions to be adopted by the International Labour Conference.

Interpretation : Mr. KELLER (*Government adviser, Switzerland*)—The Swiss Government delegation will abstain from voting on the Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture, in view of the fact that our country has settled the working conditions in agriculture by a system of labour contracts on the basis of a private agreement between the agricultural worker and his employer. By these contracts, holidays with pay in agriculture have already, for the most part, become a reality and we do not hesitate to say that we would like to see these paid holidays applied in every country which does not so far have them. However, our national legislation principle permits employers and employees to derogate from the provisions of labour contracts by means of written agreements and naturally this also applies to holidays with pay. The proposed Convention which we have before us, however, would not permit such derogation, according to Article 8. Since this will prevent our Parliament from ratifying this Convention, we consider that it is our duty to abstain from voting.

Mrs. VARGAS DO AMARAL PEIXOTO (*Government adviser, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mrs. VARGAS DO AMARAL PEIXOTO (*Government adviser, Brazil*)—When I was a little girl I usually asked that a light should be left burning in my room so that my imagination should not transform into ghosts the furniture I knew so well by the light of day. Naturally I knew that a wardrobe was a wardrobe, but darkness could transform it into a wild animal or a giant, and everytime I was a bad little girl the threat of darkness was held over me.

When the meetings of the Committee on Agriculture took place I thought I had gone back to my childhood. Each time an amendment was submitted to the draft Convention before us which would give it a slightly more positive character, the Employers said what amounted to: "If you children do not vote exactly as we told you last year at the 34th Session we shall leave you in darkness with the ghost". The ghost was the plenary sitting which was to cut short every disobedience. Faced with this threat, we—the Governments and the Workers—were compelled to withdraw and to reject the amendments submitted without considering their origin or their objectives. Step by step we went along the road followed by our predecessors last year. Therefore, I do not doubt that the plenary sitting will do likewise, if only

to be consistent and for the sake of following a certain method. Some time ago Alexis Carrel, the great French writer, wrote a book entitled *Man the Unknown* in which he said that progress had outstripped man and that the civilisation built by man was superior even to his way of life. This thesis is not true to reality. Progress is the result of human requirements and follows from the very nature of things. When our ancestors invented the chair they did so because they needed something to sit on and not with the object of creating a beautiful ornament. Thus if all of us feel the urgency of solving the problem of the agricultural worker to such an extent that it has become a central feature of the 34th and 35th Sessions of the Conference this is simply because it is so essential that a solution should be found to this problem.

In Brazil agricultural workers have a right to holidays with pay to a much greater extent than is provided for in the draft Convention and Recommendation or in any of the amendments submitted to our Committee. The situation in my country is therefore sufficiently satisfactory for us to be able to express an opinion in this matter.

We know that we are making our agricultural production more expensive, but this is because we consider it worth while to sacrifice the present economic situation in the interests of peace and social justice in the future. If we ask here that a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation should be adopted, as was decided last year, it is not only because we are trying to be consistent but because we recognise the needs of agricultural workers. We all know the difference between a Recommendation and a Convention. If we vote only for a Recommendation we shall merely be marking time and showing reprehensible vacillation. This Conference should proclaim the need to obtain for agricultural workers the right to holidays with pay and should take measures to give practical effect to that right. Once a Convention is ratified it becomes operative in all its aspects, but a Recommendation does not. Therefore, as a Government delegate of Brazil—a delegation to which I am proud to belong—I insist that instead of adopting a mere Recommendation on holidays with pay this Conference should adopt a Convention containing principles which will regulate the matter at the international level.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Risc (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajnu Mr. Lieki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Souza (substitute for Mr. Puente) Mr. Roncarolo (substitute for Mr. Lescure) Mr. Valêrga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Antunes Varela Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Beers (substitute for Mr. Sharp) Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Bounous (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Gamalero (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Pastore	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Bergenström Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Procházka (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Keller (substitute for Mr. Kaufmann) Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. van der Rest Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Jouklhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias Mr. Cachecho
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Rollinger (substitute for Mr. Diederich) Mr. Werné (substitute for Mr. Krier)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Brass (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swardlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Stokman (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Phillips (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle) Mr. Lacroix	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Turner (substitute for Mr. Delaney)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerinn) Mr. Östberg Mr. Mentsen	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Pérez (substitute for Mr. Cofiño)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Pande (substitute for Mr. Dravid) Mr. Menon Mr. Shastri	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Moreno (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. Leguía	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Bun
	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afehar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

EIGHTEENTH SITTING

Monday, 23 June 1952, 3.15 p.m.

*President: Mr. Delaney*REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE :
DISCUSSION (*concl.*)¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now continue the discussion of the Report of the Committee on Agriculture.

Interpretation: Mr. VALERGA (*Workers' adviser, Argentina*)—When in the Workers' group of the Committee on Agriculture certain proposals for amendment intended to improve the Office text were submitted, the majority of the members making up this group agreed to reject these proposals and not to give this Convention too advanced clauses, their object being to avoid Governments' being unable to ratify the Convention owing to such clauses.

The Workers' group has thus made concessions, very great concessions; even concessions of principle. And I have to criticise this because I do not think that we should have gone so far.

We have, in the Workers' group, renounced our right to put forward proposals which would have enabled workers' organisations to collaborate in or exercise supervision over the application of legislation on holidays. We even rejected the fixation of a definite minimum period of holiday so as to avoid making it difficult for the Convention to be adopted. We were told throughout that we should not be too exigent because we are not legislating here for the more advanced countries but for the less advanced. However, we now find that the representatives of the most backward countries say that this proposed Convention, feeble though it is, would be inapplicable in their countries.

I should like to put a question. If the proposed Convention is below the standard in the more advanced countries, and is inapplicable in the less advanced, what have we been doing here and was it really worth while coming so far in order to reach such a poor result?

This attitude on the part of the Employers is completely egoistical and is merely an extension here of their spirit of class warfare. It seems that they come here to defend their privileges and not to give us social justice. This is not the place for the defence of vested or class interests. When they come here they should come inspired by the principle of social justice and should try to secure conciliation between the three parties, capital, labour and the State.

I would like to repeat that it is necessary to get rid of this egoistical spirit—wholly or at least in part—for this egoism is the cause of all the evils of the world today. There is not at this time, there has not been in the past, and there will not be in the future, any evil which had not as its root cause this intolerance, this excess of egoism on the part of those who have all and refuse to give some portion of what they have to those who have nothing. And they come here, to the highest international organisation, to defend their own interests and not those of the community.

Employers should remember that the workers are of fighting mettle and that, generally, what they do not get by peaceful means they get by force. If the employers feel that that is in their interests, let them go their own way. Our view is that it is not so, that it is always preferable to make concessions, however small, rather than to be forced to give all at a later stage.

It must be understood that the time of the peoples has come. The hour of social justice in the world has struck. The world cannot go on any longer being dominated by a caste, by a class, by a group or by a monopoly. The peoples are in command today. In the near future they will take in their own hands the reins of their own destiny, and there will be no force capable of stopping them. The hour of the people has struck; no resistance to their moderate gains will be of use.

It must be realised that the labourer is not a slave and that his work is not slavery. He should be given humane conditions of

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VII.

life, not regarded simply as a machine for production. Humanity and progress are going forward, but the benefits of production should go to all and not only to a small group which has by chance got its hands on the means of production while the worker has only his own working strength.

The employers, who have so often complained of the stubbornness of their workers, will not gain the goodwill of those workers by their present attitude. On the contrary, they will stimulate the desire to gain by force of numbers whatever cannot be got by agreement. To the Government representatives, I would say that their best policy is that of bringing the Governments closer to their peoples and not to those who exploit their peoples. If the Governments wish to pacify the world, they should tip the balance not towards the minority but towards the majority, those who work, those who suffer and have nothing. We have listened to long speeches in this hall about the communist danger, but no one speaks of a worse one. I tell you that capitalists, by exploiting the people, make more converts to communism than do the communists by their speechifying. If you wish to avoid what you fear most, it is not by war, violence and persecution that you will do it. You can beat communism in one way only, that is through social justice, by humanising capital and by dignifying labour. Ideas can only be fought and overcome with ideas or by better deeds.

Therefore, it is ludicrous to hear delegates saying from this platform that they agree with the principle of holidays with pay but are going to vote against. That is not what I understand by being in agreement in principle. It is like upholding the principle of liberty and strangling the man who claims it. They are in favour of holidays, but they refuse to grant them. I do not know whether this is some form of dialectic philosophy, or whether it is a trick of words—in any case it does not deceive anyone, least of all the workers—this attempt to make us think that a Recommendation will give more positive results than a Convention.

I have heard it said many times here that holidays with pay do not represent a very important thing in agriculture and that the agricultural worker lacks many more indispensable things. It is said that attention should be diverted to requirements and problems which are much more important for the agricultural worker—and because greater, more distant of achievement. I disagree. The smaller problems can be solved here. That is why we came here: to settle these problems and not others. Of course there are more important problems, but the Committee on Agriculture was set up to consider just this problem of holidays with pay, and it has acted accordingly. We could all wish for better things. In my country there are better things than we have agreed on here. I should like others to have what we have at home: the land for those who work it, so that it is not just a source of unearned income but a means of labour with a social function; decent dwellings, proper food, adequate wages. But, I repeat, we cannot deceive the workers with the mirage of great—and

distant—achievements so that they shall forget the smaller things which are within reach. Those who oppose Conventions like those put forward by the I.L.O. do the Organisation poor service, for the result is that the workers lose confidence in this Organisation and attempt to get what they want by their own efforts, without waiting for results from assemblies like this.

There are problems, very great problems. A representative of India spoke here—almost jokingly—of tragic circumstances in his country where the agricultural worker only does 100 days' work a year and therefore, he said, does not need any holidays, since he rests on 200 days. Of course, full employment is much more important than holidays with pay; that would be an achievement of the first order. But the matter is not before us at this moment. The Governments which complain of the situation show their own inability to settle the problems of their peoples. When they say that there is poverty in their country, they should be asked what they have done to avoid it. But that is not the fundamental point here. We were called together in the Committee to deal with this particular problem of holidays with pay, and nothing else. Our mission was to decide, in accordance with previous discussions, the form in which workers should receive an annual rest in relation to the work done. This is quite simple, clear and categorical and does not call for interpretation. Anything else is just words. For this reason, I repeat that I would like all the workers in the world to have what all workers in my country do have; but there are two ways of reaching this.

To all achievements, great or small, there are two roads: one is evolution; the other is revolution. We Argentines have taken the shorter path, the path of revolution, and that is why we have what we have today. It is a question of good policy not to oppose systematically all advances, however small, for this is precisely what creates a soil where extremist tendencies may propagate themselves. Communism is not a question of ideology in the world; it is a question of hunger. If there are no hungry people, there will not be communism in the world. Let us begin by doing justice, even though it be in small measure.

Interpretation: Mr. SOBERÓN (Government delegate, Cuba)—This morning I did not think it would be necessary for me, as Government delegate of Cuba, to speak in the discussion on the draft Convention approved by the Committee on Agriculture and now before the plenary sitting of the Conference, for I could never have believed that a document discussed so fully in a committee, a document so conservative in character for a sector of the workers, a document which tries to give the agricultural worker the right to receive paid holidays and which does not even provide for a minimum number of days, could have been the subject of discussion during hours and hours with a view to deciding whether it should take the form of a Convention or a Recommendation.

In the circumstances, however, the arguments of the opponents of a Convention oblige me to make clear the position of my Govern-

ment, as I did in the discussion in the Committee on Agriculture.

We voted for a Convention, and we confirm our attitude in this plenary sitting, because of our convictions, which are evidenced by the direct benefits which our agricultural workers now receive, *i.e.*, 30 days' holiday for every 11 months of continuous work. If his work is interrupted, the worker receives a proportionate holiday.

We in Cuba are very concerned with the interests of our agricultural workers, for they represent two-thirds of our working class. We consider that they have the same rights as other workers, yet they are deprived of their just gains in the majority of countries, they live in inferior conditions, they are denied the civilisation and the facilities that this same civilisation gives to city people.

A woman from America, Mrs. Vargas Do Amaral Peixoto, daughter of the President of Brazil, recently spoke from this platform on behalf of the agricultural workers of her country and, indeed, on behalf of all the agricultural workers of the world. I think it is right that we who come to the International Labour Conference to defend this class above all should analyse the question raised by such a distinguished representative of the women of America. We should therefore agree to accord this suffering class, the agricultural workers, a minimum, just and honourable right.

We cannot consider human progress in terms of inequality if we are here endeavouring to achieve better conditions for all men and if the I.L.O. is to fulfil the tasks for which it was created.

The Convention provides that States Members shall draw up legislation which embodies the right in question. But the Recommendation would be a document which each Government could consider or not. It would certainly be full of ambiguities which would not lead to the agricultural worker's receiving in practice the advantage of holidays with pay to which he is entitled.

In commenting on the Director-General's Report I said that in America we have this reform already and fully in force. It was achieved by direct action of the workers, who called on the high level of human understanding of the employers and Governments. When the time for its introduction came there was no need even for discussion. We are astounded that Governments which have stated here that the economy of their countries is based almost entirely on agriculture should deny their agricultural workers, who form the great majority of their population, the right to claim equal progress or equality in conditions of life with their fellow-workers in other countries.

Therefore, in the name of my people and of the Government which I represent, I ask the Governments represented here to vote for the Convention, for in this way they will contribute greatly to the progress and welfare of the working class of the world.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I will now ask the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture to reply to the various points raised in the general discussion.

Interpretation: Mr. AFCHAR (*Government delegate, Iran; Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture*)—I think that I should bring to the knowledge of the Conference the fact that the arguments evoked on different sides in this discussion are exactly the same as those which were evoked in the course of the meetings of the Committee on Agriculture. If the Committee on Agriculture arrived at the conclusions which are now before you, it did so with all the facts and all the arguments before it.

Basically this Convention contains only a simple principle—the recognition of the fact that workers in agriculture also stand in need of holidays to recuperate their strength. There is nothing more. This is all that is exacted by the Convention and all that it confirms.

It must be recognised in order to check the exodus of rural manpower—of which countries complain—some action is necessary. Speeches and promises will not suffice.

Let us then do something by recognising that agricultural workers, like other categories of workers, need holidays in order to restore their strength. We shall see afterwards how the different Governments may wish to apply this principle; every liberty will be left to them to trace the path which seems to them most suitable and most appropriate.

That is why I ask you to approve the conclusions reached by your Committee on Agriculture.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I call upon Mr. Phillips, Employers' adviser, United Kingdom, who presented the amendment in the document submitted to you this morning.

Mr. PHILLIPS (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I shall not detain the Conference long—indeed, I only asked to be granted permission to speak again from this rostrum because of the intervention made by Mr. Roberts, Workers' delegate of the United Kingdom, this morning. I am bound to say that I thought that intervention was most unfortunate, and I was extremely disappointed with what he said.

I do not propose to inflict upon the Conference once more a list of the reasons and the arguments which we sincerely believe to be cogent in regard to this question of the form of the instrument. All I do want you to believe, and I am sure you will, those of you who, unlike Mr. Roberts, I think, were present to hear the arguments, is that this is a sincere and honest point of view. If any evidence were required of the integrity of the Employers on this issue, surely it is provided by the conditions in my own country. In my own country the agricultural worker has 18 days' holiday with pay every year, which is more than many industrial workers have. But our own Government has come to this rostrum and has stated that there may be difficulties about ratifying this Convention in this form. Is not that the best evidence that you could have that this instrument should take the form of a Recommendation and provide stimulus and guidance to those countries that want to adopt the same sort of principles as have worked for so long and for so many in my own country?

I do not want to go further than to attempt to convince you—and I hope I will succeed—that this proposition was put forward on the merits of the case and without any preconceived notion about policy in these matters, which, I can only conclude, is for Mr. Roberts something like the child-like ghost of which that charming lady spoke to us this morning. I therefore ask you to support this amendment.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—There being no further speakers, I am glad to place before the Conference the amendment submitted by Mr. Phillips and which has been distributed to you.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 41 votes to 104, with 14 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—If there are no objections, the Report of the Committee on Agriculture is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We will now proceed with the adoption of the proposed Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture, Article by Article.

(Articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 are adopted seriatim.)

Mr. PHILLIPS (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I ask that Article 5 be put to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The Article is adopted by 104 votes to 21, with 18 abstentions.)

(Articles 6 to 11 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now proceed to vote on the proposed Convention as a whole.

(A vote is taken by show hands. The proposed Convention is adopted by 110 votes to 17, with 32 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The Convention will be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference.

ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now proceed to the adoption of the proposed Recommendation concerning holidays with pay in agriculture, paragraph by paragraph.

(Paragraphs 1 to 7 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now take the Recommendation as a whole. Mr. Phillips has asked for a vote to be taken.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The Recommendation is adopted by 118 votes to 9, with 25 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The text will be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (*concl.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I call upon the last speaker on our list, Mr. Cachecho, Workers' delegate, Syria, to continue discussion of the Report of the Director-General. He was unable to speak this morning.

Interpretation: Mr. CACHECHO (*Workers' delegate, Syria*)—My colleague and I having been delegated to represent the Syrian working class at this important Conference, we beg to be excused for our delay in reaching Geneva.

This has been due to the action taken in our country in connection with a number of proposals closely concerning the working class and the trade unions, the latest step being the organisation and opening of a service, the first of its kind in Syria and the neighbouring countries, to give medical aid and distribute pharmaceutical products free of charge to the workers and members of their families.

We hope that the Conference will consider this a valid excuse for our late arrival.

Our colleagues representing the Syrian Labour and Social Affairs Service and the employers' and manufacturers' associations, have informed you of their collaboration in the technical and general aspect of social and trade union life in Syria.

So far as we are concerned, we think the attention of the Conference should be drawn in the clearest possible manner to the contribution made by Syria and its new régime to the work of social regeneration, in which every nation seeks to share.

The Conference is no doubt aware that Syria has for a little over six months been the happy possessor of a new régime, the most striking characteristics of which are rapidity in initiative and action, courage to make changes and to reform, and a sense of social justice.

The Conference is undoubtedly competent to take note of the achievements of Governments in the social and labour spheres in the various countries. I shall inform you, therefore, of what our rulers have done, and have all the more pleasure in doing so because these achievements have been particularly appreciated by the working class of Syria, which we represent here.

With the object of improving general economic conditions and providing the working classes with employment and a regular means of existence the Government has increased the number of public works and is encouraging activities of this kind in various ways. It also grants subsidies and long-term loans to the

big industrial undertakings of the country, particularly in the textile industry, so that they may re-equip themselves and thus extend their activity and increase their labour force.

As regards trade union policy a Decree, No. 243 of 23 April 1952, prevents trade union leaders from taking part in politics and restricts them to social and trade union activities. The Government is now studying various schemes for the organisation and encouragement of co-operatives, and regarding collective agreements and the rights of the employee.

In a relatively short space of time the present rulers of Syria not only have succeeded in improving the material conditions of the workers but are also enabling them to understand their rights and duties within the community.

The Syrian working classes are also benefiting by another series of legislative measures, aimed at improving their health and physical condition generally.

In the more strictly medical field the Government's action on behalf of the working and peasant classes has been still more immediately effective. Decree No. 114 of 12 February 1952 laid down a programme to combat the spread of contagious diseases; and Decree No. 115 provides for specific action against certain endemic diseases and for an improvement in the general conditions of the industrial and rural classes.

With the same object in view the Government has ordered visits to be made to working class homes by specially trained women welfare workers, whose mission it is to help rural working families to observe the rules of health more fully and to give improved care to mothers and children.

By Decree No. 113 of 24 March 1952 provision was made for an increase in hospital personnel.

More recently, just before we reached Geneva, another magnificent scheme was inaugurated, which is indeed only the nucleus of a wider programme which will grant free medicine to all workers. Under the modest title of "workers' free pharmacy" a dispensary has been opened in the capital of Syria which gives the workers not only free medical care (provided in many similar services) but remedies which are becoming less and less within the reach of all. The head of the Syrian State, with his principal assistants, has wished to handle himself the initial stages of this great operation, which is warmly welcomed by the working class.

In order to enable the Ministry of Health to perform its duties more efficiently in the welfare and medical fields an advisory council has been established and is to study legislation pertaining to the protection of public health, health conditions within the country and improvements in the medical profession.

Quite recently the Government concluded an agreement with W.H.O., under which Syria is to obtain medical and technical assistance; the working class and the peasants will certainly be the first to benefit.

In a different field the working classes of Syria have recently benefited by a series of legislative provisions of a most original character.

As in all countries, the largest families and the most prolific parents are to be found among the working classes, and often among the poorest of these. Syria is no exception to this rule, and its working classes provide the community with most of the hands required in the fields, workshops, factories and elsewhere.

Our régime has not neglected the special situation of the working class with regard to the demographic position of the country and to the birth rate.

By Decree No. 171 of 15 March 1952 the Government instituted a special "Order of Mothers of Syria", divided into several classes. This is granted to Syrian mothers in accordance with the number of children which each gives to the community and to the human race. Provision is also made for associations of mothers who have been honoured in this way, so that they may make up a sort of model caste with numerous privileges.

Fathers of families, who are also very directly associated in the obligations connected with numerous offspring, have received their share of Government attention and honour. Decree No. 179 establishes a similar decoration for fathers, which gives those who hold it, besides the actual medal, many financial privileges proportionate to the size of their families and aimed at reducing the burdens placed upon them.

In the same field the Government is now, with the aid of the appropriate committees, studying draft legislation to encourage marriage and bring this within the reach of the working class and the low-income groups.

In conclusion, I have striven in this review, which I have made as brief as possible, to show you, in the name of the Syrian working class, the part which our country is seeking to play in the social development of the world.

I would like to remind you that modern Syria is one of the most recently independent countries: but our young Republic, whose people's history goes back to the very beginnings of humanity and to the birth of the great religions which still guide men today, is happy to make once more an active contribution to peace among men of goodwill and to social justice in the world.

It is at these objectives that we workers of Syria aim with determination and with hope.

POINT OF ORDER: PUBLICATION IN THE
Provisional Record OF NAMES OF DELEGATES
ABSTAINING ON A RECORD VOTE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Mr. Roháč, Government delegate, Czechoslovakia, wishes to speak on a point of order.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—My point of order refers to the *Provisional Record* of this Conference.

We note that in the *Provisional Record* there is a table of the record vote taken on the First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹ The names of the dele-

¹ See p. 195.

gates who declared abstentions are not printed in that table. We do not know what the motives or reasons can be for the omission of these names.

In view of the debate which preceded the vote in question, we are of the opinion that this omission is inappropriate. Certainly it was not the wish of those who were present that the account of this vote should be incomplete by the disappearance from the record of this Conference of the names of those who abstained, some of them for specific reasons which they explained.

We therefore ask that the staff responsible for the editing of the records of this Conference be instructed to complete in the final edition of the records the account of the vote by inserting a list of the names of delegates who abstained between the list of the names of the delegates who voted against and the President's announcement of the result of the vote.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I call upon Mr. Morellet, Assistant Secretary-General of the Conference.

Interpretation : Mr. MORELLET (*Assistant Secretary-General*)—According to the Standing Orders of the Conference, only the negative and affirmative votes are taken into account. The Secretariat has conformed to the usual practice in this Conference.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—With the explanation of the Assistant Secretary-General, and my further questioning of the officers here, from which I understand that it is not the general practice to print the abstentions in the *Provisional Record*, I must rule the point made by the Government representative of Czechoslovakia out of order.

(*The Conference adjourned at 4.30 p.m.*)

Delegates present at the Sitting

Argentina : Mr. Souza (substitute for Mr. Puente) Mr. Roncarolo (substitute for Mr. Lescure) Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	Dominican Republic : Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	Italy : Mr. Bounous (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Gamalero (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Pastore	Sweden : Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Bergenström Mr. Flyboo (substitute for Mr. Sölvén)
Australia : Mr. Sharp Mr. Beers (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	Ecuador : Mr. Paredes	Japan : Mr. Ebtsuka (substitute for Mr. Kauno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Oka	Switzerland : Mr. Rappard Mr. Keller (substitute for Mr. Kaufmann) Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
Austria : Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Procházka (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	Egypt : Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	Liberia : Mr. Tamba	Syria : Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias Mr. Cachecho
Belgium : Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troolet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	Finland : Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	Libya : Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	Thailand : Mr. Krairiksh
Brazil : Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires	France : Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	Luxembourg : Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Leick (substitute for Mr. Krier)	Turkey : Mr. Saymen Mr. Kirim
Burma : Mr. Maung	Federal Republic of Germany : Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	Mexico : Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	Union of South Africa : Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Drummond (substitute for Mr. Brooke) Mr. George
Canada : Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Brass (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Hamel (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	Greece : Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	Netherlands : Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Stokman (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	United Kingdom : Mr. Tennant (substitute for Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans) Mr. Vernon (substitute for Mr. Buckland) Mr. Phillips (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. McAndrews (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
Ceylon : Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemaune	Guatemala : Mr. Mora (substitute for Mr. Peralta)	New Zealand : Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	United States : Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Newman (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
Chile : Mr. Torres Mr. Hormazábal	Iceland : Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	Norway : Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Øksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	Uruguay : Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
China : Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	India : Mr. Pande (substitute for Mr. Dravid) Mr. Menon Mr. Shastri	Pakistan : Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	Venezuela : Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Alfonzo (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
Cuba : Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Pérez (substitute for Mr. Cofiño)	Indonesia : Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Sumarno	Peru : Mr. Leguía	Viet-Nam : Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
Czechoslovakia : Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Vondras (substitute for Mr. Kolský)	Iran : Mr. Afchar Mr. Keyvan	Philippines : Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	Yugoslavia : Mr. Petroč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
Denmark : Mrs. Budtz (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. H. Nielsen (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. E. Nielsen	Iraq : Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	Poland : Mr. Zablocki (substitute for Mr. Chajn) Mrs. Kalinowska (substitute for Mr. Licki) Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas	
	Ireland : Mr. Cahill (substitute for Mr. Maguire) Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	Portugal : Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Gonçalves	
	Israel : Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)		

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber (Saar).

NINETEENTH SITTING

Tuesday, 24 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

FIFTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE ¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I call on Mr. Kaufmann, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the Fifth Report of that Committee.

Interpretation : Mr. KAUFMANN (*Government delegate, Switzerland ; Chairman of the Credentials Committee*)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the Fifth Report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has been printed and distributed to you.

The Committee proposes to adopt today its sixth and last report dealing with the two cases which it still has before it. This last report will shortly be ready for presentation to the Conference.

In view of the very delicate questions raised by the various problems which the Committee had to consider, during the last two weeks the Committee made very special efforts and has held at least one meeting lasting several hours each day.

This Fifth Report, like the preceding reports, was adopted unanimously by the members of the Committee. I therefore have the honour to ask the Conference to take note of it.

Interpretation : Mr. QUATREPOINT (*Workers' adviser, France*)—In the name of the General Confederation of Labour of France I wish to say that the Fifth Report of the Credentials Committee regarding the appointment of the Workers' delegates of France and Italy is simply an attempt to evade the problem, to neglect obvious and proven facts and to violate the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of the I.L.O.

One might have thought that the systematic repetition year after year of governmental practices contrary to the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution would induce the Creden-

tials Committee to show its determination, particularly at a time when the I.L.O. claims to ensure respect for the right to organise, to protect the legitimate rights of truly representative trade unions.

In fact, the contrary has occurred and the report of this year, in attempting to cover and to justify arbitrary governmental action, is a serious step backward compared with last year's report.

First of all, this document deforms the facts. It recognises that the Italian and French General Confederations of Labour (C.G.I.L. and C.G.T. respectively) are the organisations with the largest number of members in their respective countries but it invokes, in the two cases, uncertainties which apparently have prevented the Committee from forming a really clear idea of their membership.

In the case of France the Committee explains that the uncertainty is due partly to the split in the trade union movement and it thus tends to give recognition to the spirit of schism which is so contrary to the workers' interests. What is the true position ? The C.G.I.L. indicated that as early as 30 April 1952 it had already issued 4,173,180 membership cards; these cards were issued by the National Labour Bank, which is an official State-controlled institution. The C.G.T. also indicated its membership, which is four times as large as that of all the other trade union organisations in France taken together.

Both organisations have proposed a simultaneous investigation of the membership of all the trade union organisations. As regards the French Confederation of Labour, it has once again been proposed that a proper check be made by a joint committee of representatives of all the organisations concerned—the C.G.T., the *Force ouvrière* and the French Federation of Christian Workers—with full liberty to publicise the results of this check. The minority organisations have taken care not to accept this proposal. Now, where are the figures which it is claimed are opposed to ours ? The Committee has not mentioned a single one. In

¹ See Third Part, Appendix I.

the case of France, as in that of Italy, the Committee, in order to justify its position, refers to the large number of unorganised workers. We must reply to that in two ways. First of all, the influence of an organisation on the whole of the working class is proved by the results of the occupational elections. At the 1951 elections to works committees, the C.G.I.L. obtained, on the average, nearly 75 per cent. of the votes and the French C.G.T. obtained at least 70 per cent. Secondly, Article 3 refers to representatives of organised workers and not to those of unorganised workers. At the Peace Conference in 1919, in the Commission on Labour Legislation which drafted the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, Barnes stated that the provisions of Article 3 were directed towards stimulating in each country the setting up of workers' and employers' associations. In 1922 Albert Thomas insisted on this principle and pointed out that the authors of the Treaty, instead of providing for the right to vote of all workers, called upon the trade union organisations.

The report thus ignores and violates the Constitution of this Organisation and the principles of the trade union movement. In fact the Committee, by putting forward merely formal considerations, seeks to evade the substance of the question. It also distorts the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice. The Committee recognises that the Italian General Confederation of Labour "possesses, as far as can be judged, a certain numerical superiority over the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions (C.S.I.L.) and the Italian Union of Labour (U.I.L.)" but it adds that "this consideration is not decisive". The same allegation is made with regard to the French C.G.T. Of course, the Committee avoids quoting the essential part of the opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1922 according to which, all other things being equal, the organisation with the largest number of members should be regarded as the most representative organisation.

Furthermore, in this particular case, regard should be had to another clearly proved fact, *i.e.*, that the C.G.I.L. and the French C.G.T. are the only trade union organisations in their respective countries which accept and organise workers without any distinction as to race, nationality, colour, philosophic opinion, religion, or political view. But all these facts did not worry the Credentials Committee. It was determined to arrive at certain conclusions and lightheartedly it has done so. It states that all the organisations were consulted by the Governments, that the Governments have attempted to secure agreement with all these organisations and that the French and Italian General Confederations of Labour, having refused to agree with the other organisations, are responsible for the situation thus created. First of all, the two organisations were faced with a *fait accompli*, the respective Governments, in collusion with the minority organisations, having already taken an arbitrary and illegal decision which we should not and cannot accept. Furthermore, advisory opinion No. 1 says that the agreement of all organisations is not indispensable to the appointment of a Workers' delegate. Thus the report shows a

strange ignorance of the intelligence of members of this Conference and of the workers, who will judge, as they should in the last resort, the political manoeuvres in which this Credentials Committee has engaged.

It is undoubtedly useful for the clarity of the debate to compare this report with that of last year. Last year the Committee gave expression to some criticism of the French and Italian Governments. Despite these criticisms and warnings, very mild ones, moreover, these two Governments have continued in their arbitrary attitude and practices, which this year have met with the unreserved approval of the Committee. This behaviour on the part of the Credentials Committee should not be judged only on the basis of the membership of the Committee itself. They represent the development at the international level of an aggressive policy of the most reactionary circles against the workers' organisations. They reflect the pressure of American groups which have for a year been striving with renewed vigour to overcome progressive and really representative trade union movements all over the world, particularly in France and Italy.

Thus, the I.L.O. is called upon to take note of a report submitted by three members of its Credentials Committee, a report which justifies, in fact, this whole reactionary, violent, hateful policy against the progressive trade unions and workers by recognising the representatives of the groups responsible for dividing the workers' movement in France and Italy.

I do not want to arraign the individuals Jouhaux and Pastore. The C.G.T. and the C.G.I.L. would have asked for the invalidation of any appointment made by the Governments in total disagreement with them. This is not a question of personalities; it is a question of whether the I.L.O., when examining objections to Jouhaux's and Pastore's credentials, intends to authorise the violent infringement, on the part of the reactionaries, of the rights and liberties of the workers and their organisations. It was because Jouhaux and his friends were unable to lead the C.G.T. into a reactionary path, and were beaten by the workers themselves, that they resorted to causing a split in the movement in order to follow their policy, which was identical with that of the employers and of the Government. In this attempt they failed miserably. The workers do not like secessionists. Unity, independence and peace are the legitimate aspirations which lead the workers to act in order to obtain more satisfactory living and working conditions and a better future. The reactionary employers and Governments cannot satisfy these claims because they violate unscrupulously all Conventions, Recommendations, laws and regulations, irrespective of the authority which has adopted these provisions, when such provisions are contrary to the selfish interests of the ruling class. Those who wish to approve this catastrophic policy endure the shame of being supported and applauded by the enemies of the working class.

This is the position of the two delegates whose Government appointments as Workers' representatives the Credentials Committee is asking the Conference to approve; the Com-

mittee supports this choice instead of the loved and respected leaders of the working class. Why should the governmental and employers' reactionary groups direct their attacks against the French and Italian Confederations of Labour if these organisations were not the strong and genuine organisations of the workers of France and Italy? If you approve the credentials of Jouhaux and Pastore you will, whether you like it or not, be giving recognition here to the Workers' representatives of the Employers and their Governments.

I propose, therefore, that the Conference should reject the report presented by the members of the Credentials Committee. I ask for a vote on the subject in order that each member of the Conference may take his responsibility without any doubt.

Interpretation: Mr. WANDAS (*Workers' delegate, Poland*)—On behalf of the Polish Workers' delegation and of the Polish working class as a whole I warmly support the request put forward by the C.G.T. for the invalidation of the credentials of Mr. Jouhaux. This is necessary because, as has just been shown, his appointment is merely a continuation, within the I.L.O., of a political, reactionary manoeuvre of the French Government against the workers of France.

The I.L.O. has already shown, only too often, that it is powerless to guarantee respect for trade union rights. It now has an opportunity of indicating its intentions in this matter in respect of a question about which all persons of good faith can have no doubt as to what is the right decision.

The General Confederation of Labour, the most representative organisation, has four million members, organised without any discrimination as to race, colour, religion or political opinion. It is the only organisation which can claim to be so organised. The other three organisations which have concluded an agreement to allow Mr. Jouhaux to be appointed, illegally and undemocratically, have together, according to the most optimistic estimates, hardly one million members.

The results of the occupational elections of 1951 prove very clearly the preponderant influence of the C.G.T. in the French working class. In the national elections to the councils of the social security funds the C.G.T. obtained 51.7 per cent. of the votes, the Federation of Christian Workers 26.8 per cent. and the *Force ouvrière* only 18.4 per cent.

In the elections to the councils of the miners' funds, held in July 1951, the C.G.T. obtained 71.15 per cent. of the votes, the Federation of Christian Workers 17.61 per cent, and the *Force ouvrière* 21.24 per cent. At the last elections to the railwaymen's funds the C.G.T. obtained 57.2 per cent. of the votes, the Federation of Christian Workers 17.4 per cent. and the *Force ouvrière* 16.3 per cent.

But, apart from these figures, we need only refer, to appreciate the situation, to the statements of the most persistent enemies of the C.G.T. and to the press which is openly hostile to it. They strengthen our arguments irresistibly.

An article in the *Revue syndicale suisse*, No. 12, of December 1951 signed by Lafond, one

of the leaders of the *Force ouvrière*, contained the following statement: "The C.G.T. is by far the strongest organisation . . . it influences the mass of unorganised and discontented workers, who vote for it in electing representatives on works committees".

In an article which appeared in February 1951 in the *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, the organ of the International Federation of Machinists, affiliated to the A.F.L., we read the following: "In spite of the proliferation of trade unions the C.G.T. still continues to represent the mass of the French workers. Many well-informed persons presented the *Force ouvrière*, when it was formed after the dramatic split with the C.G.T., as the great hope for the political and economic stability of France, but very few of them can deny today that the *Force ouvrière* has failed to reach the goals which it set itself so optimistically when it was founded."

Irving Brown, representative of the American Federation of Labor in Europe and one of the leaders of the secessionist C.I.S.L. International, wrote in the *American Federationist* of December 1951: "What contributes most strongly to the internal weakness of France is the C.G.T. . . . which is still the predominant trade union organisation in France. . . . It continues to obtain 60 to 70 per cent. of the votes at trade union elections in France. This is particularly true in the basic industries such as mining, metals, railways, gas and electricity."

In an article which appeared in the *Trade Unionist* of 14 February 1952, Mr. Tessier, President of the I.F.C.T.U. and of the French Federation of Christian Workers, recognised that the C.G.T. was the most important trade union organisation in France and that its members were far from being all communists.

In May Mr. Jouhaux made a statement to the National Committee of the *Force ouvrière* and this statement was published in *Populaire*, the official organ of the French Section of the Workers' International (S.F.I.O.), on 7 May 1951; it read as follows: "I affirm that if the *Force ouvrière* is not yet materially the majority organisation, it has a moral majority".

It seems to us that this "moral majority" which we would give a somewhat less lofty description, really does not suffice to hide the insignificance of the organisation.

The *New York Times* said on 6 April 1951 that the influence of the C.G.T. on the mass of French workers is very strong for a variety of reasons.

It is also interesting to see that at the last congress of the Socialist party (S.F.I.O.) in May 1952, several speakers were concerned by the large membership of socialist workers in the C.G.T. For instance, Mr. Coutant, a delegate to that congress, said (as quoted in *Populaire* of 23 May): "It is not possible for militant socialists to remain in a trade union organisation the aims of which are diametrically opposed to socialism. . . . We must prove to our comrades the necessity of their rejoining the free trade union organisations."

Another speaker, Mr. L'Honoré, from Seine-Inférieure, condemned the cowardice of those who had remained in the C.G.T. after the split.

The great weakness of the *Force ouvrière* is also illustrated by its financial situation. This organisation is incapable of living by its own means and it has to have recourse to external contributions. In his final report presented to the 2nd Congress of the *Force ouvrière* in October 1950, Mr. Neumeyer, Federal Treasurer, said: "We have received a transfer of a small sum (40 million francs) from the reserves in the budget of the Ministry of Labour, representing the contribution collected from workers' wages when the Labour Charter was introduced.... We have also had a contribution from the trade unions of countries friendly to France, whose representatives attended our Congress in 1948, and after attending the Congress they did not hesitate to help us financially, for which we are very grateful."

At the congress of the Finnish Textile Workers' Union in May 1951 Mr. Salminen, the General Secretary, stated that at a meeting of the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations held in Geneva in 1948 the *Force ouvrière* representative had asked for a subsidy which was granted to them "to fight against communism in France". Later, at a Copenhagen conference, the same delegate asked again for financial help, saying that otherwise his organisation would be liquidated in France.

In the *C.I.O. News* of 25 April 1949, an account is given of a visit made by American journalists to the mining areas of Northern France; this account mentions that the *Force ouvrière* has very little money and that it had asked whether there were not any American trade unions which might help it.

It seems that a veritable shower of gold from America rained down on *Force ouvrière*. According to the *New York Times* of 2 April 1952 the first trade union group which benefited from this sort of "Marshall Plan aid for trade unions" was the Federation of Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers, affiliated to the *Force ouvrière*. The Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International helped the *Force ouvrière* to launch a campaign before the elections of delegates to the joint committees, bodies which represent the workers during discussions with the regional postal organisations.

An ex-leader of the *Force ouvrière*, Mr. René Molinier, wrote in *La Voix syndicale des P.T.T.*, of May 1952, that subsidies had been granted by the employers to the *Force ouvrière*, under cover of the fight against communism.

Mr. Molinier stated that in order to carry out this task Paul Mathot, the direct agent of Mr. Villiers, president of the employers' association, had set up the *Bureau d'études et de documentation économiques et sociales*. Through B.E.D.E.S. the Federation of P.T.T. Workers received material aid from Mr. Villiers....

So we can well understand that Mr. Tessier, in his above-mentioned article, should have referred to the "river of gold" which some far-off genie seems to cause to flow towards certain trade union organisations affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

And Mr. Tessier, in the same article, condemned the "appeals to the French Government

to take severe action against the C.G.T. or to facilitate the reinstatement of the Vichyite leaders".

Mr. Irving Brown, in the article already quoted from the *American Federationist*,—Mr. Brown, who, with Mr. Jouhaux, is one of the leaders of the secessionist International—took the liberty of asking the French Government, no doubt in the name of the State Department, to take repressive measures against the C.G.T., which he said could not be considered as a free and independent movement but should be declared to be the agent of a foreign power.

These arguments have been taken up again by Mr. Jouhaux and his colleagues and by the French Government. Under a hypocritical pretence of freeing the trade unions from politics, of liberty and of trade union independence, they are thus carrying out a political manoeuvre on behalf of American domination and are fighting against democratic principles, against the working class and against freedom of association.

The Polish Workers' delegation associates itself entirely with the workers of France and therefore joins with the other progressive workers' delegations at this Conference in demanding that Mr. Jouhaux's credentials be declared invalid. We ask the Conference to take a vote and to reject the report of the Credentials Committee.

Mr. KOLSKÝ (*Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*) speaks in Czech.

Interpretation: Mr. KOLSKÝ (*Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—We regret to find that at the present session of the Conference, despite the grave warnings given to the Italian Government last year by the Credentials Committee, the Italian Workers' delegate has once more been appointed in an absolutely arbitrary manner, illegally and contrary to the Constitution of the I.L.O. It is well known that the membership of the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions, of which Mr. Pastore is the head, has only about one-fifth of the membership of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. The membership of this latter organisation, which is the most representative organisation in Italy, is checked by the National Labour Bank and cannot consequently be doubted.

Another extremely important fact shows the representative character of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. Its membership, in accordance with the basic principles of all trade unions worthy of the name, is open to every worker without distinction as to nationality, race, religion, political opinion or philosophy. Furthermore, stress should be laid on a fact the importance of which will not escape the Conference. Mr. Pastore belongs to the political party which is now in power in Italy and his appointment shows the immoral collusion which exists between the Government and the union which he directs.

The position which we maintain is not based on partisan arguments at all. It is supported by innumerable declarations by persons whose hostility to the workers' movement is well known. No one can deny that the Italian

General Confederation of Labour is the most representative Italian labour organisation, has the largest membership and is the most widely based. The figures which have been provided by the previous speaker show this clearly enough.

As regards the case of the French Workers' delegate, it is clear, after the declarations we have heard from the Workers' delegate of Poland, that the French General Confederation of Labour is the French trade union organisation of the most representative character. It is, in these circumstances, our duty to invalidate the credentials of Mr. Jouhaux if we do not wish publicly to give the lie to all the great principles proclaimed by the Constitution of the I.L.O.

Mr. Jouhaux has been appointed with the agreement of three organisations: the *Force ouvrière*, the Confederation of Christian Workers and the General Confederation of Supervisory Staff. The membership of the General Confederation of Labour is far in excess of that of these three organisations taken together. Organisations which send a joint workers' representative cannot become the most representative organisation simply by adding up their membership. The Constitution of the I.L.O. is aimed at securing stable organisation of the workers and really representative representation, and not a mere arbitrary collection of a few organisations with different constitutions and objectives, which join together simply to appoint a Workers' delegate and to defeat the most representative organisation.

Furthermore, what is the fundamental objective of the Constitution of the I.L.O.? It is to guarantee the effective representation of the organised workers, protected from any arbitrary governmental action, but the manner in which the French and Italian Governments have acted leaves the door open to all sorts of arbitrary State intervention, for the Government is able to create fictitious organisations.

It may be useful to quote several opinions by well-known legal experts, opinions given when the question of the Netherlands Workers' delegate was raised in the I.L.O. in 1921. Mr. van Hamel, the Director of the Legal Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, wrote at the time, in this connection, that the procedure followed had the result that, in appointing the Netherlands Workers' delegate, agreement with the workers' organisation which had been recognised as the most numerous and, therefore, as more representative than any other was precisely what was lacking. The question was whether this result was in conformity with the ideas at the basis of Article 389 of the Peace Treaty and indeed of the whole of Part XIII, the labour part of the Treaty.

Furthermore, Mr. de Villalonga, the Legal Adviser to the International Labour Office at that time, remarked that the Constitution of the I.L.O. provided for independence of voting on the part of the non-governmental delegates, which could not have proper effect if Governments took to themselves the right of choosing the organisations in question, and thus, in a way, themselves designated the Workers' delegates.

We find, moreover, in an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, dated 31 July 1922, elements favourable to the thesis of the Italian and French General Confederations of Labour. First of all, the Court recognised that the engagement in Article 3 constituted a genuine legal obligation for Governments. Further, the Court laid down that: "Other things being equal, the organisation with the largest number of members shall be the most representative organisation".

The reasoning of the Court is perfectly illustrated by the example given in the advisory opinion itself. The Court took the abstract hypothesis of a country where there might be six workers' organisations, of which one had 110,000 members and the other five 100,000 each. In this case, the Court said, the 110,000 workers would take precedence over the 500,000 others. Yet, in the case now before us, the French General Confederation of Labour alone has more members than the three other French organisations together. And the membership of the Italian General Confederation of Labour is far greater than those of all the other Italian trade union organisations taken together.

Furthermore, the advisory opinion states that Article 3 is directed towards ensuring "that Governments shall appoint persons whose opinions are in harmony with the representative organisations of employers and workers".

In the concrete cases now before you acceptance of the method employed by the French and Italian Governments would bring us to a violation of the opinion of the majority of the organised workers of the two countries in question, against whom, for reasons which need not be gone into here, the French and Italian Governments unceasingly take action with the support of certain minority organisations. It is therefore the whole question of principle connected with the independence and autonomy of unions, as opposed to State power, which is raised in connection with the protest which you are called upon to examine.

I would like to quote here a statement made by Mr. Jouhaux himself at the 11th Session of the International Labour Conference (page 551 of the *Record of Proceedings*): "The freedom of the State to settle any question is limited by the obligations which it has contracted in this field with other States".

Consequently, the Czechoslovak Workers' delegation, after a conscientious examination of the facts and of the law, in the interests of the I.L.O., and on behalf of respect for trade union rights and for the workers' movement as a whole, asks you with insistence to invalidate the credentials of Mr. Jouhaux and Mr. Pastore and to accord to the French and Italian General Confederations of Labour the place to which they are entitled. In these circumstances, we ask you to reject by vote the report presented by the Credentials Committee.

Interpretation: Mr. RAMADIER (*Government delegate, France*)—At the outset, I hope you will allow me to express regret that this debate is taking place before the return to Geneva of Mr. Léon Jouhaux, who has had to go to Paris in the exercise of his functions.

The debate is a very simple one and a very clear one—the clearest that could be imagined. The principles are well known; not only are they laid down in our Constitution but they have been interpreted in the Advisory Opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice issued in 1922, to which the report itself and all the speakers have referred and which has been, so to speak, the law of our Organisation for so many years. But although many people know what should be read, they do not all know how to read it. The Hague Court was dealing with a case in which several trade union organisations existed within one country. One of them had an undisputed numerical preponderance. The others, which had fewer members, nevertheless represented a mass of workers which in all meant a majority of the workers of the country. After trying to reach agreement between the various organisations, the Government had chosen one delegate accepted by all the organisations except the largest organisation. The Court was seized of the protest and asked to give an opinion; it finally declared the decision taken by the Netherlands Government to be entirely in harmony with the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

What reasons were given? The Court stated that the text of the Constitution does not give an absolute right to the most representative organisation to make the nomination. The Constitution deliberately does not say the most representative organisation; the Government must make its choice in agreement with the most representative organisations.

What is the object? It is to choose a delegate who represents not a fraction, not even a majority fraction, of the workers, but who represents the working class as a whole.

Therefore, all the circumstances must be taken into account.

Beyond doubt, the largest organisation must be taken into consideration, but it must not be the only one taken into consideration. It has no exclusive right; it simply takes its place with the others, with its adherents behind it, to state its views, but not to exclude the views of the others. And the Government selects, trying to achieve agreement. If it obtains such agreement it is bound in practice by that agreement, but if not, then it must use its own judgment and it must try to take account of the widest measure of agreement reached.

Those are the principles.

Now what is the situation in France? There is a fairly large variety of organisations in France and there are several trade union organisations, of which there are five or six important ones. One of them—and the largest—is the General Confederation of Labour, whose case has been upheld by those who have lodged the protest, but others are also important. The General Confederation of Labour is in the position which has been clearly defined by those speakers who preceded me. It is in conflict with all the other trade union organisations and it is not surprising that it was not possible for agreement to be reached between organisations one of which is in constant dispute with the others.

The Government tried, nevertheless, to reach agreement, as it had been advised to do by

this Conference last year. It brought the organisations together. Three of them, the General Confederation of Labour (*Force ouvrière*), the Confederation of Christian Workers and the General Confederation of Supervisory Staff, came to an agreement to submit Mr. Jouhaux's name because of his eminent personality and of his 50 years spent in the service of French trade unionism. There was, therefore, agreement on a person—an agreement which was a tribute to one who represents the longest section of French working class history in this century.

The General Confederation of Labour refused to agree; it was entitled to do so. The Government therefore passed over its views. Should the vote of the General Confederation of Labour have prevailed over the other views in the eyes of the Government?

To listen to the discussion it might be thought that the C.G.T. represented such an enormous majority of the working class opinion of France that the others were quite insignificant. The truth is quite different.

It is true that in 1948—before the General Confederation of Labour (*Force ouvrière*) had split from the General Confederation of Labour—there was, in that mass of various tendencies, a very representative character. But the split did take place, and under the name of the General Confederation of Labour there is only one tendency left. It is no more than what it is; and what it is is shown by the figures. The official figures which were laid before the Committee and which the Committee took into account in its judgment are very different from those indicated from this rostrum.

It has been said that the General Confederation of Labour represents 60 or 70 per cent. of the workers of France. It has been said that it has more members than all the other trade union organisations together. It has even been said that it has four million members.

Those who spoke from this rostrum, with one exception, are not French, and their information may well be a little out of date. But if we pass from ancient history to modern history, we will see that in 1951, last year, the General Confederation of Labour, at the elections to the social security bodies, obtained 2,392,000 votes. The proportion was claimed to be 54 per cent.; in fact, it is only 43 per cent. A majority was claimed but it has by no means been achieved. If we add up all the elections to social security bodies in 1951, we shall see that all the lists presented which were not those of the C.G.T. represented a majority of between 300,000 and 400,000 votes.

It is indeed strange that the figure of four million should have been claimed for the membership of the C.G.T. when in these elections, in which not only trade union members but all workers, covered by the social security scheme, vote, there were no more than 2,392,000 votes.

You see the difference between what is alleged and the true facts.

The Government knew the facts and, when 60 or 70 per cent. was claimed as the proportion, the Government knew how to sift the true from the false. It made the necessary deduction in harmony with the facts and it realised that three organisations which represent the majority of workers in the country are in

agreement and that one organisation, which represents less than the majority, disagrees. The Government considered that in those circumstances it had the right to choose a man who was representative and who was, furthermore, sufficiently high-minded to understand the task given to him of representing all the workers of the country. The Government chose Mr. Jouhaux. Your Credentials Committee, after considering the matter fully, has reached the conclusion that this choice is in accordance with the Constitution.

We therefore ask you to confirm this double judgment.

Interpretation : Mr. RECINOS (*Workers' delegate, Guatemala*)—I have taken note of the report submitted by the C.G.T. of France and of the report of the Credentials Committee which we are now considering.

Leaving aside purposely the authentic facts and the valid legal arguments, which all militate in favour of the C.G.T.'s thesis, I would like to express before this Conference my opinion based upon the rules which govern trade union organisation and give it its real value.

I am convinced, and the experience gained recently in my own country has confirmed this, that the fundamental interest of the workers lies in their unity. Workers' unity constitutes the most decisive means for the working classes to achieve their claims.

This has been confirmed by the fact that the enemies of the working classes make every effort to bring about division in the ranks of the working class so as to impose their own will upon them and to satisfy their own interests as employers. The C.G.T. of France is the only French trade union organisation applying a constant policy of workers' unity. It is the only one which accepts and unites within its ranks all workers, of whatever political, religious and philosophic tendency.

The French employers do not wish to tolerate such a policy of unity and it is only too obvious that they prefer to sustain and to develop those trade union organisations which bring about division among the workers, especially the *Force ouvrière*.

Their method of working is very clear. It consists in a cynical violation of trade union rights and freedom and an attempt to destroy the organisation standing for unity and which nevertheless has the confidence of all the workers—just because it does stand for unity. They try to destroy the independence of the working classes, an independence guaranteed by the Constitution, and sustain the *Force ouvrière* by every possible means, as well as other trade unions which foment division. This support is indispensable for those trade unions because they are weak within themselves and because the workers do not follow those organisations which bring about division, which is contrary to the interests of the workers.

The attitude of opposition to the workers adopted in certain French sectors is very serious. The brutal action taken against the French workers and their leaders carries with it an international threat, because it points out to reactionaries in all countries where the rule is exploitation of man by man the road to

cynical and ever more intense violation of trade union rights ; that is to say, it paves the way for the repression of the workers.

Now, when the Latin American workers are fighting against the more and more brutal and frequent violations of trade union rights, the decision of this Conference to grant validity to the appointment of Léon Jouhaux would be encouraging those Governments which are violating trade union rights.

In the eyes of the Latin American workers, this Conference would appear as a direct instrument in the fight against them, against the freedom and independence of the trade unions which have been attacked by the Governments.

It is for these reasons, and not for personal considerations, that I declare myself completely opposed to the report of the Credentials Committee because it accepts the credentials of Léon Jouhaux as Workers' delegate. I ask all my colleagues, especially the workers in dependent and colonial countries, to grasp the full significance of the appointment of the French workers' delegate, which has been contested by the C.G.T.—an appointment made by the French Government.

Mr. DEL BO (*Government delegate, Italy*) speaks in Italian.

Interpretation : Mr. DEL BO (*Government delegate, Italy*)—In my capacity as chief of the Italian delegation and Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare of Italy I claim for the Italian Government the responsibility and the honour of having appointed, as the Italian Workers' delegate to this Conference, Giulio Pastore.

Last year the Credentials Committee requested the democratic Government of Italy to make every possible effort in order to secure agreement between the three principal trade union organisations in Italy. This request was acceded to by the Italian Government, which held a long series of consultations concluding on the eve of the present Conference and asked the three trade union organisations to do everything possible in order to reach agreement. The Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) accepted none of the proposals formulated by the Government of Italy. Not only did it reject them : it declined the right to send its technical advisers to this Conference, as had been suggested by the Government. I think it must be deduced from this either that the Italian General Confederation of Labour attributes no particular importance to this Conference, even to the point of refusing the opportunity offered to take part in it, or that it refuses to protect here the interests of the workers whom it claims to represent.

The democratic Government of Italy cannot accept the claim of the C.G.I.L. to be the organisation most representative of the workers. We must point out to this Conference that in Italy there is no law regulating industrial relations. But there is no possibility of taking a full census of trade union membership which would reveal the exact number of workers belonging to the three unions. I wish to say, however, that the General Confederation of Labour's state-

ment that it has five million members cannot be accepted. If five million Italian workers really belonged to the General Confederation of Labour, the tendencies of which are communist and pro-communist socialist, it is certain that, in the elections which have been held since 1945 in my country, those five millions of Italian workers would have gained a majority and have had a government reflecting their own political views. But that has not happened. Even at the recent municipal elections in May—elections carried out as usual on the basis of universal suffrage and therefore with the participation of all the workers—the communist party and the pro-communist socialist party (which really direct and inspire the Italian General Confederation of Labour) still remained a minority.

I think, however, that quite apart from cold figures we have today to face and solve a fundamental juridical problem: what is the function of a Workers' delegate at this Conference. I think the Conference will agree with me that his function is important and fundamental: it is to represent the working class of his country at this Conference.

I ask you what sort of a State it would be that entrusted the representation of its workers to a political delegate belonging to a trade union organisation which, in its own recent statements, clearly showed that it had adopted principles and harboured intentions contrary to the law and to the essential objectives of the democratic State.

The Italian workers are at this moment in a special situation, but they have at their head the Italian democratic State, which has a republican Constitution approved by all the political parties represented in the Constituent Assembly. Under the supreme authority of the law, that Government intends to apply the Constitution in its letter and in its spirit. Consequently I think that this Government, invested with executive responsibility in Italy, could not and should not, in the absence of an agreement which could not be arrived at because the C.G.I.L. did not wish it, entrust this representation to a trade union confederation whose chief recently, in a foreign country, did his best to discredit the Italian democratic régime and spoke with contempt for the measures which have been taken for the construction of our country, taking up a standpoint of antagonism which is contrary to the will of the great majority of Italian workers.

These are the considerations of a juridical, trade union, and, if the Conference will permit me to say so, political character, which have led the Italian Government to appoint as the Italian Workers' delegate here Mr. Giulio Pastore. Even in the fascist days he was always a true trade unionist and a defender of the principles of democracy and liberty. From 1943 to 1945 he fought in the ranks of our secret army for the restoration of democracy and independence to our country. He is, moreover one of the most eminent figures in the Italian Parliament.

These are the reasons why the Italian delegation calls on the Conference to uphold the report of the Credentials Committee. The Italian Government would remind the Conference that by accepting the decisions of the

Credentials Committee, it will not only officially recognise the realities of trade union experience in our country, but also help the Italian Government and people in the defence of democracy and liberty in Italy.

The PRESIDENT speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I would refer the Conference to Article 26, paragraph 5 (b) of its Standing Orders. The report of the Credentials Committee was unanimously adopted by the members of that Committee. It recommends the rejection of the objections submitted. Consequently, in accordance with the interpretation of the Standing Orders, which has been confirmed by constant practice, the Conference is not called upon to take a vote.

I therefore declare that the Conference takes note of the report of the Credentials Committee and the discussion is now closed. I would like to thank Mr. Kaufmann for having submitted the report of this Committee.

(The Conference takes note of the Fifth Report of the Credentials Committee.)

SECOND REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I now call on Mr. Patrick Shaw, Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, to present the Second Report of that Committee.

Mr. SHAW (*Government delegate, Australia; Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee*)—I have the honour to present the Second Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives. This report deals with a number of topics and makes some suggestions as to action that might be taken by the Conference.

The report contains, notably, the following: the proposed resolution concerning contributions payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in 1953; a draft resolution concerning the adoption of the budget for the 35th financial period (1953) and for the allocation of expenses among States Members for 1953; a proposed recommendation to States Members concerning the early payment of contributions, and proposed amendments to the Financial Regulations which would cover the amalgamation of the Working Capital Fund and the Reserve Fund; and finally the proposal of the Committee for the settlement of arrears of contribution due by Japan. All these proposals are submitted to the Conference by the Committee.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—I have been requested by the Workers' group of the Conference to make, on their behalf, some observations on the budget proposals which are now before us.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix V.

Let me say at the outset that we do not share the satisfaction which many Government representatives and Employers' representatives have expressed because the proposals now before us involve less expenditure than those for 1952. The proposals now before us are less because of the demands made by Employer and Government representatives in the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body. They are less by almost half a million dollars than the proposals made by the Director-General to the Financial and Administrative Committee. I suppose it can be argued that the reductions which were urged were so urged because of the financial and economic difficulties of many States Members. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that these demands for reductions were at one and the same time demands for reductions in the activities of the Organisation. They cannot be otherwise. Therefore, they were demands for a reduction in the activities of an Organisation which exists to remedy social injustice and to promote a better and fuller life for workers throughout the world, millions of whom are still existing at subnormal standards.

We as workers are not unaware of the financial and economic problems of many Governments. These difficulties have, of course, been accentuated by rearmament, by rising prices and by changes in the terms of trade, and, in many cases, by foolish spending. But, if we admit the need for rearmament at the present time, we do not agree that the money so spent should be taken from organisations which exist to promote the well-being of peoples throughout the world.

We have one common enemy—poverty. A rearmament programme will increase that poverty. It will produce still more dissatisfaction, and you cannot fight an enemy with defensive weapons. Rearmament may be necessary, it may be desirable under present circumstances, but it is a negative, defensive weapon, and this Organisation should be on the attack against that common enemy which I have described—poverty.

Bear in mind that the proposals for 1953 will mean a reduction in the activities of the Organisation in subsequent years, because once you start slowing down a programme you cannot accelerate it very rapidly; and it must be borne in mind, too, that this is not the first year that Government and Employers' representatives have urged a reduction in the budget estimates. This has been a constant thing year after year. I do not blame the Government representatives who come to the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body. They come under instructions and I believe—I profoundly believe—that in many cases the people who have to determine how much money they are going to provide do not know what the I.L.O. really stands for; sometimes I wonder whether they even know if it really exists. Something must be done to get home to the people who will provide the finances just what this Organisation means to us and to workers throughout the world.

The Workers' group has discussed this question this year and has adopted a resolution. Very strong views were expressed during the discussion and I think I can do no better than

to read the resolution to you. It is as follows:

"Having noted that the I.L.O. budgetary proposals for 1953 are less than the expenditure budget for 1952, and that these proposals are the result of demands by Governments for substantial reductions in the budgetary estimates;

"Having further noted the acknowledgement by Government representatives that these proposals will necessitate a reduction in the activities of the Organisation;

"Profoundly believing that universal and lasting peace can be achieved only if it is based upon social justice and that present world conditions necessitate an intensification of international effort to promote economic security in conditions of freedom and human dignity;

"Being convinced that the I.L.O. is the most appropriate and effective international agency for achieving the objectives set out in its Constitution,

"The Workers' group of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference protests against the constant attempts to cut down or stabilise the I.L.O. budget;

"Reminds the Governments of all States Members of the I.L.O. of the aims and purposes of the Organisation as set out in the Constitution, and particularly those contained in Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Annex to the Constitution;

"Demands that the I.L.O. shall be provided with adequate financial resources to undertake the tasks necessary to ensure the greatest possible contribution by the Organisation to the speedy realisation of its aims and purposes;

"Calls upon the national trade union centres of all States Members of the Organisation to make early representations to their respective Governments in support of this policy and, finally,

"Decides to communicate this resolution to all concerned."

I have read this text because I think it might be one way of seeing that it gets to all concerned and this is the initial stage of that process.

What I have said does not mean that we are going to oppose the budget this year.

Those of us who have the responsibility of meeting annually on the budget proposals in the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body have a very depressing and responsible task. We realised that under present conditions we could not oppose the budget proposals, savage though we believed the cuts were. But I must warn Governments and Employers that so long as I am a member of that Committee—and I believe that my colleagues on that Committee will be 100 per cent. with me—we are not prepared to continue taking part in these constant attempts to cut down the budget and reduce the activities of the Organisation.

We believe that at the present time, with the spread of political ideologies, the only way to combat this trend is by a positive policy, a policy of attacking the conditions which create these ideologies. This is the most effective Organisation for the purpose. To take action we must have the necessary finance.

I hope that what I have said on behalf of the whole Workers' group of this Conference will be taken into account by Employers' and by Government representatives. I hope that the Government representatives—and again I say that I do not blame them because they are under instructions—will convey the views of the Workers' group of this Conference to their respective Governments and that as a result next year we shall have a far more progressive policy.

The Workers' group will on this occasion support the budget proposals.

Interpretation : Mr. LICKI (Government delegate, Poland)—We have before us the Second Report of the Finance Committee, one of the Conference Committees which decides on the policy of the Organisation for the coming year. This document contains a number of recommendations which it is difficult to let pass without comment, and in the name of the Polish delegation I should like to make a few remarks concerning them.

A few days ago, during the discussion of the First Report of the Finance Committee, the delegates to this Conference learned with stupefaction that it was proposed to allow the Kuomintang delegation, which represents nobody, in addition to the right to vote at the Conference, in all the committees and in the Governing Body, the right to continue its activity as a cheap American puppet and to pay off its arrears of \$500,000 in annual payments spread according to the calculations of one of the delegates over 48 years.

I do not wish to revert to that question. I would merely like to point out that the vote clearly showed that morally this Conference condemned and rejected this proposal in the report.

Today, the Finance Committee abuses the patience of all the peace-loving delegations, the delegations which desire to improve and extend international collaboration, by inflicting a new and hard trial upon them.

The report of the Finance Committee recommends that out of the total arrears of 368,212 dollars the sum of 118,212 dollars be written off, and that the remaining 250,000 dollars be paid by Japan in five equal payments from 1952 onwards.

What is the reason for such treatment? What has the Japanese Government done for this Organisation? What is the Japanese Government's contribution to the application of the constitutional provisions of this Organisation? What has this Government done during the past year since it was admitted to the I.L.O.?

A partial reply to these questions is to be found in the speech which the representative of the "reformist" unions in Japan addressed to this Conference on 13 June. However, I would like to draw up a short list of the things the Japanese Government has done.

The conclusion of the separate treaty in San Francisco in April of this year marked the beginning of preparation for war, for a war directed against the peoples of China and the U.S.S.R.—a war threatening the whole of Asia. The Yoshida Government is helping the

United States Government to make Japan into an American military base in the Far East and has succeeded in transforming the Japanese economy into an appendage of the American economy, at the expense of the Japanese people.

The national budget has, for rearmament purposes, increased so much that the workers are required to pay about one-third of their annual income in taxes. The contracts imposed on the trade unions deprive the workers of their elementary rights. There is a ruthless system of overwork in the factories, where the workers have no free time or rest. In many undertakings the weekly rest period has been suppressed since the American aggression in Korea and the workers have only one day's rest every three weeks. The overwork and absence of protection at work has resulted in a heavy increase in industrial accidents. This forced labour is paid for at a rate which makes it impossible for the worker to keep his family alive, and real wages are going down while prices and taxes are increasing.

The Japanese workers are vigorously resisting this offensive, which is intended to starve them and deprive them of their rights. There were general strikes on 12 and 18 April of this year, and the peasant organisations have proclaimed their solidarity with the strikers. One million strikers were effectively supported by two million other trade unionists. Desiring to crush the resistance of the workers, the Yoshida Government has made fresh attacks against the working class. A draft fascist law against "subversive" activities and other draft legislation intended to revise all labour legislation and take away all the acquired rights of the working class have led to a series of new strikes and demonstrations. A few days ago, on 17 June, a strike broke out in which 800,000 workers and 14 big unions participated actively, while two million workers took part in protest meetings. During the demonstration, 30 persons were injured and 30 arrested.

Those are the merits of the Yoshida Government and its contribution to the work of the International Labour Organisation!

And it is proposed that we should give preferential treatment to such a Government, a Government which systematically and deliberately violates the fundamental principles of this Organisation. It is this Government, which treats its people as slaves, which uses Japanese territory as a military base against the free and peaceful peoples, that the Finance Committee proposes to free from a considerable part of its obligations towards this Organisation.

And at the same time, we are asked to pay our own contributions in full as soon as possible.

We are not here to bear the expenditure of supporting a fascist clique of bankrupt monopolists and beaten *samurai*. My delegation is energetically opposed to the recommendation in the report of the Finance Committee in this respect, and it invites the Conference to reject this recommendation.

I would now like to examine another curious feature of the Finance Committee's report. The budget for 1953 includes an item of 20,000 dollars for the Office at Bonn. At the same time, there is only a token mention of the Shanghai Office.

Of course, the People's China only means agrarian reform, it only means the rapid industrialisation of the country, it only means the achievement in two years of reforms which take decades elsewhere.

The position of the so-called Federal Republic of Germany is different. Its contribution to the preparations for a third world war is based on long experience of Hitlerism acquired during years of enthusiastic apprenticeship. Active fascists proclaiming the slogans of Hitlerism in order to resurrect the "Third Reich" have full liberty of propaganda and political activity in the Bonn Republic. The Adenauer régime is resolutely transforming Western Germany into a base for war in Europe. The famous "General Agreement for War" is a recent proof of this.

The exploitation of the workers is extreme. The contribution of the Bonn régime to the ideological development of the I.L.O. is evidently the famous *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*, the Act concerning the organisation of undertakings—an infamous document of fascism, a really black page in the book of labour legislation. This draft law, guided by the appetite of the American monopolies and inspired by the *Fuehrerprinzip*, by the laws of Hitlerism, confers on the employer the position of slaveholder and tend to wipe out the role of the works committees and to deprive the workers of representation. It closes the door of the undertaking to the unions and deprives them of the right to take an interest in the position of the worker inside the undertaking. On questions of the greatest importance affecting the position of the workers, such as holidays with pay, vocational training, industrial safety, and accident prevention, the employer may, if he likes, listen to what the works committee has to say, but he is not obliged to do so or, naturally, to accept the views of workers' representatives.

There is no doubt that the fascist forces of Western Germany are systematically attacking trade union rights, labour legislation and all the acquired rights of the working class in that country. A wave of strikes and demonstrations by the workers and by all decent people is spreading from one end to the other of Western Europe.

Nevertheless, the I.L.O. is striving to maintain the best possible relations with the so-called Government of Bonn and now we have a proposal to establish an I.L.O. office in that city. I hope the Conference will reject this proposal.

Another matter which is, in my opinion, curious, relates to the Office publications. Considerable sums are spent on publications and the limitations recently imposed do not offer a solution to this question. The main principle is not the number of reports produced but the quality of those reports. The United Nations and certain other specialised agencies have realised for some time that the countries governed by socialist economy form a special section of world economy, and that the development of these countries must be followed with attention and sufficient space devoted to them in the publications.

The I.L.O. publications contain little or no information on the countries of socialist eco-

nomies. However, it should be remembered that these countries cover at present a territory extending from Berlin to Peking and contain more than one-third of the world's population. In spite of the fact that there is a good deal of literature in many languages which can easily be obtained in all countries, the I.L.O. is not making any use of this in its publications. The information which the I.L.O. has itself obtained has never been used.

I have in mind the mission sent by the I.L.O. to Poland in 1947. This report was never published. A number of reports have been published after similar missions in other countries, but the I.L.O. budget has never made any allowance for the publication of the report on post-war Poland.

I raise this question because it is a further proof that this Organisation has no intention of proceeding to an exchange of views and experiences at the international level nor of putting into practice the principle of equality among all States Members.

Here I would like to draw your attention again to the question of the salaries of the Office staff. Clearly the conditions of work and the wages and salaries of the Office staff should be sufficiently attractive to enable the Office to recruit persons with qualifications above the average. However, an organisation which should be a model of good labour relations should not allow such a wide gap to exist between the salaries of the high officials and those of the medium-ranking staff and the lower categories. It seems from the budget that, while allowing for the responsibility and qualifications necessary for the directorate of the International Labour Office, the salary scale should be more equitable and should correspond to the principles of social justice on which the Office bases its activity.

Finally, I would like to draw the attention of the Conference to the following facts. The examples of the Kuomintang, Japan and Bonn clearly show that the finances of the International Labour Organisation are being handled in accordance with the political aims of a single State, to the detriment of peace and of the continuance and development of the exchange of experiences relating to the improvement of the conditions of work of the working masses at the international level, in a way which is threatening the very existence of this Organisation.

Under these conditions, the Polish delegation categorically rejects the recommendations in the report of the Finance Committee concerning the Kuomintang, the partial writing off of the Japanese debt to the Organisation and the budgetary item concerning the Bonn Office.

Under present conditions, in which the income of this Organisation is being wasted in this way, the appeal to Governments to pay their contributions as soon as their national budgets will allow has no basis.

As far as the Polish Government is concerned, it has to ensure that its income is spent according to needs and that this money is not spent for the benefit of organisations hostile to the working class and to social progress.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—The discussions at this Conference

have brought forward new evidence which makes it even more clear that this Organisation is continuing to be an instrument of the power politics of the United States. On the other hand, there is no evidence to show that the I.L.O. intends to change this dangerous trend in its development. The budget for 1953, and the report of the Finance Committee as a whole, show that the I.L.O. intends to continue on this dangerous road. This is quite clear from the appropriations of the allocations of the operative part of the budget.

We know that the original proposal for the budget was \$500,000 higher than the present one and that it was at the request of the Governing Body that the Director-General made new proposals reducing the budget by this amount in view of the difficulties alleged by some Governments. We do not intend to discuss those difficulties here. It is quite clear that those States which have overburdened their national budgets by armaments, and by spending in preparation for a new war within the framework of the aggressive policy of the United States, find it difficult to provide the money which they should give for the activities of the international organisations. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the disruption of normal trade relations, which is another consequence of the United States policy, does not at all help the States to pay their contributions without difficulty.

Certainly, the Director-General deserves praise for the fact that he keeps in mind the most economic way of spending the money of the States Members, but we think that such economies should be made in a different way from that reflected in the budget before us. This way is quite clearly indicated in the discussions of the Second Committee of the Assembly of the United Nations as well as in the discussions of the Economic and Social Council, which show that the I.L.O. should deal with those tasks which are appropriate to it according to its Constitution and not with those which are within the competence of other international organisations. The I.L.O. could thereby avoid unnecessary duplication of expenditure. Such a revision of the budget would contribute considerably towards helping the I.L.O. to concentrate on its most essential tasks.

As far as the income side of the budget is concerned, in spite of the explanations which have been made, the Czechoslovak delegation does not see any convincing reason why contributions to the I.L.O. from States Members should be allocated under a system different from that used in the United Nations. The result is that some of the States Members of the I.L.O. pay relatively more to this Organisation than they pay to the United Nations, and *vice versa*. We maintain that the system of contributions to the I.L.O. should be revised so that the system used in the United Nations should form the basis for the contributions to the I.L.O.

Furthermore, the budget for 1953 makes provision for certain committees, the activities of which have no direct bearing on the interests of the workers and from which the working population will derive no direct benefit. The budget, on the other hand, does not make provision for other committees which could

and should deal with the problems which are of the utmost importance for the working population.

I will quote only one example, that of the Committee on Agriculture, which did not meet for years and for which no allocation is made in the present budget for 1953, in spite of the fact that the discussion on the report of the Committee on Agriculture at this Conference has shown quite clearly that the situation of the agricultural workers in the capitalist and colonial countries demands that action and measures should be taken in order to secure to these workers their basic human rights.

There is another doubtful item in the budget, namely, the Branch Offices in the different countries. It is well known that doubt exists about these Offices, not only in the mind of the Czechoslovak delegation. The explanations given about the kind of work done by these Offices and also about their geographical distribution are not satisfactory. The Czechoslovak delegation noted in the chapter concerning this part of the budget that, for 1953, the allocation for the Office in Shanghai, which is the only link this Organisation has with the People's Republic of China, is being reduced in order to provide money for establishing a new office in Bonn. This, at a time when—as a recent article in the *Economist* of 14 June states—an agreement with the Americans offers the Germans the possibility of building up an army at bargain prices. At first, Germany will be responsible for nothing but maintenance costs. The United States is to provide the heavy equipment during the period of training and much light equipment. Later on, it is true, when the full cost of modern armies is realised by the Germans, and when, under E.D.C. orders, the Ruhr may begin to produce tanks and guns, diverting heavy industry from civilian use, the matter may look different. But for the time being the path offered by the E.D.C. to the recovery of sovereignty and equality of arms is fantastically favourable to a nation which, only just over seven years ago, was still dragging itself and Europe down in a common destruction. We ask, is the I.L.O. establishing a new office in Bonn to fight this declared programme? No, it is going to help to cover it up.

The reduction of the budgetary appropriation for the People's Republic of China shows quite clearly that the I.L.O. has no intention, even in 1953, of regulating in a positive way its relations with that country and its Government; and the establishment of the new office in Bonn shows, on the contrary, that the I.L.O. wants to strengthen its activity in those parts of the world and in the directions which are in the interests of the aggressive policy of the United States. This is borne out by the manner in which the question of the debts of the Kuomintang has been solved at this Conference. We have already had the opportunity of discussing this matter, and the Conference is fully aware of the dangerous consequences which this will have for the I.L.O. itself. Now the Finance Committee has added the completely unjustified reduction of the debts of the Japanese Government and has thereby only confirmed that those acts of financial benevolence for which the other States

Members of the I.L.O. have to pay are motivated by the political interests of the United States, the heavy influence of which is showing itself still more clearly in the budgetary considerations of this Organisation.

For these reasons, as well as for the reasons which have been expressed by the Polish Government delegate, to which the Czechoslovak delegation fully subscribes, the Czechoslovak delegation cannot approve the report of the Finance Committee or the budget, both of which reflect the effort to keep the I.L.O. under the control and in the service of reactionary forces.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We now proceed to the adoption of the report. The adoption of the report does not imply either adoption of the budget for the financial year 1953 or adoption of the scale of contributions. Those questions will be the subject of a record

vote. The adoption of the report does involve the adoption of all the other resolutions and recommendations which the report contains.

If there are no objections the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

RECORD VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ADOPTION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE 35TH FINANCIAL PERIOD (1953) AND THE ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES AMONG STATES MEMBERS FOR 1953

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now proceed to take a record vote on the resolution concerning the adoption of the budget for the 35th financial period (1953) and the allocation of expenses among States Members for 1953.

Record Vote on the Resolution concerning the Adoption of the Budget for the 35th Financial Period (1953) and the Allocation of Expenses among States Members for 1953

For (184)

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi (G)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G) Mr. Guerrero (E) Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson (G) Mr. Bar-Niv (G) Mr. Moriel (E) Mr. Barkatt (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G) Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E) Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Lescure (G)	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey (G)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Campanella (E) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Bergenström (E) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Burne (E) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Karikoski (E) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsoke (G) Mr. Adachi (E) Mr. Oka (W)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard (G) Mr. Kaufmann (G) Mr. Kuntschen (E) Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Weinberger (E) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Waline (E) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G) Mr. Tolbert (G) Mr. Wilson (E) Mr. King (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukladar (G) Mr. Sioufi (G) Mr. Elias (E) Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. van der Rest (E) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Winkler (E) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi (G) Mr. Carter (G)	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh (G)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Tsatsos (E) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Diederich (E) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak (G) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung (G) Mr. Myint (G) Mr. Thu (E)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar (G) Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin (G) Mr. Myburgh (G) Mr. Brooke (E) Mr. George (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Taylor (E) Mr. Sverdlow (W)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G) Mr. Fennema (E) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G) Sir John Forbes Watson (E) Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Rutnam (E) Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G) Mr. Thors (E) Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Smith (G) Mr. Anderson (E) Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. McCormick (E) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Benítez (E) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Tata (E) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Östberg (E) Mr. Dalhberg (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Pons (E) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Ling (E) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G) Mr. Tedjasukmana (E) Mr. Sumarno (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik (G) Mr. Alamgir (G) Mr. Ali (E) Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G) Mr. Velutini (E) Mr. Ochoa (W)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar (G) Mr. Kafaï (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. Garcia (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh (G) Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G) Mr. Chau (E) Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu (W)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cowley (E) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi (G) Mr. Ibrahim (G) Mr. Taha (E) Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Hernandez (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G) Mr. Rise (E) Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. O'Brien (E) Mr. Doyle (W)		

Against (8)

<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
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Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 184 for, 8 against and no abstentions. The resolution is therefore adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL :
DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPLY

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Office, who will reply to the discussion on his Report.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—Your presence here in Geneva indicates the importance that the people of the world attach to our objectives. The I.L.O. is a living, vibrant, growing organisation. We are constantly expanding our membership, widening our work to cover additional categories of peoples, diversifying our methods of work. We are doing all this and more in attempting to apply the high principle of universality to every aspect of our work. But progress is still too slow—and there remains so very much more that is still left untouched—and yet to be done.

I therefore take it as significant that, as if to answer the difficult times in which we live, this session of the International Labour Conference is the largest that has ever been held. There are here 654 delegates and advisers, representing the peoples of 60 Member States. In addition, there are 40 observers and representatives of international organisations, so that the total number of participants in this Conference is 694. I would be failing in my duty, however, if I did not point out that as many as 11 of the delegations are incomplete. This is a serious defect in our representation, and an impediment to our efforts to press more effectively and vigorously ahead. I know that we all sincerely hope that next year this break in our ranks will have been fully repaired.

I would particularly like to express my gratitude to the many Ministers of Labour who have attended this Conference. Their presence constitutes an added pledge that their countries will further the aims of our Organisation, while their contributions to our discussions have been an incentive and inspiration to our own efforts.

The more representative our assembly, the nearer we are to one aspect of our goal of universality. I am particularly happy to welcome to membership of the Organisation the United Kingdom of Libya, perhaps more so because this is a State with which the United Nations and the specialised international organisations have been closely associated even before it came into being. I can only echo the confidence expressed by one of you, that this young State, the 66th to join the I.L.O., will enter our councils with a solemn resolve to honour the obligations which membership places upon it, and that in doing so it will make a valuable contribution to our work.

If our Organisation has shown a capacity to grow, it is to a great extent due to the manner in which it was shaped in its early years by the first Director of the International Labour Office, Albert Thomas. I think it is fitting

that we pause to pay homage to that great man, for this year marks the twentieth anniversary of his death. Albert Thomas directed the work of the Office in its early years, meeting the many difficulties that faced the launching of such a venture. He provided imaginative leadership to the Organisation, consolidating its gains and planning new tasks. It was his devotion to the purposes of the Organisation and his remarkable personality that enabled him to overcome the many problems that faced the I.L.O. and to inspire others with the courage that he himself possessed in such abundant measure. No tribute from me could be so eloquent as the vivid memories he has left behind. The strong impress that he made on the Organisation endures to this very day, and it is my particular privilege to follow many of the traditions and precedents that he established.

May I also render homage to another staunch supporter of the I.L.O., Léon Jouhaux, whose services to the cause of peace were publicly recognised since our last Conference by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize ? Léon Jouhaux has been intimately associated with the International Labour Organisation since it was founded—indeed even before it was established. He has supported it with the strength of his convictions and has never hesitated to shoulder the heavy burdens that have fallen to him in carrying out its purposes. His whole life has been dedicated to the same beliefs as those which inspire the I.L.O. As he himself has remarked, "It is in company with the I.L.O. that I have fought, taking my stand on the moral principle inscribed on the foundation stone—if you wish for peace, work for justice". You all know the man and his work. I can only add that his ardent support of our Organisation lends lustre to it. I know that you will join me in congratulating him on the great honour that he has so recently received, and in expressing our sincere appreciation for his many contributions to the work of the I.L.O.

I am grateful for your response to my invitation to debate the issues that I placed before you, and to discuss in particular the I.L.O.'s operational activities and the problems to which it gives rise.

It has been an extremely constructive debate. The discussion has finally confirmed the wisdom of our experiment of the last three years in introducing a central theme for debate. The fact that our debates are concentrating on a series of central issues promises to make this forum the important overriding factor in promoting the work and affairs of the I.L.O. as a whole that it should be.

Some 107 speakers have participated in this debate. Many important and interesting suggestions have been made, ranging from the suggestion that a field office be established to deal with the problems of under-employment in Asia to two suggestions for amending the Constitution—on the one hand to give the workers 50 per cent. representation, on the other to require a two-thirds majority in each group in order to adopt a Convention. Many of you have made criticisms, or sounded notes of warning about various aspects of our work. Some of you

have warned us of the danger of trying to do too much; others have accused us of being too timid. Some have felt that the I.L.O. is too careful of the sensibility of States, and some have said that the I.L.O. is paying insufficient attention to various subjects and various regions. I have welcomed these criticisms and warnings because they have been made in a constructive spirit. It is, unfortunately, not possible to refer here to every point made, but I can assure you that my colleagues and I will study with the greatest care every one of your suggestions and criticisms.

Our Organisation must be flexible and ready and able to adapt itself quickly to the changing needs of the world. Many of you have emphasised that the greatest challenge today is the lack of balance between developed and underdeveloped countries. The responsibility of the I.L.O. in redressing this unbalance cannot be evaded. Technical assistance is one of the most effective ways of meeting this responsibility. It was for this reason that I suggested to you in 1949 that the I.L.O.'s operational activities should be greatly extended, and I am today more than ever convinced that our task cannot be accomplished by legislation alone. The I.L.O.'s operational activities have increased so rapidly since then, and have assumed such importance, that it is only fitting that this Conference should discuss them and assess their total effect on the Organisation and indicate the broad lines along which we must proceed.

Your response in this debate has been warm and you have given complete and whole-hearted support to this new emphasis in the I.L.O.'s work. I have received valuable guidance on some of the problems arising out of operational work. At the same time, your discussions have contributed to the atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding that is an essential element in the successful conduct of this programme.

Technical assistance itself contributes further to this understanding, for when people from one country move to assist people from another towards a better life, there is born through such effort a high degree of human understanding. This in itself is one of the great contributions that technical assistance can make towards the purposes of the I.L.O.

In technical assistance each country has something to give, something to receive. No one country or group of countries has a monopoly of experience or wisdom. This is one endeavour in which we can all be partners.

I have been particularly impressed by the manner in which one speaker after another from the giving countries, if I may so call them, has stressed the anxiety of his Government to contribute as fully as possible to the I.L.O.'s technical assistance work. Several Governments have talked of the efforts they are making to release experts. I deeply appreciate these efforts and while recording my gratitude I would like to appeal to Governments and institutions once again that these efforts be continued and intensified. As our programme evolves it must make increasing demands on the use of their best qualified men.

In making this appeal, I would point out what I consider to be a significant factor and one which is often overlooked. I have met many experts returning from technical assistance assignments but I have yet to meet one who did not assure me that he had learned a great deal during his work. It is therefore not only the receiving country that benefits.

I have also greatly appreciated the assurance that Governments have given that they are willing to receive I.L.O. Fellows in increasing numbers. I am more than ever convinced that the training of nationals in this manner is as important as the sending of foreign experts. I hope that it will be possible to expand the I.L.O.'s fellowship programme greatly during the coming years. This will require your co-operation and support, and I am confident from the statements made during this debate that it will be readily forthcoming.

It cannot be too often stressed that the value of technical assistance depends largely on the efforts of the recipient country. Your debate has shown that Governments and employers and workers are now fully aware of that, and we can draw strength from the determination expressed by recipient Governments to match with their own efforts the assistance they receive. If this determination is maintained, the technical assistance programme will succeed.

Many of you have stressed the need for giving assistance in the form of equipment. You have pointed out that expert advice often cannot be followed because of the lack of necessary equipment and supplies. The relevant regulations have already been rendered more flexible, and I hope that it will be possible to do still more in this direction. But I would ask those of you who have raised this question here to ensure that your Government takes the same stand in all international organisations where this matter comes up for further discussion.

The I.L.O.'s technical assistance activities cover all aspects of our work—social security, industrial relations, conditions of work, placement and training of labour, and so on. But, as so many of you have pointed out, social justice acquires content and significance only when basic human needs are satisfied and material standards of living are rising sufficiently rapidly. I do not believe that social aspirations are limited to material things. But I must say, as clearly as I can, that freedom, democracy, collective bargaining and private enterprise are empty concepts to men who are underfed, illiterate and diseased, and who live in slums and hovels. This has been proved time and time again. That is why I have always urged a positive, aggressive and practical attack against the causes of social injustice—and urged that we go into the field and among the people to carry out this attack. That is why I have, among other things, always emphasised higher productivity as one of the central objectives of this Organisation.

The technical obstacles to increasing productivity are serious enough—but fortunately here we have a great store of experience steadily enriched by adventurous technical research. Much more serious are the apathy and even opposition to rising productivity which

appear in different quarters. Increasing productivity requires a vigorous search for improvements, and enthusiasm in their application.

But unhappily this vigour and enthusiasm are too often lacking. Sometimes it is a matter of sheer inertia: people lack the energy and initiative to adopt new methods. Sometimes they fear, rightly or wrongly, that increasing productivity will bring unemployment for certain groups of workers, or inadequate rewards; or that it will make existing plants out of date, or interfere with the existing organisation and control of production.

It is to meet just these kinds of problems that this and other international organisations exist. It seems to me that our own organisation has perhaps the greatest responsibility of all in this respect. The key to increased productivity lies in the individual factories, shops, farms and offices, where the attitudes of workers and of employers, and their ability to co-operate, are vital in determining whether or not there shall be a real drive for higher productivity. That is why we have thought it imperative to organise this year an expert examination of the factors which may block the industrial application of technical improvements. I believe that this meeting of experts can yield vastly significant results, which I hope to be able to bring to your notice at our next Conference. Above all, it should strengthen and render more effective the technical assistance we are giving in this field.

Technical assistance on the scale on which it is now being provided is a relatively new feature of international life. It would be strange indeed if this great venture had been launched and carried through its initial stages without running against a great many difficulties. It would be strange if we did not make mistakes in a task so complex and so subject to human error. I believe, however, that the initial difficulties have been largely overcome and that international technical assistance will endure and expand. As its aims and methods become better known, both its tempo and its intrinsic value should increase greatly.

Many of you have stated that the I.L.O. is not doing enough to assist the underdeveloped countries. I share your dissatisfaction. No one who is aware of the great needs of these regions, no one who believes in the value of the contribution that the I.L.O. can make to their problems, can remain satisfied with what is being done. But we have made a beginning, and I have tried in my Report to tell you of some of the things we are doing. I am, moreover constantly endeavouring to streamline and expedite the administration of technical assistance. I hope that during this Conference many of you have had an opportunity of contacting the I.L.O. technical assistance unit, and seen more fully the work that is being planned and carried out, and the manner in which this is being tackled.

But we cannot afford to rest content with this beginning. The I.L.O. must, in common with the Governments, employers and workers of the different countries, intensify its efforts to provide direct and practical assistance to their people.

I believe that it is worth noting that the

emphasis that the I.L.O. is placing on operational activities is not at the expense of our legislative work. A great many speakers have referred to international labour Conventions and Recommendations, to their continued importance, and to the efforts that are being made to apply them. It has clearly emerged from your speeches that the importance of the International Labour Code has in no way diminished. Indeed, it has been enhanced, for the I.L.O. is now in a position to increase substantially its direct help to Governments in making it possible for them to apply these standards.

I would like to discuss briefly one particular draft Convention on which the Conference has been working for the past two years. I refer to the proposed Convention on social security. If I pick this out for special reference, it is not only because it is a good illustration of what I wish to say but because it is one about which there has been a great deal of misunderstanding. This does not seem to be confined to those outside our Organisation but has even found its way into our councils. It is because of this that I feel it incumbent on me to emphasise once again that no international labour Convention infringes in any way sovereignty of States. A Convention is not a measure to be imposed on Governments against their will. Its ratification is a matter for independent action within each country.

The 66 Governments that have banded together under the Constitution of the I.L.O. have not done so in order that their sovereign rights may be derogated to a super-State. They have joined together that they might, through discussion and conciliation, agree on commonly acceptable standards.

The proposed Social Security Convention represents standards arrived at by duly authorised representatives of Governments, employers and workers, through free and democratic discussion. It has been subject to the same give-and-take as any agreement reached by these means. It reflects the way in which sovereign States are moving in developing their own social security schemes, and the final result embodies the best experience and thinking of our time.

While I am talking about this Convention, I would like to dwell on the subject of social security a moment longer to illustrate an important trend that is increasingly noticeable in the work of our Organisation. The International Labour Conference has dealt before the war, during the war and after the war, with the question of social security, and has established a comprehensive body of legislative standards on this subject. However, in a great many countries today the problem is not so much one of determining standards as of meeting the practical difficulties that arise in their day-to-day application. It is for this purpose that the I.L.O. is being called upon in increasing measure to render practical and direct assistance in evolving administrative techniques, in simplifying procedures and rendering them more easily comprehensible, and in ensuring that schemes have an adequate actuarial basis. In other parts of the world, where social security is more highly developed, the I.L.O. is being asked

to help in the conclusion of reciprocity agreements between nations. I think we are already achieving results in these directions, which give yet another example of the growing scope of the I.L.O.'s work. It shows the way in which the I.L.O. is using new tools to help it in its task.

Some of you during the debate have drawn attention to the problem of co-ordination. It has been suggested that international organisations are multiplying at an alarming rate and that the problem of co-ordination is becoming a hydra-headed monster, eating up the time and resources of these organisations.

It is easy to talk loosely about the monster of co-ordination. It is easy to indict international organisations for not dealing with it. I can sincerely assure you that from the side of the international organisations, co-ordination is not a monster and we are dealing with it effectively and expeditiously. But co-ordination does not depend on international organisations alone. It depends at least in equal measure on the Governments which are members of these international organisations.

In referring to this problem last year I suggested that two principles should determine our attitude to it. The first was simplicity. Where an organisation already exists it should be given the means and authority to do its job in preference to creating new international machinery for every problem that may arise. Secondly, I suggested that the key to successful co-ordination lay with Governments. Every Government should speak with a single voice in all international organisations.

I can only appeal to you once again to ensure that the attitude of your Government remains consistent in every international organ. If that is done, the greater part of the problem of co-ordination, I assure you, will be solved.

In talking about technical assistance I referred to the mutual understanding and co-operation which are both its cause and its result. This understanding is essential to all the activities of the I.L.O. Our deliberations here, the meeting of varying points of view and the interplay of differing interests, succeed only in so far as they lead to a spirit of common endeavour. This does not mean that the interests of groups or of regions have to be sacrificed. Regional aspirations have their proper role and there is special machinery to deal with them. No one can have listened to speakers from the American continent referring to the results of the recent Conference in Petropolis, or to speakers from Asia referring to the Asian Advisory Committee and the Asian Regional Conferences, without appreciating the full value of such regional machinery. This machinery is constantly growing and its activities include the work of field offices and field missions, technical meetings, seminars, and collaboration with regional organisations and agencies. Again the accent is on practical work.

There is no conflict between regional interest and those of the wider world community. When we meet here, the wider interest encompasses the smaller ones of a region or of a group of nations. It is the same with specific industries. The I.L.O.'s Industrial Committees

assist the Conference in its work; they do not set out to rival it.

You have spoken with pride during this debate of our tripartite structure because it is one that gives a solid framework to our Organisation. I am convinced that it is this, more than any other factor, that has rendered the I.L.O. enduring and effective. Each group has its legitimate interests, but these, like regional interests, subserve the larger interests of the world community as a whole. It is to these larger interests that the I.L.O. is dedicated. They are the highest end that we serve through all our work.

It must be remembered, however, that the proper working of the tripartite structure presupposes the existence of strong, independent organisations of employers and workers, free to pursue their legitimate activities. Any restrictions on their organisation and work represents a weakening of the I.L.O.'s basic framework. Freedom of association, it seems to me, must remain a constant and passionate concern of the I.L.O.

All of the efforts that I have been describing; all of the tools—old and new—that we are using; and the universal effort of our great organisation must be considered and analysed in the light of the fact that we are met in a world that is still torn by tension and that seems powerless to evolve a way of life that would eliminate the constant threat to its security. Though we continue to work and pray and hope for peace, we cannot ignore the tendencies which drag us with impetuous force towards war—the mutual fear and suspicion that cloud our judgment, the rearmament and the open conflicts that have broken out in various parts of the world.

There is those who would represent that it is unreal even to talk of social justice in a world that is rearming. You here have effectively answered such doubts by emphasising strongly that the threat of war, far from lessening the need for social action, increases it and makes it even more vital for the survival of the world. You have stressed the paramount need of continuing our efforts for social progress, even when large resources have to be diverted to other ends.

Social programmes in many countries have had to be restricted, as resources were diverted to other purposes. I have felt these restrictions here too, for the I.L.O. is a sensitive gauge of social progress in every country and records its advances and withdrawals in the momentum of its own work.

We must not accept a paradoxical world where men talk forcefully of peace and prepare with equal force for what may be its ultimate destruction. We must realise that it is at such times that the responsibility of the I.L.O. becomes ever more urgent; its duty ever more insistent. Every year I have insisted on the urgency of the need for I.L.O. action. I do so today with far greater conviction than ever before. Never before has it been so urgent that we make every effort to translate our ideals into realities. Never before has it been so important that we make that additional effort necessary to understand the other man's point of view and to hold fast to the underlying community of purpose.

Because of the prevailing circumstances and the difficulties which Governments are facing, I agreed that our budget for 1953 be reduced. But I cannot refrain from stating that it would be tragic indeed if we were prevented from pulling our full weight on the side of peace in the world today for lack of means—means which by comparison to the vast sums being devoted to other purposes must appear infinitesimal.

And so, my friends, I end this reply on a note which disturbs me. On the surface, our Organisation is stronger than at any time in our 33 years of existence. We now have 66 Member States. We have 1,301 ratifications of Conventions. Technical offices are functioning in the field. Our legislative work is going ahead at full steam. Technical missions are actively assisting people and Governments in every quarter of the world. A seemingly greater attachment to the objectives of the Organisation exists by Member States. But while I know that all of this is good—I know that it is not enough! All of this is encouraging but cannot stem the tide that is about to engulf us—unless we take heed now and resolve to redouble our efforts within this Organisation on a day-to-day basis, divert greater sums to our objectives, and willingly and courageously search and work for an open world where men can find employment and opportunity and be freed from the shackles of suspicion and from the distinctions emphasised by narrow domestic walls. I plead for the removal of mental and

physical barriers so that universality will become a genuine living force.

We in the I.L.O. cannot alone obtain peace. The world today is much too complicated for that. Other international forces and agencies must play their part—and we must join hands and forces, one with the other. But I do believe that we and the ideals for which we stand can play a predominant role. I have never held the view that those who framed the I.L.O. believed that its objectives could be achieved by a narrow and insular technical approach. They believed in our mission too in the moral sense, and in the solidarity which could be developed as between members of each of the three groups of the I.L.O. and then as between the three groups themselves. Therein still lies our strength—and our hope!

Let us therefore at this session of the International Labour Conference and in this serious hour among the family of nations, resolve to take the necessary steps to arouse and marshal world public opinion so that it may be placed solidly behind us in our efforts to obtain peace through social justice. Let us really decide to use the I.L.O. fully, intelligently and with vision so that it can never be said of us that we here rejected the responsibility that mankind placed upon our shoulders to help and assist them in finding an answer to their insistent prayers for peace.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Brainsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Cahill (substitute for Mr. Maguire) Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Ebitsuca (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias Mr. Cachecho
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Sanches Duran (substitute for Mr. Baeta Neves)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Thu	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Taylor Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Drummond (substitute for Mr. Brooke) Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Bellingham-Smith (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Roberts
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Peel (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Shastri Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringebotten (substitute for Mr. Øksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Moutoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Ochoa
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Dular (substitute for Mr. Petrović) Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Chossudovsky, Mr. Gros (*United Nations*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Patteet (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*), Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

TWENTIETH SITTING

Tuesday, 24 June 1952, 4 p.m.

President : Mr. David

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The Conference will now consider the Report of the Committee on Industrial Relations. I call upon Miss Raffalovich, Reporter of the Committee, to present the report, the text of which has been printed and distributed.

Interpretation : Miss RAFFALOVICH (*Government adviser, France; Reporter of the Committee on Industrial Relations*)—Your Committee on Industrial Relations has carried out the work that was entrusted to it. After having studied and prepared in the course of the last four years various texts concerning freedom of association, trade union rights, collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration, it was called upon this year to consider the proposed conclusions which the Conference approved last year concerning co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking.

It also had before it a draft text containing guiding principles or examples of good practice in the field of such co-operation.

The work of the Committee was guided by the decision taken by the Conference, according to which the Committee was to finish this year its work concerning the general question of co-operation, taking as a basis for its discussion the proposed Recommendation which was drawn up at the end of the 34th Session of the Conference. The work of the Committee terminated with a proposed Recommendation and a proposed resolution, which are submitted for your approval.

If the Recommendation is briefly worded, this does not mean that it was drawn up without difficulty. I should rather say that its brevity itself lends added weight to each one of its terms. The Committee paid particular attention—as the most eminent philologist

would not deny—to the use and weight of each term used. The Committee wished to take into account the diversity of practice and the various experiments made. It also wished to respect the conceptions of each country and the particular needs of the countries which have not yet reached a high level of economic and social development. In other words the text which the Committee has drafted is the result of reciprocal concessions and mutual sacrifices.

Having thus studied the principle of co-operation and, in addition, having attempted to put it effectively into practice, the Committee found from its own experience that there could not be any true co-operation without an attempt to understand the various viewpoints involved and to adapt them to one another. Having started along this road which has been little explored, the Committee needed—and found in its Chairman—a wise guide whose energy and patience allowed it to traverse the most difficult obstacles.

The proposed Recommendation which was finally adopted unanimously by the Committee provides for the introduction of appropriate measures to promote co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, leaving it either to voluntary agreements or to national legislation, according to the custom in each country, to give effect to such co-operation.

The question of guiding principles or examples of good practice brought out various divergent viewpoints. Certain persons were opposed to detailed measures being set out in the Recommendation; others considered that if the general principle were laid down in the Recommendation without some light being thrown upon it by means of some essential rules for its application, it would not have much value. In addition, whereas the notion of guiding principles was acceptable to countries which use legislative methods, the notion of examples of good practice, which might inspire the interested parties at the time of the conclusion of such agreements,

¹ See Third Part, Appendix IX.

was preferred in the countries where co-operation between employers and workers is ensured by voluntary agreements.

The conciliation of these different viewpoints had the effect of allowing the Committee to include the principal provisions proposed to us by the Office in a resolution; which we hope will guide the legislative authorities or the employers' and workers' organisations, as the case may be, in giving effect to the consultation and co-operation advocated. The importance of this problem in the field of industrial relations and the variety of experiments already made have shown clearly the need for further study of the results obtained, the difficulties encountered and the progress achieved. The Committee therefore felt that it would be wise for the Office to follow closely the development of this type of co-operation in the various countries and to present a report on this subject to the Governing Body.

On concluding its work the Committee held a short discussion on the decision taken by the Conference with regard to the second point on the Committee's agenda, *i.e.*, co-operation between the public authorities and employers' and workers' organisations at the level of the industry and at the national level.

The Workers' members expressed their regret at seeing the discussion limited to the question of co-operation at the level of the undertaking, which in their view diminished the importance of the problem under consideration. The Employers, however, referring to the decision of the Conference, opposed any re-opening of a discussion on this point. The report which we have presented to you traces the general development of the discussion, both on the resolution and on the Recommendation.

Such as they are, the provisions of these two drafts, submitted for the approval of the Conference, show a common desire on the part of the members of the Committee to bring about in undertakings, taking into account the diversity of national practice, and the evolution of economic and social conditions, an atmosphere of mutual understanding and a spirit of co-operation which may benefit new initiatives tending to the development of social progress.

Mr. BATTENDIERI (*Government adviser, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mr. BATTENDIERI (*Government adviser, Brazil*)—The Government delegation of Brazil has pleasure in expressing its approval of the terms of the proposed Recommendation concerning collaboration between workers and employers at the level of the undertaking, and it does so in the assurance that it is thus contributing to strengthening the good relations and understanding between workers and employers. These organs of collaboration, as their name indicates, can only exercise their influence through the establishment, within the undertaking, of an atmosphere of harmony in the solution of matters of common interest to employers and workers. In this atmosphere of harmony and good understanding, especially when it is on a spontaneous basis, the whole community will

benefit because, as a natural consequence, there will be an increase in productivity from which all will benefit.

The Committee which studied this matter are to be congratulated, for they had a serious and difficult task. Safeguarding, as the Brazilian delegation had done by its statements in the Committee, the very important role which is reserved for the trade unions at the present time as the most powerful organ of social integration, giving flexibility to the terms of the draft so as to take account of each country's peculiarities, laying down principles which take into consideration conditions suitable to the different branches of enterprise, all of which tend to stimulate and to improve the relations between the two poles of production, capital and labour, the Committee discharged its difficult task with a high sense of balance and wisdom.

The work done and now under discussion is in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration of Philadelphia, whose principles are a true declaration of social rights.

Taking into account, therefore, the principles laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia, which my country has always observed because in Brazil social peace and the welfare of workers are the dominant preoccupation of the responsible organs of the State, I wish, in the name of my delegation, to express our support of the proposed Recommendation which is now being discussed.

Interpretation : Fr. STOKMAN (*Government delegate, Netherlands*)—In the work of the Industrial Relations Committee there are, in my opinion, certain things which have to be commended and others which must be regretted.

I am happy because the Recommendation and the resolution on co-operation within the undertaking have been adopted unanimously by the three groups which constitute the Committee. This proves that the employers as well as the workers are ready to consult together concerning the numerous questions of common interest other than those of wages, collective agreements, etc.

I regret, however, that the guiding principles of this co-operation and of this consultation are not included in the text of the Recommendation itself. By leaving either to the interested parties or to the national legislation the entire freedom of subsequently determining the methods of this co-operation, we could end by having bodies for co-operation and consultation which, in reality, are not such bodies at all. Let us hope, however, that the guiding principles, although only contained in a resolution, will still be applied. I would like to state in this connection that I trust to the goodwill and the commonsense of the two interested groups.

What is even more regrettable; in my opinion, is that with the adoption of these two texts the discussion of the subject of co-operation and consultation on the industrial and on the national levels is also terminated.

In view of the unanimity with which we have obtained results on co-operation within the undertaking, it is not up to me now to criticise the procedure applied to eliminate the dis-

cussion of co-operation on the industrial and national levels. Allow me, however, to express here my sincere conviction that this co-operation on the industrial and national levels is one of the most important problems because it concerns social life in its entirety. This is a central problem the solution of which is decisive for the evolution of the political and social economy of the future. If we do not want to have Marxism or a State-directed economy, if we do not want to resort to the old *laissez-faire-laissez-aller*, we must find, in the present complexity of economic affairs, a means of bringing about the disappearance of the tensions which naturally result from conflicting opinions, interests and rights. I am not speaking about any control of the means of production or of the establishment of monopolies—I am not even thinking of such things. But I am thinking of the human dignity of the workers and of their responsibility in affairs of common interest and in the well-being of society. I freely admit that the problem is a difficult and a complex one; the experiments already made are too recent and the pitfalls to be avoided rather dangerous.

In these circumstances, the best I can do is to urge the International Labour Organisation to continue the study already undertaken and to place the entire question again on the agenda of our Conference whenever the time is judged to be convenient.

I hope that at that time we shall obtain a common agreement similar to the one which has satisfied us so much after the discussion within the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Mr. POPOVIĆ (*Workers' adviser, Yugoslavia*) speaks in Serbo-Croat.

Interpretation: Mr. POPOVIĆ (*Workers' adviser, Yugoslavia*)—One of the most important problems being dealt with by the I.L.O. this year is undoubtedly that of co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking. I think it is particularly necessary to emphasise the soundness and the timeliness of the initiative taken by the I.L.O. in this connection. The abundant documentation prepared by the International Labour Office for the discussions on this question at this year's session shows how seriously this task has been approached. The proposed Recommendation and the guiding principles relating to the problem of co-operation, prepared by this Conference on the basis of an enquiry covering a vast field, constitute an extremely solid working basis for our Committee and the whole Conference, and I think that the I.L.O. should be heartily congratulated on its work.

However, we should recognise that the Committee has finished its work with results which we cannot consider as entirely satisfactory in spite of the efforts which were made.

This is partly due to the fact that since the beginning of the work of the Committee the question of co-operation between employers and workers at the industrial and national levels was deleted from the agenda of this year's session.

During the Committee's work a tendency became apparent to delay the solution of the

problems involved even when they concerned the proposals on which all our work was to be based. Generally represented by the Employers' group in the Committee, it was aimed at watering down the fundamental principles and the idea of co-operation at the level of the undertaking, at reducing them to vague generalised formulas and at restricting the scope of the idea itself and the concrete forms of organisation within which this idea was to develop. This tendency predominated to a great extent and that is why the proposed texts are so weak.

In support of this attitude the principal argument put forward was that the particular conditions prevailing in each country made it impossible to adopt texts which could be acceptable to all countries and all parties concerned. While admitting that we must make allowances for special conditions there is no doubt that it is possible and necessary to adopt texts clearly defining both the substance of these fundamental principles and the idea of collaboration, as well as the forms of concrete organisation to be adopted.

I consider that the poor quality of the results obtained is mainly due to the fact that instead of submitting a single Recommendation we have adopted two separate texts—a Recommendation and a resolution. This is an important concession to the tendencies I have already mentioned. The question of more direct participation of the workers and their organisations in matters connected with the economic and social problems of the workers and in other matters connected with production, the distribution of the national income, economic development, and occupational relations in general, both in undertakings and within the entire community, is calling more and more insistently for a concrete solution.

Social development during the last few decades has shown just how serious this problem is. There are many countries in which this idea has been applied by various forms of more or less advanced organisation, adapted to the degree of social development and social relations in each country, to the characteristics of each country, and the strength and role of the workers' organisations. That is why the Recommendation and the resolution proposed will not be of much importance for a number of countries where the situation has developed far beyond what we are demanding should be established today.

The example of my own country is an extremely characteristic one—in fact, it forms a rather special case. In Yugoslavia the working class has developed this idea fully and has achieved forms of organisation guaranteeing to it the right to direct production and to decide independently all questions relating to economic, social and political development both within the undertaking and within branches of industry, as well as in all Government agencies from the local organs up to the People's Assembly of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, which is the supreme organ of legislative power in Yugoslavia. Self-management by the workers in a real and complete form, such as is practised today in Yugoslavia, is only possible

in a socialist order such as has been established and developed in my country.

Obviously, we cannot agree with the speeches and demands of the representatives of the Cominform countries, who do not understand the substance of the problem and the conditions in which it should be studied. They do not wish to make a constructive contribution to the real solution of the problems with which we are dealing. All they wish to do is to put forward proposals which only serve to give them cheap propaganda.

The working classes in these countries, whose representatives speak in this way, would be extremely happy if they enjoyed only the rights acquired in this connection by the working classes in a number of capitalist countries or those which they enjoyed themselves before the establishment of the so-called socialist order. The fact is that the working classes of these countries are deprived of their rights, placed under a twofold political and economic tutelage and under the moral pressure of the bureaucratic class of their respective countries and of the U.S.S.R. and its imperialistic policy.

Under these conditions most of the members of the Committee attempted to find a solution acceptable to all the parties concerned represented in the Committee. However, these efforts were very often thwarted and we have not been able to achieve what we ought to have done.

I consider, however, that in spite of the weaknesses of the proposed Recommendation and resolution concerning co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, they constitute, nevertheless, an important document, as there is now an international instrument with a broad basis which develops a far-reaching idea that has today become an urgent undeniable historic necessity. Full understanding and the concrete judicious application and future development of this idea will certainly contribute to the improvement of economic and social conditions and to the economic development of the different branches of industry and of the entire community. It is the duty of the parties concerned, the Governments and the International Labour Organisation, to devote particular attention to this problem and to continue to study it. Even as it stands this instrument has a certain scope and a *raison d'être*.

That is why, in spite of their weaknesses, we support the texts proposed to the Committee and we shall vote for their adoption.

Interpretation: Mr. BORSTLAP (*Workers' delegate, Netherlands*)—I entirely agree with the report of the Committee, but I would like to make one comment concerning the limitation of the subject to co-operation at the level of the undertaking. In all the countries where such co-operation already exists, it can be seen that this co-operation and consultation is more or less ineffectual until it is completed by co-operation at the level of the industry and at the national level. These are three elements of a single system—the system of economic democracy—and that is why I must express the hope that the Govern-

ing Body will find it possible to place on the agenda of a future session of the Conference the question of co-operation at the level of the industry and at the national level so that the results obtained so far will be improved upon.

Mr. BEARD (*Workers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I rise to draw the attention of the Conference to paragraph 75 of the Report of the Committee on Industrial Relations, from which you will see that the text of the resolution on examples of good practice submitted by the working party was carried by 258 votes to 0, the Employers' members of Israel, Switzerland and the United Kingdom abstaining.

I want to speak to those Employers' members who have abstained, in the hope that I may be able to do something to bring them into line. I am giving away no secret when I say, as the Workers' Chairman, that our group went a long way in compromise to obtain unanimity on these proposals. Quite clearly, we wanted the original Recommendation in the text and we wanted the guiding principles affixed to the Recommendation. But we realised that it was useless having an international instrument which did not obtain the unanimity of the three sides, and with that end in view we compromised. I was astounded to learn that the Employers' members of the United Kingdom had indicated that they could not care less, by abstaining from voting.

I would like, if I may, to point out some of the dangers that this might lead to so far as my own country is concerned. We have, as you know, a Trades Union Congress which is probably the most powerful and the largest trade union organisation in the world. It has a great effect upon public opinion in our country. The proceedings of this Committee and of every other Committee of the I.L.O. will be published in the Congress record and that record will go, too, before the Congress and every individual delegate will have the right to go to the rostrum and question anything that appears therein. I shall probably be responsible for answering questions or dealing with the discussion arising out of this Committee on Industrial Relations. Have I got to tell the eight million trade unionists in Great Britain that the United Kingdom Employers refused to play ball? Are we prepared to face the publicity that will ensue?—and it will be world-wide publicity because our Congress is covered by almost every newspaper in the world. That is one danger.

But I see another one. We have in our country what is known as the National Joint Advisory Council to the Ministry of Labour. The President of that Council is the Minister of Labour. At his side sit his Secretaries of State; on his right hand sit the employers, including Sir John Forbes Watson; on his left hand sit the trade unionists from the Trades Union Congress. Repeatedly we have Minister after Minister come before that Council to ask for assistance in increasing productivity. And I would not be the least surprised if Sir Walter Monckton did not find it necessary, in view of our economic circumstances, to come again to that Council and ask what we are prepared

to do, as trade unionists, to increase productivity. What is our answer going to be? Have we got to tell Sir Walter Monckton that the British Employers have decided that they will not play ball? Those are the dangers that we are confronted with.

I rather anticipated this abstention when the question was discussed in the Committee, because, as members will recall, I indicated that, in particular, the engineering employers in Great Britain were looking at twentieth century conditions through nineteenth century spectacles: if I might pursue this train of thought I would remind you that we have just had a conservative Government returned and this conservative Government has, in its wisdom, decided to make a charge for spectacles, on the grounds of finance, and I have heard it said that if a person pays for something he values it more. I might suggest to the British Employers that they make a payment, that the payment should be a vote for these proposals, and when they get their new spectacles they will see quite a lot of things that they do not see now. They will begin to see that you can have the finest management in the world and the finest technicians in the world, but unless you get the workers on your side you cannot get production. That is quite a twentieth century idea, and I suggest that they have another look at it. We have our difficulties, too, because not all the workers in Great Britain believe in greater productivity; I would like you to imagine what would be the position of a trade union worker going into the textile towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where we have thousands out of work and underemployed, and talking to them about productivity. But that does not say that productivity is wrong. It is right.

Those are only some of the difficulties we have to contend with. I think that of all the Committees this Committee should be able to find common ground on which it can agree. We on the Workers' side have done our part: it is up to the Employers to follow suit. If the United Kingdom Employers are subject to direction, then I suggest that it is important from their own point of view that they should obtain fresh instructions. If we mean business and if we really want greater productivity, then there should be no divisions or obstructions on this issue.

Mr. O'BRIEN (*Employers' delegate, Ireland*)—Before dealing with the report may I first pay a tribute to the Reporter, Miss Raffalovich, for the excellent work she has done in preparing the report. We in the Employers' group are satisfied that it is a truly accurate account of what did take place in the various meetings of the tripartite Committee. We admire the work done by Miss Raffalovich; we thank her for it and we congratulate her.

Secondly, I am asked by the Employers' group to indicate to the Conference our appreciation of the manner in which the Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Dreyer, Government delegate of Denmark, conducted the proceedings of the Committee with the fairness, tact and patience to which many of us became accustomed when he presided over a similar committee two years ago.

In the work of the Committee I think it fair to say that all groups addressed themselves particularly towards one objective. That objective was to reach, as far as possible, unanimous agreement and universal understanding on the matters which were before us. Mr. Beard has made reference to the fact that there was compromise. If ever there was a committee whose theme song was "compromise" I think it was the Committee that sat this year on industrial relations, dealing with the subject of consultation and co-operation at the level of the undertaking. The result of the Committee's work shows quite clearly the amount of compromise which took place during the sessions. Of course we had to compromise, because we had to agree.

We had to avoid anything that would appear to be indicating any element of force or coercion. I think it was thoroughly understood by all three groups that what we were doing was dealing with the subject of human relations, and that that was a subject upon which the word "coercion" could not be imposed.

We also appreciated that it would have been foolish for us to start fighting about how we were going to get on together, because that in effect is what we were discussing.

Mr. Beard has spoken at length about his anticipations of the attitude of certain members of the Employers' group. I have said on previous occasions from this rostrum that the hallmark of the Employers' group is freedom of expression and freedom of decision. We do not impose in the Employers' group any obligation towards solidarity, and each Employer is invited to indicate to the group and the technical section the particular line or course of action which he feels compelled to adopt. I do want to say this: that to my knowledge there is no Employer in the group who is against the notion and principle of consultation and co-operation in the proper sense, deprived of all sinister inference. Certain of our Employers have indicated to me their reasons for abstaining—possibly for voting against the Recommendation and/or resolution. They have one and all agreed that in principle they favour the notion of co-operation. We find the difficulties in one case where the principle is agreed but the present application is just not practicable.

We find another case, which will be stated later from this rostrum, where the development of consultation and co-operation is already so far advanced that it is almost farcical to discuss the idea of making recommendations or resolutions in its connection. Lastly, we find Employers who would like fully to vote in favour of consultation and co-operation and the bodies which might operate these principles, but who know from sad experience that in their countries the existence of these bodies has been used by communist influences not to promote productivity and production but to disrupt industry, and to cause as much as possible the downfall of industry, not only at the level of the undertaking but at the national level itself.

Certain of my colleagues in the Employers' group have had to adopt an attitude which may seem mysterious to the members of the

Conference. I simply want to say this : that from the assurances they have given me and from the visible evidence which they have been able to show me, I am quite satisfied that their motives in adopting this attitude are perfectly genuine and well founded.

With regard to my personal position, I shall vote for the Recommendation and I shall vote for the resolution. I have made a bargain personally that I would do so, in the light of the compromise and give-and-take which occurred during the meetings of the Committee. But I want to say this : I am satisfied that I can vote for the Recommendation and for the resolution because of the confidence that I have in the Government of my country and in the successive Governments which have been in my country over a period of years and which are likely to be there. They have openly declared themselves in favour of free enterprise and they have openly declared themselves against any unnecessary Government intervention in matters affecting industry, where the parties are capable of arranging these things among themselves.

I have equal confidence in the good sense of the leaders of the trade union movement in my country, so I am satisfied that my voting for this Recommendation and this resolution will be accepted by them as an indication that I believe in their adherence also to the principle of voluntary agreements, voluntary consultation and voluntary co-operation, and that they would be opposed, as much as I am opposed, to any unnecessary governmental interference in places and in matters where employers and workers are willing and competent to do the job themselves.

I simply wish to say that I think the outcome of the work of the Committee this year has been a remarkable achievement and, above all, I am satisfied that all the members of the Committee in every group fully understand what each one meant when he voted in favour of any particular clause either in the Recommendation or in the resolution. I am perfectly confident that in those countries where we know there is genuine trade unionism and genuine organisation of employers, all based on good will, there will be no misinterpretation, no misunderstanding and no misgivings about the meanings placed on the various words which were so carefully chosen during the activities of the working party. For that reason, I declare to the Conference that the Recommendation and the resolution will have my favourable vote.

Mr. GRAHAM KERR (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—Representing as I do the employers of the United Kingdom, a country which has made perhaps the greatest contribution in history to the development of machinery for co-operation between employers and workers, largely through a reasoned approach to this problem on the basis of voluntary agreement between both sides of industry—an essential feature of the British industrial relations system—I particularly welcome the statesmanlike approach of all three groups of the Committee on Industrial Relations, which has enabled them to draw up a Recommendation regarding co-operation at the level of the

undertaking which has secured the unanimous support of the whole Committee.

In these circumstances I regret the more that, owing to the diversity of practice to which that voluntary system has necessarily led in respect of different industries and firms in my own country, I feel myself unable to accept the full terms of the resolution before us and must, accordingly, on behalf of the employers of the United Kingdom, abstain from supporting it.

I must now refer briefly to Mr. Beard's remarks in regard to the special position of British employers regarding the resolution before us. Mr. Beard has, I think, mistakenly given the impression that the British Employers are, by abstaining on the resolution, showing themselves to be against co-operation with the workers. If this were so, it would be entirely against our traditions. Indeed, if Mr. Beard were to polish the twentieth century spectacles which he is presumably wearing, he would see that the British Employers are wholly in favour of the Recommendation for co-operation. Their abstention on the resolution is solely because it includes certain proposals which are contrary to the voluntary practice of certain industries.

Interpretation : Mrs. ANDRZEJEWSKA (*Workers' adviser, Poland*)—I would like to draw the attention of the Conference to three fundamental problems directly relating to the report submitted by the Committee on Industrial Relations. The Polish Workers' delegation considers that these three problems, which, moreover, formed the subject of the Committee's discussions, are the following : first, occupational relations between employers and workers ; second, the substance of the draft Recommendation ; and, last, the proposed form of this draft.

We realise that relations between employers and workers are based on completely different principles in capitalist countries from those applying in socialist countries.

In my country, which is laying the foundations of socialism and in which the working classes, in co-operation with other groups of the population, hold the power, the problem of occupational relations as conceived and discussed by the Committee does not exist. Aware of this fact, we have taken into account the situation of the workers in the capitalist countries and have tried, during the work of the Committee, to contribute to the solution of this problem so that the working classes in the capitalist countries may really enjoy the greatest possible rights.

The Polish delegation considers that good relations between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking in capitalist countries do not depend on the goodwill of the employers or on a more or less happily drafted international instrument. Such relations depend upon an awareness of the objectives of the working classes, of their role in the life of the nation, their unity of action and their solidarity. In the countries where the trade union organisations are united, where the working classes are led by devoted and honest leaders and where the working classes act in

unison, relations between employers and workers are to the advantage of the workers.

But in countries where the working classes are divided and where their leaders are not sufficiently devoted to the interests of the persons they represent, relations between employers and workers are to the advantage of employers. Allowing for the fact that, in the capitalist countries, the increasing strength of the organised working class forces the employers to parley with the workers in order to find a compromise between opposing interests, either through voluntary agreements or collective agreements, or by means of legislative measures, or through direct negotiations with the workers' organisations at the level of the undertaking, the Polish Workers' delegation submitted a number of amendments which are intended to emphasise the fact that under capitalism there is a conflict of interests at the level of the undertaking, due to the very nature of production. Production is carried out jointly by workers and employers, whereas the profit of this work goes into the pockets of a very small number of persons. That is why the Polish Workers' delegation proposed the replacement of the word "co-operation" by a wider term which would satisfy the representatives of all countries. We proposed the words "industrial relations".

The Committee on Industrial Relations, when preparing a document dealing with the problem of co-operation between employers and workers, cannot neglect the many facts before us. These facts are as follows. The technical development of modern industry in a number of capitalist countries has been enormous. The capitalists' profits have increased tremendously but at the same time the needs of the workers have not been adequately satisfied, either with regard to wages or with regard to social insurance or conditions of work.

In France, for instance, the Citroen factory's profits have multiplied eleven times since 1946. In 1951 the Citroen factory made 558 million francs profit, whereas real wages of the workers in 1951 were only 50 per cent. of their pre-war level. Many examples of this kind could be given. Statistics of capitalist countries, even official statistics, are an adequate proof that real wages have decreased. The workers, attempting to raise their standard of life, have assimilated new methods of work. At the same time they have demanded increases in wages, but they have usually had to resort to strikes to obtain satisfaction.

In the United States—that paradise which has so often been described from this rostrum—there were 1,350 strikes and 665,000 strikers during the first quarter of 1952. There were not so many strikes or strikers in 1951. It is sufficient to mention the strike of 650,000 iron and steel workers which began on 2 June 1952 in spite of the desires of the reactionary leaders of the C.I.O., which attempted to smother the will of the workers who wished to improve their conditions of life. The statistics of the same union show that the output for one hour of work has increased since before the war by 50 per cent., whereas the real value of wages has increased by

only 14 per cent. during the same period. In 1950 the profits of the United States Steel Corporation were five times greater than in 1938, and at present they amount to 215 million dollars. At the same time the speeding-up of work has increased the number of industrial accidents, particularly in undertakings where the equipment is out of date and the protective clothing—which incidentally is bought by the worker himself—is not of adequate quality.

The share of the working class in the national income is steadily decreasing, while the share of the capitalists is steadily increasing. The *Federal Reserve Bulletin* of July 1949 states that in 1948, 10 per cent. of the families in the United States received nearly one-third of the national income, or 32 per cent., whereas 15,100,000 families, i.e., 30 per cent. of the families in the United States, received only 9 per cent. of the national income, each family receiving less than \$2,000 a year.

It is clear that with rearmament and the United States aggression in Korea these proportions will change still further to the advantage of a small group of bankers and manufacturers.

Do we have to quote any more examples to prove that under capitalistic systems the poor become poorer and the rich become richer?

With regard to the work of the Committee, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the Polish Workers' delegation proposed the inclusion of several principles in the text of the Recommendation. These principles included the right to discuss the distribution of the profits of the undertaking, and the duty of the management to submit regular reports at least four times a year on the economic activities of the undertaking and particularly on plans for the distribution of profits. The Polish delegation submitted its amendments in order to give the proposed international instrument, which is simply a declaration, a more concrete character.

I would also like to state that, in replying to the draft Recommendation and the guiding principles prepared by the 34th Session of the Conference, the Polish Government, as well as the Belgian, Swedish, Danish and many other Governments, stated that it was in favour of the inclusion of principles in the text of the Recommendation.

The Polish delegation has maintained this attitude during this session.

The United States Government has taken up a position similar to that which it adopted during the 34th Session, i.e., during the debates in the Committee it stated that it was against precise Recommendations. It may be supposed, therefore, that the United States Government inspired the idea of a resolution in the form of an appendix. Invoking the need to give flexibility to an international instrument, the Recommendation has been watered down to a simple declaration, and the principles which should have been included in the Recommendation have been put in a resolution.

The Polish delegation considers that Recommendations which do not contain concrete principles for their practical application are of but little value. A Recommendation accom-

panied by a resolution of little legal value leaves the gate wide open for escape and does not offer any constructive solution. Does the restriction of the fundamental rights of the working classes in the capitalist countries under the pressure of the employers serve the interests of the working classes? It is clear that the interests of the working classes will only be served if an international document is established laying down rights which can be used by the working classes as a programme to be fulfilled by the united action of the masses.

I consider that certain Workers' representatives in the Committee on Industrial Relations have adopted a false position. They have taken up a position in which they show a lack of confidence in their own strength, and resignation and weakness in the face of the pressure of the Employers. I consider that such a position is wrong because it disarms the working classes and may make them accept with docility the growing attacks of capital against the workers.

It is not by going backwards or by adopting an attitude of resignation with regard to the employers who attempt to break up the united action of the workers by forming unions in the undertakings and forcing the workers to agree to belong to these unions, and it is not by co-operation through resignation that the International Labour Organisation can help the working masses who form the majority in each nation and who create the national wealth.

The I.L.O. must be asked to put more decisiveness into its work and to be less theoretical, so that it may really help the working masses in the advanced capitalist countries and those in the colonial and economically underdeveloped countries who are struggling for social justice and world peace.

Interpretation : Mr. SERVAIS (Government adviser, Belgium)—The Belgian Government will vote in favour of the proposed Recommendation and the resolution concerning co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, and it hopes that these proposed texts will be adopted by the Conference.

In Belgium the relations between employers and workers at the different stages of economic and social activity are contained within a complete legal framework which is considerably more advanced than the drafts before us. This co-operation exists not only at the level of the undertaking but also at the level of industry and at the national level. Therefore you will not be surprised if we consider that the draft Recommendation resulting from the work of the Committee is extremely moderate and careful.

A perusal of the replies of the different Governments to the questionnaire sent out by the Office, which have been reproduced in the introductory report, had led us to believe that certain points which are now included in the draft resolution would have found their place in the Recommendation. This would have made it possible to define in the Recommendation the nature and purpose of co-operation while respecting the methods of implementation adopted by each country.

So far as we are concerned, we would have hoped for an international instrument which would sacrifice less to elasticity of form and to generalities and would define the nature and purpose of co-operation for the sake of promoting social welfare. The proceedings of the Committee revealed that this hope had to be abandoned this year. We realise that the question envisaged is a fairly new one and, therefore, still very controversial; also that the level of social development in the different countries represented at the Conference is very varied. But we must add that the problem of co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, as well as at the level of the industry and the national level, cannot be considered as solved by the conclusions submitted to this Conference. That would mean that we had failed to recognise the importance of the problem. We hope that this problem will continue to be considered and studied by the I.L.O. and that the Office will follow its developments in the future so that the Governing Body may, when it considers the time has come, once more place the entire question on the agenda of a future session of the Conference. While not foreseeing at what date it will be possible to take up that problem again, we would like to express the hope that the problem will then be re-examined with a view to adapting it to the methods of implementation which may vary from country to country, and also with the will to take account of social evolution, which incontestably calls for progress in this field.

Those who want more must also want the minimum, and that is why we will vote for the drafts submitted to this Conference.

Mr. TRIPATHI (Workers' adviser, India)—I rise to put the seal of approval on this resolution and Recommendation on behalf of the underdeveloped countries.

This resolution and Recommendation are not perfect. They are not what we would have desired them to be, but nevertheless we approve of them because there is one thing which we have found, namely, unanimity. When I came to this Conference I came for the first time and I was drafted into a committee and told that it would be the most difficult of committees for there would be breaking of heads. Later on towards the end of the Conference when I met Mr. Beard, he told me that next time I come it should be with armour because there is danger of breaking of heads. But I found that there was unanimity because unanimity was possible. Why did this unanimity become possible? Not because we conceded too much, not because the Employers did not want to co-operate, but because as a result of the change in the circumstances obtaining in the world today, co-operation between employers, Governments and workers on the level of industry, the undertaking, the national and international level has become an absolute necessity, particularly for the free countries. If there is no co-operation, then the economy of the world will change into a different direction. For this reason I am very glad to find that the Employers' delegate from the United Kingdom hurried to this rostrum just now after

Mr. Beard's speech to say that no, their abstention did not mean "no", it meant only "yes".

You see, you cannot say "no" in present circumstances, because the circumstances are completely changed. We have all come to say "yes" to this legislation because there has been a great change in the world set-up, with the disappearance of the colonies. The colonies were tied to the producing countries and the producing countries could deny production and distribution. This is not going to happen any more. Therefore, the western countries of the world which produce are faced with the danger of a gradual diminution in the standard of living of their peoples and their workers. They cannot maintain the standard unless they have complete production, and more production. Well, where will this lead the underdeveloped countries? If we have no purchasing power, it will not be consumed. If our workers are not given complete purchasing power and employment, how shall we purchase? There is a reason for the difficulty, for these new countries are controlled by national ideas and therefore they would rather limit and reduce their standard of living than be exploited by outsiders. There is a reason for this difficulty, and this difficulty is before you—this difficulty is before the world. There is a necessity for co-operation at all these levels so that we may so plan our economy, so that gradually production may increase and the distribution of purchasing power may increase not only in your own countries but in the countries which are called "underdeveloped" countries.

I came to this Conference particularly to appeal to you to think this over. The other day in the plenary sitting an appeal was made by the delegate from Ceylon. He said there was no purchasing power and that stabilisation of prices was necessary. He appealed to this Conference and the Director-General and his assistants to find out what could be done. The Director-General says it cannot be done. It is beyond the scope of the I.L.O. Conference. Think of that! Here is proof that there is a big gap in the organisational set-up of the economic thinking of the world today. If this gap is not filled, then obviously better production and distribution is not complete. Therefore, you will have to realise that on all these levels there must be co-operation. In the Committee, when the Employers took such a firm attitude—they would not look at us, they would not talk to us, they would not even sit with us—they would not even take part in the discussion on co-operation at the industrial and national level. But I was not surprised. I knew that they would have to come round because of the great force in the world. We are going forward, all of us, and therefore we must co-operate.

Last year this Conference decided that there should be discussion at three levels of co-operation. The Governing Body thought that there would be no time and therefore they omitted the discussion on two levels, on the grounds that there would be no time. I only hope that in future time will be found to include these two items on the agenda, and a third item, namely, international co-operation,

that is to say, co-operation at the international level. The national Governments are going forward, the national groups are going forward and advise co-operation at the level of the industry and at the national level because they know the situation demands it. If the I.L.O. does not go forward, it will be left behind. If it goes forward, instead of ambling it must take time by the forelock and decide the shape of reason.

I listened attentively to Mr. Morse's speech. He also spoke of international co-operation. I read his Report. I do not know whether he meant it, but I feel that he must have meant it, and therefore I say that this international co-operation is also necessary and I feel that in the future time should be found for this important topic—co-operation at all three levels.

I am working in the plantations of Asia in order to find out how the conditions of plantation workers can be improved. These workers are at the lowest level. If one wanted to make the slightest change in their living conditions, not to speak of wages, the amount of capital expenditure involved would be tremendous. One has to think of capital expenditure; if one does this, the whole price structure is changed. The position is this: after the last world war a great change took place in the world and manpower came to be a calculable factor in the determination of the price structure of the world. Labour must be consulted. If you can give the worker his due, well and good. If you cannot give him his due, you must consult him and explain why you cannot give it to him. That is the true sense of co-operation.

Therefore, this significant development of the post-war world continues, and will continue, as no power on earth can check it. We demand that this I.L.O. Conference, which consists of the three groups of capital, labour and Government and which is the only instrument in the world today which is so constituted, take into account and try to shape this empty space.

Therefore, I request you all—I request Mr. David Morse himself and the entire Organisation—to think before it is too late. If you think now you may be able to save this world and to lead it through democratic channels into successful co-operation, where co-operation does not exist. If you fail you will have failed in a great crisis and the I.L.O. will become an instrument not for the shaping of events but for recording past decisions of the different Governments of the world, and events which have happened in different countries.

Friends, I appeal to you all to put your heads together and to think out a way; and when you have decided—and successfully decided—then go forward to the next session and try to develop an instrument out of this I.L.O. which will find out a way of co-operation on all three levels—national, industrial and international.

With these words I support the Recommendation and the resolution before us.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The list of speakers who put their names down to

speak in the general discussion is now finished. Therefore, if no further delegates wish to speak I shall take it that the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING CONSULTATION AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS AT THE LEVEL OF THE UNDERTAKING

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I wish on behalf of the Conference to express our thanks to Mr. Dreyer, the Chairman, and to each individual member of the Committee for the useful work they have done and for the almost unanimous report which they have presented to us.

We will now deal with the proposed Recommendation proposed by the Committee. After we have approved the Recommendation it will be referred to the Drafting Committee

and will then come before you for final vote: As soon as the Recommendation is approved by you the resolution also will be put to the vote. We will consider the Recommendation paragraph by paragraph.

(Paragraphs 1 and 2 are adopted.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I shall now put to the Conference the proposed Recommendation as a whole.

(The proposed Recommendation as a whole is adopted.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The text of the proposed Recommendation concerning co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking is adopted and referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference.

(The Conference adjourned at 5.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Cahill (substitute for Mr. Maguire) Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Flyboö (substitute for Mr. Sölvén)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Hammerl) Mr. Rudolph Mr. Procháska (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Pastore	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto Mr. Shibata (substitute for Mr. Adachi) Mr. Oka	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Leblanc (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Tessier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Drummond (substitute for Mr. Brooke) Mr. George
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Macdonnell (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Graham Kerr (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Beard (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaiké Mr. Abeywira	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Zempel (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Mr. Babé (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. French (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Cisternas	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. de Ferron (substitute for Mr. Gudmundsson) Mr. H. Gudmundsson (substitute for Mr. Ólafsson)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Bayce (substitute for Mr. Pons) Mr. Troitiño
<i>China :</i> Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>India :</i> Mr. Pande (substitute for Mr. Dravid) Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerijn) Mr. Glatved (substitute for Mr. Östberg) Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Moreno (substitute for Mr. Ochoa)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alangir	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. del Pino (substitute for Mr. Cowley)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Dular (substitute for Mr. Petrović) Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský		<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona	
		<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Lieki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas	
		<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Gonçalves	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber (*Saar*), Mr. Patteet (*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*).

TWENTY-FIRST SITTING

Wednesday, 25 June 1952, 10.15 a.m.

President: Mr. de Segadas Vianna

TWELFTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Twelfth Report of that Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I propose that the Twelfth Report of the Selection Committee, which has already been circulated, be adopted.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, the Twelfth Report of the of the Selection Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY²

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We shall now take the Report of the Committee on Social Security. I call upon Mr. Alexander, the Reporter of the Committee, to present that report.

Mr. ALEXANDER (*Government adviser, Norway; Reporter of the Committee on Social Security*)—The report which I have the honour to present to this Conference concerns, I am informed, one of the most important and most elaborate instruments ever submitted to a session of the Conference, since it deals with all the essential aspects of all the recognised branches of social security.

That the Conference is expected to examine such a lengthy and complicated text calls perhaps for some justification. For reasons arising out of the modern conception of social

security it was appropriate to cover the whole subject by a set of provisions corresponding to national legislation which establishes a unitary programme of social security. If the various branches had been dealt with separately at successive sessions of the Conference, it might have been difficult to ensure the necessary co-ordination between them.

The proposed text which was submitted to us was the result of some years of careful and laborious study, first by the Office staff, then by two meetings of the I.L.O. Committee of Experts on Social Security, then by the 34th Session of the Conference and now finally by the present session. In this connection, I would like to emphasise the value of the series of reports which the Office has prepared at the various stages. These reports contain much very interesting material for every student of social security problems.

The I.L.O. Committee of Experts on Social Security proposed international regulations that would lay down two sets of provisions, the first corresponding to a minimum standard and the second to an advanced standard. It has proved impossible this year—as it did last year—for the Committee on Social Security to discuss both sets of provisions in the time at its disposal. Our Committee has, in fact, confined its studies to minimum standards and will, in a supplementary report to the Conference, submit a draft Resolution on objectives and advanced standards of social security.

Before mentioning the principal issues that arose during the Committee's discussion of the Office text I should like to give a brief sketch of the draft Convention now submitted for your approval.

As I have already said, the proposed Convention covers all the essential aspects of the branches of social security, *i.e.*, it lays down standards for the range of persons to be protected, for the definition of the contingencies to be covered, for the qualifying conditions for benefit rights, and for the rates of the benefits themselves. It does this in nine parts of the

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

² See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

Convention dealing with medical care, cash benefit in case of sickness, unemployment benefit, old-age benefit, employment injury benefit, family benefits, maternity benefit, invalidity benefit and survivor's benefit.

A special feature of the provisions concerning these standards is that in defining the minimum range of persons protected and the minimum rates of benefits, statistical rather than juridical criteria have been used. The idea has been to judge a Member's progress in the social security field by its practical achievements.

In accordance with the same idea, the proposed Convention would admit as methods of realising social security not only the classical type of compulsory social insurance but also schemes not based on contributions but financed out of public funds and voluntary insurance when properly safeguarded. It would, of course, be going too far here, in presenting the report, to give an extensive survey of the very interesting discussions which took place in our Committee. I therefore have to confine myself to mentioning four principal issues.

There were indeed approximately 160 amendments submitted to the Office text. Of these, 54 were adopted, while approximately 50 either became superfluous as a consequence of decisions of the Committee or were withdrawn by members of all three groups in a common desire not to delay the Committee's work.

Of the four principal issues I will first take the question of the instrument being either a Convention or a Recommendation. By a decision of the 1951 Conference the item of minimum standards was submitted to this year's session with a view to its being adopted as a Convention, and the Office text was planned accordingly. The Employers' members of the Committee, however, this year as last year, took the position that a Recommendation would be more appropriate, especially for an instrument the scope of which might involve classes of the population other than employees. Moreover, the Employers' members considered that the proposed Convention, although labelled "minimum standards", represented a rather higher level than a minimum standard. On the other hand, the Workers' members and the majority of the Government members once more favoured a Convention, and so it was decided to propose that the instrument should take the form of a Convention.

The second important issue concerned the subject of facilities for ratification which, in conformity with the decision of last year's session of the Conference, were provided for in the Office text. These facilities were introduced in order to give recognition to the practical difficulties encountered by certain Members in achieving a rapid development of their social security system. These Members will be enabled to ratify on the basis of temporary exceptions from the ordinary provisions of the instrument. In such cases ratification may be based on a much narrower range of coverage than that required of other Members, on a shorter duration of benefit for some branches and on a somewhat narrower range of benefits in kind. The majority of the Committee were sympathetic in their attitude to exceptional provisions but felt that some

time limit for such exceptions should be formally stipulated in the proposed Convention.

The third main question discussed in the Committee was that of the minimum rates of the various cash benefits. The Employers' members observed that the Office had altered most of the rates that had been approved by last year's Conference. In order to meet their objection, the Committee decided to take those rates as the basis of its discussion. The minimum rate for each type of benefit was voted on separately and the result was that for five benefits the rates proposed by the Office were adopted, for two benefits those rates were increased, and in the two remaining cases they were reduced.

The last of the principal issues discussed by the Committee was that part of the report which concerns equality of treatment for non-national residents. While a large majority of the Committee agreed to include in the text the principle of equality of treatment, it was nevertheless found necessary, having regard to existing national practice, to admit certain restrictions as regards benefits financed wholly or mainly out of public funds, and to allow equality of treatment under contributory schemes to be made conditional on reciprocity. The Committee, as is stated in its report, realised that an adequate solution of the complex problem of the situation of aliens and migrant workers could not be incorporated in the present instrument and the Committee therefore proposes to the Conference a resolution for the purpose of ensuring further study of the problem with a view to the establishment of a special international instrument.

The requirements for ratification of the Convention were, according to the Office text, compliance with three Parts of the nine Parts of the Convention dealing with the different branches of social security. A proposal to increase the requirement to four Parts, or branches, was adopted.

There is one more point which I should like to mention, namely, that both the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security and the proposed revised Convention concerning maternity protection deal with maternity benefits. In order to prevent any contradiction occurring in the drafting of the two texts, the officers of the two Committees met. They ascertained that the texts provisionally adopted by their respective Committees were mutually compatible in the sense that no Member ratifying the provisions of the social security instrument would be prevented thereby from ratifying also that of the revised Convention concerning maternity protection.

I have the honour to submit to the Conference the report of the Social Security Committee.

Interpretation: Mr. WANDAS (*Workers' delegate, Poland*)—Speaking on the proposed Convention concerning social security, I cannot help wondering whether this will satisfy those for whom it was intended—the workers themselves.

In my view, the draft submitted by the Committee is wholly inadequate to ensure even a minimum standard of social security.

The proposals relating to a number of essential points constitute a clear retrogression as compared with the level established by existing Conventions. They also constitute a set of regulations which will bring small comfort to those whom they are to protect.

Nor must it be forgotten that existing Conventions concerning old-age insurance, invalidity and survivors' insurance, unemployment benefits, as well as the maintenance of pension rights by migrants were adopted in a period of economic depression in the capitalist countries, in a period of fascism and preparation for the second world war, as well as in a period of attacks by the capitalists, and the Governments in their service, upon the social rights of the working masses.

It should also be added that existing Conventions do not envisage the possibility of exempting entire groups of workers. Nor do these Conventions contain exceptions respecting benefit conditions or periods. The present text, on the other hand, excludes a large number of workers from its provisions by virtue of Articles 9, 15, 21, 27, 33, 41, 48, 55 and 61 which state that the Convention will be applied to 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more. This means in practice that in the underdeveloped countries the majority of the workers are totally excluded from the scope of social security.

The same is true of the unemployed who have worked in small undertakings with less than 20 workers and even of those who work in large undertakings and who will at some time be entitled to unemployment benefit. In the capitalist countries, where unemployment is chronic, the period for the application of unemployment insurance instead of being limited to 13 weeks should rather be increased to 13 months. I myself have had occasion to appreciate that in a country such as Italy, where there are more than two million unemployed, very few of them can have any hope of obtaining employment after 13 weeks.

This proposed Convention will not give satisfaction either to the workers who have worked all their lives creating new wealth and enriching the trusts and cartels. They will not be entitled to well-earned retirement, simply because they will not have complied with the conditions set down in Article 57 of the draft, which provides for a period of 15 years for contributions in order that a worker may be entitled to the invalidity pension.

If the amendments which I had the honour to submit in the name of the Polish delegation had been taken into consideration, especially that suggesting that the figure of 15 should be replaced by five, for the right to full retirement pay, and the figure five by the figure one in respect of the qualifying period for retirement at a reduced pension, the retirement pay of all workers would have been guaranteed.

If this proposed Convention is incapable of satisfying the working class it is because the majority of the Workers' representatives in the Committee did not defend the interests of the workers with all the energy called for.

On the other hand, the Employers' representatives exerted every effort to empty the draft Convention of its content. They even went so far as to request that it should be a mere Recommendation. At the same time the Workers' representatives contributed to this pressure, claiming that the proposed Convention was drawn up primarily for underdeveloped countries and therefore should not contain excessively high standards. The result of this submission is that this draft is completely useless to the very workers of the underdeveloped countries.

In addition to these observations the Polish Workers' delegation would like once again to draw attention to the following problems.

The entire activities undertaken by the I.L.O. in the field of social insurance originated in the elaboration and simultaneous adoption of two social security Conventions, one of them concerning minimum standards corresponding to the essential provisions of existing Conventions, the other concerning advanced standards. This would mean that after a short transitional period the State Member ratifying the minimum standards Convention would automatically pass on to a higher level of social security, thus achieving progress in the field of social security. No such clause, however, has been inserted in the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards, and the fact that the Convention in many respects constitutes a regression from what was achieved in existing Conventions makes the need for such a clause all the more imperative.

Not only is there no clause obliging the Governments ratifying the Convention to pass from minimum to advanced standards, but, by a shameful vote yesterday in the Social Security Committee, the consideration of advanced standards was postponed indefinitely. Only one vote was lacking for the voting to have gone the other way. This changes nothing in the minds of the capitalists, the employers and certain Government representatives. There should have been a majority of dozens of votes because, after all, social security is every country's obligation.

We have several times pointed out that if the Convention concerning minimum standards was not a transitional instrument, distinctly limited to a few years at most, its adoption would merely be a step backward from the standards laid down by the International Labour Organisation in the period between the two wars. This would mean also that the I.L.O. is not only renouncing progress in the field of social security, about which so much has been said, but is, on the contrary, endorsing the tendencies now obvious in certain States to reduce social security to the lowest possible level for an indefinite period. Such fears have been unfortunately realised on the one hand by the adoption of the text of Article 3, and on the other by the vote in the Committee yesterday.

After this severe but justified criticism it may well be wondered whether the Polish Workers' delegation will vote in favour of the Convention.

Of course we will vote for the Convention, because we have full faith in the working classes in the capitalist countries and we are

convinced that they will know how to fight for the right to improve their standard of living, and that their representatives will know in the future how to defend with all their energy the interests of the workers in order that a social security Convention guaranteeing the workers all their rights may eventually be adopted.

Interpretation : Mr. HORMAZÁBAL (Workers' delegate, Chile)—As representative of the Chilean workers in the Committee on Social Security, I wish in this plenary sitting to make a few brief statements. For more than two weeks we have discussed the report now submitted by the Committee on Social Security to this plenary sitting.

I must state that during the discussion of the report we have always been faced with a veto on the part of the Employers, and of some of the Government representatives, whenever amendments likely to improve the text substantially were introduced.

I think I am speaking for a large number of Latin American countries, particularly Chile, which I represent as Workers' delegate, when I express our dissatisfaction. The minimum standards of social security which are now under discussion are exactly the same as were discussed before the war. No progress at all has been made, nor indeed was any pretence made at achieving progress, owing to the action of the Employers' representatives supported by a number of Government representatives.

It is not thus that the aims of this Organisation will be fulfilled. We heard in this very room, only yesterday, the Director-General's reminder that social peace cannot be achieved without social justice. Nevertheless, this truth seems to be forgotten during the discussions at this Conference and at the regional conferences. We talk, for instance, about the right of non-nationals to equal treatment with nationals in the countries which receive large numbers of migrants. Nevertheless, we find Employers' and Government representatives who do not want to grant to migrants this equality of treatment. I find this astonishing, to say the least, because anyone who crosses the border into our country has exactly the same rights with regard to social security as nationals, both in the case of contributory and non-contributory schemes.

I wish to ask you—Should there be any distinction based on this question of contributions? I do not think so.

Yet, as though this were not enough, the question has even been discussed in the Committee of whether the proposed instrument should not take the form of a Recommendation rather than a Convention, so that a line of escape from compliance with its provisions might remain. We now have an amendment before us proposed by the Employers' group requesting that this text should be adopted as a Recommendation and not as a Convention.

This is not the way to remove the threat of war, to alleviate poverty or to achieve social justice.

My country is a small underdeveloped country stretching between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean. Much has been said from this rostrum about underdeveloped countries being unable to apply Conventions and it has been

said to us in the Committee that we cannot approve amendments which might make the text unacceptable to certain countries, or that if we accept this or that amendment it will be impossible to ratify the Convention.

We have, however, the example of Chile to prove that something constructive can be achieved. Despite the fact that ours is a small country with industry in its infancy, with a backward economy and an unfavourable balance of payments, etc., we have succeeded in drawing up advanced social legislation to which I, as a Chilean, am proud to draw attention at this Conference.

The hopes for higher standards which we held when we came here have been disappointed, for we are merely discussing elementary standards which have long been achieved in most of the Latin American countries.

I would like to say something in connection with the previous speaker's observations. Perhaps it is not I who should say it but the Vice-Chairman of the Workers' group. That speaker maintained that we did not defend the workers' interests. That is absolutely false. We, the Workers' representatives in the Committee, have defended the workers' interests throughout, and I cannot allow such a statement to go unchallenged.

In conclusion, I would like to say that, although so far we have had absolutely no discussion on advanced standards of social security, our tripartite delegation will go away as it came, filled with the desire to contribute to the advance of social security so that poverty and the threat of war may disappear, and a better world be achieved.

Mr. CALHOUN (Employers' adviser, United States)—I should like to repeat on behalf of the Employers' group as a whole a statement of our position with respect to the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security which was expressed at the first sitting of the technical Committee.

"Our position is that this instrument should apply only to employees and that its form should be determined by its ultimate content. We maintain that any Convention should impose, subject to paragraph 3 of Article 19 of the I.L.O. Constitution, the same obligations on each ratifying Member. Substantive provisions of the instrument are inconsistent with this basic principle, and the several social security proposals contained therein could be appropriately the subject matter only of a series of separate Conventions. Our position is also that the instrument should contain ample recognition and encouragement of social security achieved through voluntary insurance and through voluntary non-governmental arrangements."

I am happy to state that the instrument before you marks an improvement over former drafts in its better recognition of voluntary insurance and other non-governmental arrangements. It has been improved in many other important details during its consideration and revision by the technical Committee. We find, however, that in its completed form this instrument cannot appropriately be adopted as a Convention. This is because of its substance and its basic provisions. An

instrument adopted by this body should be an effective device for furthering sound social security programmes throughout the world. It should not embarrass underdeveloped countries with provisions such as Article 3 which provides a humiliating side entrance for some countries and closes the door to ratification entirely to others. This section would be unnecessary if the form of the instrument before you were changed from a Convention to a Recommendation or resolution.

Articles 2 and 3 place underdeveloped countries in a distressing situation. Failure to ratify may give rise to internal criticism and imply international discord, while ratification itself might prove eventually a cause of even greater discomfiture. Changing the form of this document from a Convention would permit the elimination of these Articles and rescue the underdeveloped countries from this predicament. As it now stands, this document is a hybrid instrument.

Ratification calls for merely fractional conformity, *i.e.*, conformity with a stated minimum number of provisions selected for that purpose by a ratifying country. This is inconsistent with the whole concept of I.L.O. Conventions. Only a little arithmetic shows that the combinations of parts ratifiable may run well into thousands. There would be no equality of obligations of the ratifying countries.

May I point out that if this instrument did not contain the provision allowing fractional ratification, probably no country in the whole world could subscribe to the provisions of its nine operational parts? As it is, the great majority of its parts would remain in fact recommendations and would impose no obligation to enact implementing legislation. There was a debate in our Committee as to whether three, four or more of the nine parts should be required for ratification. This very debate made clear that most of the instrument in any case would serve as a Recommendation.

May I emphasise again that the Employers' group is in full sympathy with countries which might be embarrassed by this document as a Convention, and would be greatly relieved if it were changed in form? The elimination of Articles 2 and 3, which this change would effect, would likewise eliminate the problems imposed on many countries by these unhappy provisions. After the determination of the form of the instrument made in the tripartite Committee, our Employers' group earnestly urged that this instrument be divided into nine instruments. Had this been done, any country which could have met the minimum standards by one of the nine programmes could have honestly ratified that programme. Furthermore, there would have been a uniformity of obligation on the Members ratifying a particular Convention.

As it is, under the draft before you, one country may have no programmes and another country three excellent programmes, yet both are on the same basis of being unable to ratify the instrument. It thus affords no credit to or distinction between the States Members of the I.L.O. who have no social security programme at all and those who may have two or three excellent programmes. At the other

extreme are countries which much more than meet the requirements as to the number of programmes. These would have exactly the same recognition as countries which have perhaps only half as many programmes.

Programmes also vary very widely both as regards social significance and as regards cost, and yet, under this instrument, the programme of least value, social significance and cost is given exactly the same credence for ratification purposes as is the most expensive of the nine programmes covered by the instrument. It is the hope of the Employers' group that we shall not repeat the experience of former years in the adoption of Conventions which are never ratified to any large extent and which thus represent affirmative votes and negative action by Members of the Conference. Such a situation is not calculated to increase international confidence in the International Labour Conference, nor does it represent a forward step in the great work of the Conference.

Perhaps the most effective instrument which was ever promulgated by this Conference was not a Convention at all. It was instead a resolution. I am referring to the Declaration of Philadelphia. Can we not look forward with some hopes to the beneficent effects of the proposed instrument if it is issued in its appropriate form rather than masquerading as a Convention?

Before concluding, I should like to say a few words, not on behalf of the Employers' group as a whole but merely on behalf of the employers of the United States. We, in common with labour and Government in our country, believe in what is sometimes referred to as "the American dream". We subscribe to the theory that social security should provide a floor of protection where necessary but that our free economy and our individual freedom would be jeopardised if our social security system attempted to provide entire security for the family. We do not trust Government that far.

Under our system it is vital that people should have the work incentive provided by higher wages and the opportunity to provide—and the ability to provide—the greater proportion of their security through private arrangements. This gives individual dignity, independence and a sense of assuming and fulfilling responsibility. Productivity stimulated under this philosophy creates, in turn, the wealth which gives us our standard of living and enables us to assist somewhat the other free nations of the world.

Since personal freedom and a sense of personal responsibility are part and parcel of our way of life, we are opposed in principle to the regulations of the proposed social security Convention, which would provide for what we employers, in our country at least, term socialised medicine. On this ground alone we would have to vote against the proposed instrument. We employers from the United States—and I believe the great majority of the people of the United States—believe that an important part of our freedom is the freedom of the individual, both as a patient and as a physician. In the broad field of medical care this conception was so important from our viewpoint that I introduced in

the Committee an amendment designed to maintain medical care programmes on bases consistent with basic freedoms for physicians and patients. I feel very sad that these principles are not incorporated in the pending instrument.

May I say in conclusion, this time speaking again on behalf of the whole Employers' group, that we hope that conscience will prompt this plenary sitting to recognise the folly of adopting this instrument as a Convention?

Mr. STARK (*Workers' adviser, Austria*)—It is my privilege to state, on behalf of the Workers' group, that we appreciate very much the fact that this Conference is in a position today to consider a Convention which covers all branches of social security and which could and should become an instrument which will be a source of guidance for the future development of social security all over the world.

This attitude I think was the main attitude adopted by the Workers when they discussed within the Committee the principles and the details of the proposed Convention which is now before you.

I remember, we all remember very well, how pleased we were when, just before the outbreak of war, the International Labour Office did a very important piece of work when it tried to compile all the different international stipulations into an International Labour Code. Actually, what we are dealing with today is more or less an international labour code as far as social security is concerned, taking into consideration the changes which were necessary and which are necessary when comparing today with the time before the outbreak of the second world war.

When we, as workers, tried to discuss this Convention, we started by making an international survey and by checking up on which basis we could put together in one instrument, learning from each country and giving a lead to other countries. So we tried to create a system which could be taken as a guide for future legislation in this respect, a system which has profited from the experience of many countries. From Germany and, very soon afterwards, from Austria and other Central European countries, we learned the principles of the classical type of social insurance, the principles which governed social security before the war. From the British Commonwealth we learned the notion of social security and we learned how social security was going to develop into a wider system. We looked upon the constitutional stipulations of the Latin American countries and we found that very big changes, as far as social security goes, have been made in the last few years in order to incorporate the principles of social security into the State Constitution.

From the Scandinavian countries we learned—as one of the previous speakers criticised—just how far one can go to find a compromise between voluntary insurance and compulsory systems of insurance in so far as voluntary insurance is a national substitute for compulsory insurance, not making the mistake, however, of thinking that voluntary insurance as a social security system is identical with private insurance.

I think that what we have achieved in incorporating those principles into one document is the creation of an international document which, in the history of social security, can be regarded as a certain—and a very important—landmark in the development of international social security. However dissatisfied we may be with certain details of this Convention, that is the main attitude adopted by the workers towards it.

I think an international instrument of this kind must be a compromise between what can be regarded as present legislation and what can be considered to be the trend of international legislation so far as social security is concerned. In order to achieve that, we from the Workers' side have made compromises in order to make ratification possible for the greatest number of countries without giving up the principles and the trend which should, in our opinion, be contained in such a Convention. Therefore, this Convention does not contain all that we workers expect from an international Convention and from national legislation. It is a sort of compromise, and we were quite clear about this question.

We leave it to national legislation to develop on the lines stated in this Convention, and even to exceed those lines in countries where such development is possible.

While speaking from this rostrum I should like to state, on behalf of the Workers' group, our attitude so far as concerns some of the points which are now under consideration by this Committee.

Four amendments have been distributed. There is no formal decision, but all these questions have been discussed in the Committee and I wish to take this opportunity to say that the Workers' group was opposed to the amendment intended to facilitate ratification by so-called underdeveloped countries. This amendment would delete the time limit laid down in Article 3 of the Convention, where it is stated that not more than ten years should elapse in order to allow an underdeveloped country to become an industrially developed country. That is actually what it is about. In the interest of making ratification possible, and in the interest of frankness, as far as ratification is concerned the Workers' group has, however, decided to vote in favour of this amendment.

As far as concerns the amendment proposing that Article 26, paragraph 2, should be amended so that the prescribed age shall be not more than 65 years, or such higher age as is fixed by the competent authority, with due regard to the working ability of elderly persons in the country concerned, this was discussed at great length in the Committee, which turned it down because it was thought that the present text before you takes more account of the age distribution amongst the population. For that reason we are not supporting this amendment.

The amendment proposing that this instrument should take the form not of a Convention but of a Recommendation was the main problem before the Committee. From the very outset of our discussions, we gave this document not only the form but the content of a Convention and it would mean undoing everything that was done in the Committee if we now

change the Convention into a Recommendation. It is needless, therefore, for me to reiterate all the arguments in favour of a Convention which you have heard so often already. These arguments were dealt with last year as well.

As far as concerns the amendment proposing that paragraph 1 of Article 18 shall be replaced by a text stating that the benefit specified in Article 16 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that the benefit may be limited either to 26 weeks in each case of sickness (in which event it need not be paid for the first three days of suspension of earnings), or to sickness lasting more than one week, provided that there is no other limitation, the Committee turned down the suggestion now before you because it was thought that in no circumstances should there be a longer waiting period as far as sickness insurance is concerned than three days and to allow a longer waiting period would mean the danger that minor diseases would be neglected if there were no cash benefits. If the waiting period were too long, minor diseases might become major diseases, as people would not go to see the doctor in time. That is the attitude of the Workers' group towards this amendment.

Let me just conclude by repeating that it is not all that we expected from an international instrument concerning social security standards but is just what we think is a wise compromise, and a necessary compromise, between the actual legislation in so many countries and the trend which we want to give to minimum standards on social security in the future.

Interpretation : Mr. FISCHLOWITZ (*Employers' adviser, Brazil*)—We in Brazil believe firmly in the high social, economic, health and educational functions of social security. The employers, who have established their own social assistance system for wage earners, share this point of view and although they sometimes make claims for the more efficient and economic working of public social security institutions, they have never opposed reforms of this kind by putting forward, for example, the argument of social charges.

The Brazilian employers have not yet taken a definite stand as regards the important reform in social welfare prepared by the National Social Welfare Committee of the Ministry of Labour, which has prepared a draft for the complete unification and the extension and improvement of social insurance. But all the indications show that their attitude will not be different and that they will, in principle, be in favour of a new and necessarily costly increase in the standards of protection for insured persons and their dependants.

For that reason, we have accepted in principle with much sympathy the idea of new international regulations on social security concerning minimum standards.

The Convention which has just been drawn up by the Committee does not satisfy us entirely as regards certain of its provisions. In fact, the principle of selective and optional adherence for the covering of risks in the various branches of social security, left entirely to the choice of the country, is of such a nature

as to give rise to some doubts because this choice is incompatible with the principle of social and economic equivalence, which is at the basis of all international labour legislation. The idea of unification of social security is extremely interesting but has been adopted by the Committee in a way which is more apparent than real. It would have been preferable to adopt a series of separate Conventions which would, on the one hand, have subjected existing Conventions to revision and, on the other hand, have created new obligations for branches of social security which are as yet outside the scope of the international social security code.

As regards the clauses of the Convention, some of these give rise to doubts in our minds. In some branches the obligations are either too rigid or too detailed.

The period of ten years provided for in Article 3 is also a very debatable point. It seems to us to be preferable to adopt the amendment to delete the time limit of ten years, which has been submitted by the Government delegates of Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Peru.

Nevertheless, we believe that on the whole the Convention corresponds to the social legislation now in force in Brazil, of which the general level, in particular as regards the waiting period, the diversity of advantages, and the amount of cash benefits, exceeds considerably the level of protection sanctioned by the Convention. That is why the Brazilian Employers' delegate will vote for the adoption of the proposed Convention and the resolution on advanced standards. This resolution in no way prejudices their future solution, their form or the date of application.

With regard to this last point I would like to take this opportunity of stating that in our opinion the justification for an international instrument laying down maximum international standards has not yet been sufficiently established. Quite apart from legal doubts concerning the competence of the I.L.O. on this subject, it must be pointed out that in no other branch of international labour legislation have Conventions or Recommendations been adopted sanctioning such ideal solutions. Such instruments are not necessary. We may look for indications of this nature in Recommendations No. 67 and No. 69 adopted by the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia in 1944, which constitute in effect the instrument on advanced standards in social security. But it is rather in the studies and reports of the Office on comparative social security legislation that we shall find the information likely to guide us in seeking the optimum and maximum formulae for this or that branch of social security without it being necessary to have recourse for this purpose to new international standards, particularly before a really wide application of Conventions and Recommendations already adopted has been put into effect.

POINT OF ORDER :
RIGHT TO ADDRESS THE CONFERENCE

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I call on Mr. Vondras, Workers' adviser, Czechoslovakia, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

Interpretation : Mr. VONDRAS (*Workers' adviser, Czechoslovakia*)—Under Article 14 of the Standing Orders I have the honour to raise a point of order on the following question. On 23 June the representative of the W.F.T.U. informed the President of this Conference that, by a decision of the Secretariat of the W.F.T.U., Mr. Henri Raynaud, Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, was appointed spokesman of the W.F.T.U. in the discussion on the report of the Committee on Social Security. The representative of the W.F.T.U. consequently asked the President to allow Mr. Raynaud to speak in accordance with paragraph 10, Article 14 of the Standing Orders. By letter of 24 June the representative of the W.F.T.U. confirmed that the name of Mr. Henri Raynaud should be added to the list of the W.F.T.U. delegation to the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.

Yesterday the Clerk of the Conference informed the representative of the W.F.T.U. that the Officers of the Conference had decided, before taking a decision, to consult Mr. Jouhaux.

This decision raises a very important question of principle and constitutes a marked violation by the Officers of the relevant provisions of paragraph 10 of Article 14 of the Standing Orders. These provide that a non-governmental organisation with which the International Labour Organisation has established consultative relationships may be authorised by the Officers or the Conference to speak on questions under consideration by the Conference other than questions of an administrative or budgetary nature. In the circumstances we may ask what is the point of the unusual and illegal procedure adopted by the Officers. Are the Officers offering consolation to Mr. Jouhaux, whose credentials were contested yesterday on the basis of numerous and well-founded arguments?

We learn also that Mr. Delaney of the American Federation of Labor, Vice-President of the Conference, has refused to allow Mr. Raynaud to speak, thereby giving evidence of the discriminatory and anti-labour policy which he pursues.

Everybody at this Conference knows the work of Mr. Raynaud in the field of social security. His competence in the matter is recognised by all, and it is therefore absolutely normal that he should come to give this Conference the benefit of his long experience and thereby contribute effectively to its work. I therefore formally propose that Mr. Raynaud, as representative of the W.F.T.U., be called upon to speak on the report of the Committee on Social Security.

The PRESIDENT *speaks in Portuguese.*

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—No official notice was given of this point of order. No discussion has taken place as regards the question of giving Mr. Raynaud the right to speak, for a very logical reason: the World Federation of Trade Unions made Mr. Raynaud its spokesman in this matter and sent a letter to the Secretariat of the Conference indicating that his name should be added to the list of its accredited representatives at the Conference.

The Officers of the Conference did not know whether Mr. Raynaud had agreed to represent the W.F.T.U.

His name appeared in the list of advisers to the French Workers' delegate; consequently responsibility for the decision in this matter does not lie with the Officers of the Conference. Had Mr. Raynaud notified the Officers of the Conference that he had become the representative of the W.F.T.U., he would then have had the right to speak, with the agreement of the President and Vice-Presidents.

The Officers of the Conference will meet to discuss the matter before the next plenary sitting if notice has been received from Mr. Raynaud that he wishes to speak as representative of the W.F.T.U.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY ¹ (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now resume discussion of the report of the Committee on Social Security.

Mr. TAYLOR (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—In Great Britain we have developed a most comprehensive and advanced system of social security, but nevertheless British employers consider that the adoption of a Convention on this subject on the lines of the instrument now before the Conference represents a completely unrealistic approach to the question of establishing general minimum standards throughout the world. This Organisation, before the war, adopted Conventions on the various branches of this subject, all in much simpler and more modest form than the present Convention, and these Conventions have each secured ratification on an average by less than six countries out of the some 65 countries which are Members of this Organisation.

As regards the possibility of the Convention at present before the Conference producing equality of obligations in the various ratifying countries, I would point out that, while the text lays down obligations in respect of nine classes of contingencies, it would be open to a Government to give effect to only four of these contingencies and still to comply with the conditions for ratification. Moreover, the relation of monetary benefits to the earnings of typical workers in each country, while not securing the means of subsistence for beneficiaries in countries where the standards of earnings themselves are little above subsistence level, would place onerous financial burdens on those countries where workers enjoy high standards of earnings.

The views which I have expressed are shared by the employers of many other countries represented at this Conference which have taken part in pioneering and developing systems of social security and have attained an advanced stage in this matter.

Interpretation : Mr. TEXIER (*Workers' adviser, France*)—In the discussion on the Director-General's Report, our friend Jouhaux

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

drew attention to the fact that it was essential that the I.L.O. should not disappoint the hopes placed in it by millions of human beings. Now, in considering the report of the Committee on Social Security, I fear that, in a somewhat different context and fortunately on a much smaller scale, we may find ourselves constrained to reply in the negative to the question whether or not we have met these hopes.

The Director-General, in his sweeping review of the world scene, said that "even in the best organised and most wealthy countries the meeting of the peoples' needs remains a constant concern and preoccupation". To meet human needs is one of the essential purposes of social security, the main feature of which is the protection of the population against the risks to which human beings in society are heirs. Let us not forget that it was to give concrete expression to this indispensable concept of social security that the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference adopted Recommendations Nos. 67 and 69 concerning respectively income security and medical care. This gave rise to considerable hope for those suffering the blows of adversity, and this hope was given substance by the impetus towards social progress which had become manifest after the world war. Thus it was possible for an I.L.O. report in 1950 to register a trend towards the coverage of a wider sector of the population, of a greater number of risks, towards a revision of benefits, towards the abolition of anomalies, towards the combination and co-ordination of formerly distinct branches of social security, and towards the co-ordination of the concepts of social security and social assistance. As the Director-General said, it is urgent to reflect in new or revised international instruments the progress achieved within the past few years as well as the needs of all areas of the world, and to give a new impulse and new objectives to the social security movement.

It was in these conditions that the question of social security standards was placed on the agenda of the Conference. From the start, during our early discussions and during the discussions which have taken place this year, the Employers have contended that the document which we were to draw up should be a mere Recommendation. The Workers, however, had to point out that two Recommendations, adopted at the 26th Session of the Conference, at Philadelphia, already existed in this field, and that it was not enough to pay lip service to lofty principles; a certain effort ought to be made to implement them and the time for action had come. The entire question in this debate, which might at first appear to be a technical one, is in fact a substantive one. Either, by means of valid legal documents, we sanction the principles laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia and the Recommendations which accompanied it, or we take on ourselves the heavy responsibility of bringing to a halt our progress towards the achievement of social security and greater social justice.

We have been subjected to much advice on the part of the Employers, who counsel wisdom and caution, but have they thought that the disasters of nature, misery, poverty and sickness do not wait before they strike? Unless we build this dam against sudden

disaster, we fail in our obligations towards our brothers, we are courting discontent and we are deliberately turning our backs on the possibility of establishing a better world, at peace.

The Workers are actually asking nothing more than respect for commitments undertaken at a time when efforts on the part of all were needed, where all were united and where all shared high hopes. Perhaps because they themselves realise the seriousness of their gesture in opposing a Convention, the Employers propose as an alternative suggestion the drawing up of several Conventions dealing with respective branches of social security. The Workers cannot accept this solution any more than they can accept the other one. They cannot accept the notion of the maintenance of various schemes of social insurance. Social security is one whole and, as I have already said, it is a guarantee of protection against insecurity, against hazards of an economic and social nature.

What the workers want today was perfectly defined by the Chairman of our Committee last year from this rostrum. They want security which may constitute a guarantee against one hazard or another, as the case may be. Hazards vary from country to country and from one period to another. The guarantee itself may be more or less complete or more or less extensive. The social security levels required actually vary from country to country. It is for us, however, to define the general levels of social security and to urge all States Members to achieve them. The text before you, which is, I should like to make quite clear, far from satisfying our wishes, is yet quite flexible enough to allow this modest programme to be carried out. Nevertheless, we do think that an unfortunate clause in Article 3, providing a maximum period during which derogations might be applied to the Convention, should be deleted, and it is for this reason that we support the amendment submitted by the Government delegates of Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Peru, proposing the deletion of the words "but not for a longer period than ten years".

In any case, in spite of the failings of the proposed Convention, the Workers attach capital importance to its adoption by the Conference. A contrary attitude, taken in conjunction with the attempt to postpone—not to say to bury—the discussion of advanced standards, which we hope will not be approved by the Conference, could be interpreted only as a deliberately adopted retrogressive attitude or a dangerous negation of social progress.

After having done our utmost to promote understanding and conciliation, we workers could not understand, nor could we countenance, an omission to take action which we consider indispensable in the interests of social justice and of peace.

Interpretation: Mr. PLEŠEK (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—The draft Convention concerning minimum standards of social security, which has been submitted to us, is really an evasion of the most important questions in the field of social security. In

effect, the Convention merely summarises what has already been said in earlier Conventions on individual branches of social security. It seeks no effective solution to the great problems of our time.

The draft itself covers only minimum standards. It does not state that it is merely a temporary measure and its scope is not limited to the less developed States. It allows for a relaxation of the minimum standards, which are already inadequate, for States whose economic and medical resources have not yet reached a sufficiently advanced stage of development. It permits the exclusion of whole classes of employees from the protection of social security. It also permits ratification by States which have accepted only four of the nine branches of social security provided for in the Convention.

It was the duty of all States and of all delegates to endeavour to try to achieve the maximum standard in the field of social security. Unfortunately, as we can see from even a brief analysis, this is not the case. We certainly cannot say that the draft Convention, in its final form, will become an instrument of progress, permitting the improvement of the living conditions of workers, particularly in the countries where these conditions are especially bad as the result of capitalist and colonialist exploitation. On the contrary, we may say that the draft Convention represents a backward step in the field of social security because it gives international sanction to the low standard of social protection obtaining in certain States and puts a brake on the legitimate efforts being made by the exploited masses to improve their living conditions.

The discussions which took place in connection with the preparation of this draft Convention were the result of the increased influence of employers inside the I.L.O., and this, in turn, is due to the fact that in a number of capitalist countries the employers are even more reactionary than were some of their predecessors before the second world war.

The proposed Convention is an illustration of a growing tendency in the I.L.O. to make Conventions as non-committal as possible so that they do not require of States Members any further effort than they have already made in the social field.

This tendency is the consequence of stubborn resistance against all international social legislation. It has, moreover, been expressed in a very clear and comprehensible manner by Mr. McGrath, adviser to the United States Employers' delegate, who went so far as to demand that the I.L.O. should abandon the question of social legislation and concern itself only with so-called technical assistance in the interests of monopolies and of increased labour productivity in capitalist countries. This, as has been shown already by other speakers, merely implies increased exploitation of the workers.

This tendency to encourage the drawing-up of optional Conventions which are merely statements of principle involving no concrete obligation for the Governments which ratify them is a special way of giving satisfaction to the philosophy expressed by Mr. McGrath; the I.L.O. is simply saving its face.

As we have already pointed out, the International Labour Organisation must reject such a policy.

Mr. RUTNAM (*Employers' delegate, Ceylon*)
—Certain delegates urged, on the basis of the Office text, that this instrument should not take the form of a Convention. The contents of the text finally submitted to this Conference amply confirm the view that the only possible form this instrument could take is that of a Recommendation.

First, there is no approximate level of comparability between the standard of social security that will be given in the various countries that ratify the proposed Convention, excluding for the moment all countries that make use of the escape clause in Article 3. A very elementary application of the mathematics of permutations and combinations makes this amply clear. There is only one answer to the objection of those who think we must have Conventions on this subject of social security. If you insist on the medium of Conventions you must have a separate Convention for each branch of social security that you intend to cover. To those who are of the view that you must deal in a single instrument with all the branches of social security intended to be covered, I suggest that this can only be achieved by giving that single instrument the form of a Recommendation.

Turn now to the case of countries making use of the escape clause in Article 3. It is too fantastic to suppose that the level of social security given in countries making use of the escape clause can be compared at all to the level of social security given in countries that do not make use of the escape clause. Further, we have no clear indication whatever of the degree of social security that will be given in countries using the escape clause. I suggest that ratifications by such countries will be of little value and will be most misleading to the countries themselves and to the rest of the world.

What is the broad picture of conditions in underdeveloped countries that may be expected to make use of the escape clause? You will find that such countries are underdeveloped because of lack of industrial development. Also, the agricultural output per unit of population will be low. Generally speaking, you would not be overstating the case by saying that the bulk of the population of these countries has been living from time immemorial in villages. They eke out their existence by following agricultural pursuits and more often than not the methods used are out of date. Consequent upon their poverty, they are ill-educated and it would be difficult to interest such persons in education. It would be extremely difficult to get them to limit their numbers by adopting any form of birth control.

No one can say with any certainty that the production of food is keeping pace with the increase in the number of mouths to be fed. Only the wildest optimist would declare that such countries could dispense with the escape clause in ten years, or any other definite number of years. It would be even more objectionable to say now that the use of the escape clause is only a temporary measure.

One underdeveloped country, for instance, has a population of 356 million, of whom 249 million, or 70 per cent., are engaged in agriculture. Only a fraction of the remaining 107 million people, or 30 per cent., will be found in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more. Thus in such countries the bulk of the population will get no social security measures at all from this instrument which it is proposed to adopt as a Convention. The bulk of the population will be found living in abject poverty in the villages, and those who survive will be living on the veriest margin of existence. These are the persons who are most in need of social security and yet this instrument gives them nothing. They are untouched by measures that only cover industrial workplaces employing more than 20 persons. This instrument omits the persons most in need of social security and does not start logically with a small measure of social security for the poorest persons, and progressively increase this measure as circumstances permit. If somebody asked an underdeveloped country that had ratified this Convention: "What is the position of social security in your country?", the answer could truthfully be given: "Excellent. We move with the times and comply with the latest trends as indicated by the I.L.O. We comply fully with the requirements of the 1952 I.L.O. Convention concerning social security." And yet in such a country there would be no social security measures at all for the poorest people of all, constituting the bulk of the population. Only the other day I saw headlined in a French newspaper an account of millions of persons dying of starvation in one such underdeveloped country that may well ratify the Convention that may be adopted at this session.

I suggest, further, that it is no true service to workers in underdeveloped countries to pass this instrument as a Convention. Their legitimate demands for a progressive policy, starting first where the need is greatest, could always be met by the answer that it is not necessary to go beyond the requirements of the latest I.L.O. Convention. If there were no Convention, but a Recommendation, then they could logically press for the progressive attainment of the long range objectives contained in the Recommendation. Indeed that is the form of instrument expressly designed to meet such a case.

I shall now pass, very hurriedly, to other considerations. This proposed Convention deals with non-nationals, and yet the very Committee that has submitted the Convention to this Conference has also submitted a resolution to the Conference, inviting attention to the complexity of the problem and suggesting its proper examination. What a country does with non-nationals residing in it is essentially a political question and not a social one. The fact that this instrument attempts to dictate to Governments what they shall do in the social security field about non-nationals makes this instrument unsuitable as a Convention. Such advice can only be properly given through the medium of a Recommendation. In spite of considerable discussion in the Committee on Part XII it must be most unacceptable to several Governments, and I hope they will show this dissatisfaction by voting against the

Convention, instead, as, alas, too often happens, of joining in the general swim.

Article 2 requires compliance with Part I and at least four of the other parts dealing with other forms of social security benefit. This puts compliance above the level of attainment of many countries, principally the underdeveloped countries. For such countries the instrument can only be a Recommendation towards whose objectives they can work progressively. I hope all those countries will show their dissatisfaction by voting against the Convention, instead of also joining in the general swim.

In conclusion, I suggest that a great deal of the value of Conventions generally would be lost if this particular instrument were adopted as a Convention. The cause of social security itself and the very principles for which the I.L.O. stands would be better served by adopting this instrument in the form of a Recommendation.

Mr. MURCHISON (*Government adviser, Canada*)—The Canadian Government has welcomed the opportunity afforded by the I.L.O. to discuss objectives and standards of social security with the representatives of other countries. We in Canada have watched with special interest the adoption of various social security measures by States Members of the I.L.O. While some of our programmes have been original in design, comprehensive in scope and nation-wide in coverage, they represent efforts to profit from the experience of other countries, and at the same time to develop patterns suited to Canadian needs. In Canada, Government expenditures on social security, including health and welfare services, are now larger than expenditures for any other peacetime purpose. Income maintenance schemes and health and welfare services of the federal, provincial and municipal Governments in the current fiscal year will reach one-and-a-half billion dollars, which is in the neighbourhood of eight per cent. of our net national income.

It will be appreciated, therefore, that Canada has a very real interest in this question of social security and that we have been anxious to co-operate with other nations in the development of an international instrument which would set forth helpful and realistic objectives in this field. The rapid and diversified development of social security legislation and the emergence of new concepts in the past few decades have only served to emphasise the need for such an instrument.

Social security is a matter which is of concern to both federal and provincial Governments in Canada. Traditionally and constitutionally a very large sector of this field falls within the jurisdiction of the provincial legislatures, and through them to local Governments. Our comments and suggestions in these discussions can, of course, only reflect the views of the federal Government.

It is assumed that you have studied the chart of ratifications dated 1 March 1952, published by the Office. It shows the number of ratifications which have been made by each Member of each of the 100 Conventions named thereon. One may readily recognise in the chart those Conventions which concern one

branch or another of social security. Upon further examination you will find that the number of ratifications of social security Conventions has been relatively few.

Some time after the Philadelphia Conference in 1944 consideration was given to a plan which, upon adoption, might provide the means whereby a greater number of States Members might be encouraged to inaugurate schemes of social security. That plan, which had been prepared by the Office, was referred to a group called the Committee of Social Security Experts. The Committee held two meetings, one in Montreal, Canada, and the other in Wellington, New Zealand. It adopted the view that a greater measure of acceptance would result under a plan providing for minimum standards as well as for advanced standards and thus it would be possible for a Member to inaugurate a programme on a modest scale and in due course improve the scale within the range between the minimum and the more advanced. Originally both standards were contained in one and the same document; now they are in separate documents.

It may well be that the over-all plan has suffered because of the separation, for when considering the minimum standards by themselves, it became fairly obvious that we were overlooking the proposals concerning the advanced standards and in consequence we sought to raise, and did in fact raise, the minimum standards to levels which in some instances resemble the proposed advanced standards.

The Committee has recommended that the question of desirability of consideration of the advanced standard proposals should be referred to the Governing Body for determination. As long as there is a possibility of the establishment of advanced standards, it would be inappropriate to formalise the minimum standards as a Convention until we know the form and the details that such advanced standards will take. In short, we wish to ensure some measure of consistency between the minimum and advanced standards.

It is quite conceivable that, if the advanced standards were agreed upon, it would be advisable to review and modify some of the terms of the proposal now before you. Such review and modification could be accomplished more readily if this proposal were for the time being issued in the form of a Recommendation.

Moreover, we are still unconvinced that as a Convention this instrument will provide a meaningful standard for the entire range of social security. A system of ratification allowing for considerable choice of branches of social security which are not comparable, and which vary in relative importance from one country to another, seems incompatible with the principle of specific comparable obligations.

If we estimate the possible cost of the minimum standards of each of the branches of social security in any State, a wide variation in cost would be shown among the several branches within that State. If we did the same for every State, we would find a great variation percentage-wise in the cost of a given branch as between the several States.

Under a Convention such as the one proposed, the natural tendency would be to adopt

the least costly of the branches of social security in order to qualify rather than to adopt the branches suited to their particular needs. As a Convention, this instrument does nothing to ensure the orderly development of social security measures according to the particular needs of any given State and in line with the economic development of that State.

We must again remind ourselves that this all-embracing plan was conceived, in part, because of the failure of the majority of States Members to ratify existing social security Conventions. At the time when the plan was first discussed it was understood that the standards and requirements would be such as to enable the less developed countries to inaugurate a social security programme for their people. Whether we have been realistic in our approach to this plan time alone will tell.

We think that greater results would be achieved, in the first instance, by the slightly developed countries if they were permitted to experiment in this field with the aid of an appropriate Recommendation. Under such conditions States could move from one branch to another as circumstances required; they could experiment with combinations of those branches and ultimately determine the course they should follow. This freedom of choice and action would be possible under a Recommendation. We feel that a Convention, at the outset, would not be helpful in stimulating this type of approach.

There are two main arguments in support of the view that this document should now be issued as a Recommendation. In the first place, it seems sound and proper to suggest that the minimum standards should not be in the form of a Convention, at least until the advanced standards have been determined. Secondly, since this is the first attempt to incorporate into one document the relevant provisions for all branches of social security, it would be well to allow time for States to experiment and adjust their programmes in line with a Recommendation without in any way being committed to accepting one branch or another as a permanent plan which would be the case under a Convention.

Interpretation: Mr. TORRES (*Government delegate, Chile*)—No Convention, no report and no study could be more important for the workers of the entire world than that which we have now before us, relating to social security. Unfortunately, I think that the workers are bound to be horribly disillusioned and disappointed when they see the report drawn up by the Committee on minimum standards.

What we have here presented as minimum standards are not even minimum standards: they are barely embryonic and they reduce social security to next to nothing. I am in a particularly strong position to speak in this manner because we in Chile have standards and laws in the field of social security which are far in advance of what the Committee of this Conference has laid before us.

In Chile we have had a Social Security Act since 1925, and we have gone on improving it all the time, in order that the workers

might eventually fulfil their wishes in regard to social security and achieve the standard of welfare which are an obligation on civilised countries.

At this very moment we are reforming our system so as to cover all possible hazards—sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death, and employment injury, a risk inherent in work itself. Through the reform of our legislation, we are extending the benefits of social security to the families of the workers, and these generous benefits are free to them.

Thus, in benefiting our people, we have set an example for all other countries. In bringing benefits to the workers' families we have succeeded in reducing infantile mortality, so that actually we are working for the good of future generations of workers.

We have full and free medical assistance for all workers, though not in the form which the Committee's report advocates, since dental care is not excepted but granted to workers and their families. We also extend to the workers extremely generous benefits in cash in order that their families, if the workers are ill or disabled, shall not be in a position of need but shall receive the same income as when the breadwinner was fit. We have consistently improved the pension scheme in respect of old-age, invalidity and survivors' pensions. We have made these pensions more generous—or rather, more just.

The Convention which we are now discussing therefore certainly offers no difficulties to us so far as ratification is concerned. We are more developed in this field than many of the self-styled "advanced" countries, which deny to the workers the minimum benefits of social security which the I.L.O. ought to have recommended years ago and which should have been a reality for years past throughout the world.

We all heard the Director-General, Mr. Morse, complain yesterday of the fact that progress was being achieved too slowly. This debate shows how right he was. I would like in conclusion to state that the entire delegation of Chile, Workers, Government, and Employers—the latter have been in my country very broad-minded and have approved all the most recent reforms relating to social security—will vote in favour of a Convention, and certainly not in favour of a Recommendation, which in our view would be a retrograde step.

Interpretation: Fr. STOKMAN (Government delegate, Netherlands)—In studying the report of the Committee on Social Security and the proposed Convention I have been struck by the fact that the standards for the various branches of social security have been revalued, while for family allowances the minimum standard, as proposed first by the Committee of Experts and subsequently by the International Labour Office, has been considerably lowered. Article 40 of the Convention reads as follows: "The contingency covered shall be responsibility for the maintenance of children as prescribed." This is extremely vague. It permits States to ratify the Convention by giving a family allowance only, for example, after the third child. Such a measure is only just if the worker's basic wage takes normal

family expenses into account. If the basic wage is not a family wage the family allowance should be given, in case of need, from the first child, but in any case from the second as was proposed by the Committee of Experts and the I.L.O.

On the other hand, a State Member could ratify the Convention by giving family allowances on a decreasing scale, according to the number of children—a step which does not encourage large families.

The only standard below which a State cannot go is provided in Article 44 which determines the value of benefits in relation to the total number of children. But here again the proposed Convention lowers, in Article 44, the percentage suggested by the Office.

It was my intention to propose to this assembly certain amendments to reassess the standards in so far as family allowances are concerned. I realise, however, that it would be extremely difficult to introduce changes at the last moment in an already complicated text. Furthermore, account should be taken of the situation of underdeveloped countries and of the necessity of obtaining a two-thirds majority in the final vote.

For these reasons I shall not propose a whole series of amendments. I hope, nevertheless, that I shall be forgiven if I say that the lowering of the standard for family allowances is not compatible with the general purpose of the proposed Convention. This lowering of standards is likely to arouse criticism in a number of countries, and in those circles which deal specially with family interests.

Social justice demands that the family expenses which fall upon the head of the family should be more generously taken into consideration. I hope that I may be allowed to urge upon you the desirability, even the necessity, for drawing up a special Convention concerning family allowances, similar to those which already exist in other branches of social security.

In the hope that the International Labour Organisation will take this last suggestion into account, I shall vote in favour of the proposed Convention.

Mr. DENNYS (*Government adviser, United Kingdom*)—I think it is natural that the Government of my country, as a pioneer in the field of social security, should welcome the appearance of this instrument. But I believe we can claim that we are also a pioneer country in the new type of social security that has been developing since the war. I refer to the type of comprehensive social security system which is an attempt to provide, in a co-ordinated and integrated way, cover for a very large part, if not all, of the population against the widest possible range of contingencies.

Because we are active in that new field of social security, we were particularly glad to see an instrument which, it appears to us, in a measure reflects the new concept of social security. A great deal has been said by way of criticism about a Convention which can be ratified by different countries on the basis of their fulfilling the requirements in respect of a choice of branches of social security, but I

must say that many of the statements that have been made in criticism have struck us really as statements of the advantages of the new type of Convention. I believe that the Organisation is now faced with this choice: either we have to entertain the possibility of an instrument more or less along the lines of the one now before us, or we have to reconcile ourselves to the thought that the Organisation just cannot keep up with modern developments in social security. I believe that the latter is an idea that Members of the Organisation cannot really entertain, and that they will feel that new developments outside should be paralleled by new concepts of the type of instrument to be adopted.

In considering the various points that have arisen, we have done our best to look at each proposal not just narrowly from the point of view of our own system in the United Kingdom but in a rather broader way. We have been looking at the points in order to try to see how we could help to set a standard which is not so low that it represents no advance at all and not so high that it is really impossible of attainment by a majority of countries. That point of view has led us, on some occasions, to support minor relaxations in the instrument which are by no means necessary for us from the point of view of our own scheme; and it has also, on occasions, led us to oppose various measures for stiffening up the instrument, measures which would have caused us no trouble at all when we came to consider ratification. But we thought, speaking very broadly, that the suggested new Office text was about right, as steering between the extremes of unrealism on the one hand and inadequacy on the other.

We have also been looking in the same spirit at the amendments now circulated, and I would like very briefly to give an indication of the attitude of my Government towards them. We think that the amendment which proposes the deletion in Article 3, paragraph 1, of the words "but not for a longer period than ten years", and the one which proposes a substitute text for paragraph 1 of Article 18 concerning benefit in case of sickness, really amount to a reversion to the Office text, and are amendments which ought to be taken very seriously into account by the Conference, and indeed adopted. The result of the adoption of the first of these would, in our view, be to bring back a note of realism into the problem of the less developed countries and how they are to be dealt with. We should therefore, when it came to the point, support that amendment and also the amendment to return to the Office text in the matter of the waiting period for sickness benefit.

The amendment proposed by the Norwegian Government delegates, concerning the method of prescribing pensionable age, also strikes us as desirable in that it gives a little further measure of flexibility to Governments and we do not think that this flexibility would be abused in any way.

I now come to the very important amendment, proposed by the Government delegates

of Mexico and Colombia, to substitute the word "three" for the word "four" as the minimum number of contingencies in which the Convention must be satisfied if it is to be ratified by a State Member. Here again, the reduction of this number is not a matter which affects the narrow interests of my own Government one way or the other, but we do feel that it is more realistic to return to the figure of three which was before us when we commenced our discussion and we think that the adoption of this amendment would represent a sensible action in our present situation.

Finally, one word about the second part of the item on our agenda that in regard to advanced standards. Whatever view Members may take of the proposed instrument on minimum standards, I think there will be agreement on one point—that it is a very big step forward in the development of the Organisation to adopt such an instrument and, because that is so, we do feel that it would be prudent not to go ahead precipitately in order to frame another instrument on advanced standards but to take notice of how the application of the minimum standards instrument proceeds. The United Kingdom Government is therefore in favour of leaving open the reference in the resolution to the Governing Body, not indicating that we think next year's session of the Conference is necessarily the right time at which to take up again the problem of advanced standards.

Mr. MYERS (*Government adviser, United States*)—I should like to associate my Government with the remarks made by the Canadian Government delegate. As to the form of the proposed instrument, the United States Government has consistently taken the position that a Recommendation would achieve more than a Convention in this field. We are not convinced that the adoption of a blanket Convention subject to piecemeal ratification will achieve more practical benefit in improving standards of social security than would a Recommendation which could serve as an aim to be achieved through progressive action in the future.

RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS BY NEW ZEALAND

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will make an announcement.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Director-General has just been informed by the leader of the New Zealand delegation that his Government has approved the ratification of the Right of Association (Non-Metropolitan Territories) Convention, 1947 (No. 84) and of the Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery (Agriculture) Convention, 1951 (No. 99), and that the instruments of ratification were posted from Wellington several days ago.

(*The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.*)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Juhl-Christensen (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Heinrichi (substitute for Mr. Björck) Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Rowe (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo Mr. Purpura Mr. Peyrot (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Pastore	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Saxer (substitute for Mr. Rappard) Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Dubois (substitute for Mr. Kuntschen) Mr. Bottini (substitute for Mr. Möri)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Schneider (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Tatsuke (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Legras (substitute for Mr. Hauck) Mr. Waline Mr. Texier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substitute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mr. Wilwertz Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Murchison (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Brass (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. McLean (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin Evans Mr. Denny (substitute for Mr. Buckland) Mr. Taylor (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Bartlett (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Mora (substitute for Mr. Peralta)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Raymakers (substitute for Mr. Fennema) Mr. Alders (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Mr. Myers (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Calloun (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Ruttenberg (substitute for Mr. Delaney)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Henriksen (substitute for Mr. Östberg) Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Ochoa
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Poland :</i> Mrs. Kalinowska (substitute for Mr. Chajin) Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas	

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Urquhart (*United Nations*), Dr. Roemer, Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Tennfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Tessier (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

TWENTY-SECOND SITTING

Wednesday, 25 June 1952, 4 p.m.

Chairmen : Mr. Pons and Mr. Delaney

DECISION ON RIGHT OF W.F.T.U. REPRESENTATIVE TO ADDRESS THE CONFERENCE

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—As stated by the President this morning with regard to the question raised by the World Federation of Trade Unions in connection with a statement to be made by Mr. Raynaud on the report of the Committee on Social Security, the Officers of the Conference met and could not reach unanimous agreement. Accordingly, under Article 14, paragraph 10, of the Standing Orders of the Conference—the relevant provision of which I am about to read—I will now call for a vote to decide whether or not Mr. Raynaud shall be permitted to speak.

The provision reads as follows: “. . . If agreement cannot be reached the matter shall be referred to the meeting for decision without discussion”.

(A vote is taken by show of hands, with the following result: 56 votes in favour, 19 against, and 49 abstentions.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—There has been a quorum as required under the Standing Orders. By decision of the Conference, therefore, Mr. Raynaud is authorised to speak in the discussion on the report of the Committee on Social Security.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY¹ (cont.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—We shall now resume the general discussion of the report of the Committee on Social Security.

Mr. MAGUIRE (*Government delegate, Ireland*)—I would like to indicate briefly the

attitude of the Government of my country to the proposed Convention. We consider it goes further than such a document dealing with minimum standards should, and that it lacks the elasticity in certain respects which should make it possible and easy of ratification by many countries. We would much prefer, as the Canadian and United States representatives have already indicated in respect of their countries, to see the present document a Recommendation in the first instance, ultimately leading on after experience of the working of that Recommendation to a Convention dealing with minimum and with advanced standards respectively.

We would accordingly support amendments designed to make the document a Recommendation and, failing that, amendments designed to secure greater fluidity in the existing document, which is in fact the case with the majority of amendments so far submitted.

Mr. RUTTENBERG (*Workers' adviser, United States*)—It is with a great deal of hesitation that I speak at this point on the proposed Convention concerning social security. As a relative newcomer to the operations of the I.L.O. I am reluctant to speak on the question of Convention versus Recommendation, but I sat here this morning and I listened very carefully to the arguments put forward by the various speakers, including the representatives of the Employers and the representatives of the Governments of Ceylon, Canada and the United States, and I must say that, after hearing the arguments against the Convention and in support of the Recommendation, I was left without any justifiable reason having been given for voting against the Convention. I think the arguments submitted by the representatives of Canada and the United States and by the Employers' group were not fundamental objections to a Convention on social security. I really cannot understand the reasoning or thinking of those delegates who support the Recommendation.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

I will first take the Governments. I cannot understand why Governments of Federal States can advance arguments against a Convention but yet the I.L.O. Constitution itself provides ways and means for Federal States to go along with voting for Conventions and with the application of these Conventions to their own country. Therefore I see no reason why Federal States such as the United States should not vote for Conventions in this body, and I have great hopes that the United States will vote for a Convention when the issue arises.

As for the Employers, Mr. Calhoun, representative of the Employers' group in the Committee on Social Security, supported by the British Employers' representative, talked at some length about why they favoured a Recommendation instead of a Convention, but I think it can all be summed up in a few words: employers generally are against Conventions because Conventions carry with them the obligation to act, to do something, to carry out objectives in support of the workers throughout the world.

My experience as a trade union representative in the United States leads me to the firm conclusion that American employers have never publicly or strongly advocated social security legislation until they were forced to do so by the trade union movement. In the United States we have at last amended our Social Security Act of 1939. Between 1939 and 1949 many efforts were made by the United States Government to improve our social security legislation, but Congress, strongly supported by American employers, refused to take any action. It was therefore after ten years of no action whatsoever to improve social security in the United States that the trade union movement—the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O., the United Mine-workers and other groups—attempted to secure through collective bargaining private pension plans which we now have. These private pension and social welfare programmes, negotiated by the employers and the employees, were brought about because employers were forced to act through the strike weapon used by the three trade unions in the United States, who maintained the right to strike and who did strike, and did succeed in getting the employers to agree, through collective bargaining, to private pension plans. But—and this is important—the moment we got private pension plans through collective bargaining in the United States in 1949 the employers went to Congress and demanded that it improve the Social Security Act, because they would rather see the Government do it than that it should be done through private collective bargaining. I repeat, it was the pressure of the trade union movement that forced the employers' hand eventually so that in 1949 American social security legislation was amended.

I say once again that the only reason I can see, from my own experience, why the Employers (and maybe some Governments) favour a Recommendation and are against a Convention is that Conventions require them to assume the obligation to do something for the workers through positive action, and Recommendations

require them only to give, as we would say in the United States, lip service to the problem of social security. I therefore urge this Conference and, I hope, our own American Government to vote for a Convention when it comes before this body.

Now, speaking solely as an American, I would like to make a few brief remarks on the problem that was raised by the Employers' representative of the United States when he spoke about "socialised medicine". He said that as an employer he could not support this social security Convention because one of its branches, medical aid, was socialised medicine. I just want to say that the implication of that remark is that those of us in the United States who are supporting what we call medical assistance, or a national health insurance programme, do not call that socialised medicine—nor is it. The programme advocated in the United States by the trade union movement is one which ensures freedom of choice of doctor, freedom of choice of hospitals, and freedom of choice of medical assistance in any form, and does not in any way interfere with the normal patient-doctor relationship which Mr. Calhoun, the Employers' representative of the United States, has talked about.

I would like this Conference to know that, as far as the United States is concerned, we do believe in health insurance and we hope that before long, through the strength of our trade union movement and the representatives of our Federal Government who support the national health insurance programme, we will be able to have such a programme. But because in America this gives freedom of choice of doctors and hospitals, that is no reason why we should say to the rest of the world, as Mr. Calhoun proposed in our Social Security Committee, that every other country should subscribe to the same principles in operating its own health insurance programme. That is a question which must be solved at the national level.

The only problem with which we are concerned as workers and as representatives is to give medical assistance to people who need it. In the United States we do it in our way, and if Great Britain and other countries want to do it their way, that is their problem. But in the United States we are not for socialised medicine, as is implied in the remarks of Mr. Calhoun; we are for health insurance, and I hope that we shall get it in the United States before long.

Finally, may I repeat my main purpose in speaking before the Conference, which is that I hope the vote will be on a Convention. We voted for a Convention in the Social Security Committee and amongst the Government members the vote was 16 in favour and only 7 against. I hope that the same proportion in voting in support of a Convention is maintained when we come to vote on the amendment concerning the 10-year limit, which has been put before the Conference.

Mr. ECKERBERG (*Government delegate, Sweden*)—The aim of the I.L.O. to bring about by one Convention a regulation of all branches of social security is not an easy one to achieve. When the Swedish Government had to decide

its attitude to this proposal, it seemed to us a very difficult question to penetrate. In order that the Convention may be ratified and applied in practice in a great number of States Members, reasonable scope must be left to the individual countries, within the framework of generally acceptable principles, to adapt various social security branches to the conditions prevailing in each country.

In our opinion the text of the Convention should not be over-burdened with too detailed provisions.

In respect of social security Sweden can be said to be a highly developed country. We devote more than 11 per cent. of our national income to social purposes. In these circumstances it may seem strange that we should meet with some difficulties when attempting to ratify the Convention which the Conference is now asked to adopt. The reason lies in a point of principle. In Sweden we have not been inclined to adopt the continental system whereby benefits are adjusted to contributions paid and to the number of years of payment of such contributions. We have always applied the principles to which Mr. Dennys referred when he spoke this morning about the British social security system.

Our social security system covers the whole nation. For instance, every citizen, independent of occupation and income, is entitled to an old-age pension. I believe that this is the right principle. It is not only industrial workers who are in need of social security. Farmers and independent workers of all kinds need just as much protection in case of illness and accident and just as much security in their old age.

It is evident that when the social security system is to comprise the whole nation and to be independent of payment of contributions, difficult financial problems must arise. For economic reasons we have to be content with a minimum standard of insurance in which benefits are not always as high as we might wish.

This is the explanation why Sweden, in spite of its advanced social policy and high expenditure for social purposes, might have some difficulty in ratifying the proposed Convention.

However, I am glad to be able to state that, although as recently as during the period 1945-1948 we realised substantial improvements in various branches of Swedish social security, we have now found that the time has come to take up the question of the whole security system for a new general revision. Things move rapidly in our days. As a result of the general rise in living standards and the continuing process of democratisation social benefits which once seemed to represent considerable progress now appear quite inadequate. The citizens' expectations in respect of social security do not diminish with the rising standard of living. On the contrary, they have a clear tendency to increase.

In the Declaration on Human Rights the United Nations has laid down the right of citizens to income security in case of illness, unemployment, old age and so on. So far this right to income security has hardly become a full reality in any single country, but we regard it as being just as self-evident as freedom of speech, freedom of the press and all the other

freedoms which the citizens of democratic countries always enjoy. We are trying to make this right a reality.

Against this background I am glad to state that the Swedish Government delegation will vote for the Convention.

POINT OF ORDER: VALIDITY OF DECISION OF PRESIDENT IN RESPECT OF RESULT OF VOTE

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—Mr. Delaney has asked to speak on a point of order. I will ask him to come to the rostrum.

Mr. DELANEY (*Workers' delegate, United States*)—I wish to raise a point of order in respect of the decision taken by the Conference on a vote to permit a representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions to address the Conference. I question the decision of the President, in respect of the quorum.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—With regard to the point of order raised by Mr. Delaney concerning the quorum, the Clerk of the Conference has just informed me that the quorum called for, namely 106, was not present. I will ask the indulgence of the Conference for this mistake. As a result, the vote, in which only 75 persons took part, was not legally taken and I hereby declare it null and void.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY¹ (*cont.*)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—We will resume the discussion of the report of the Committee on Social Security.

Interpretation: Mr. DOUBLET (*Government adviser, France; Chairman of the Committee on Social Security*)—There is nothing to add to the report of the Committee on Social Security, nor to the masterful statement made this morning by Mr. Alexander, the Reporter of the Committee. The viewpoints of the various members of the Committee—of employers and workers—were placed before you clearly and forcefully. I wish, therefore, to speak merely as Chairman of the Committee and it is not my intention to refer to any of the technical details, all of which I think have been very thoroughly dealt with. I would only like to give you some of the impressions that have remained with me of the work of this Committee, which undoubtedly had before it a task of unprecedented difficulty. There can be no doubt about this when one realises that the last document submitted to us for examination, leaving aside the reports communicated to us beforehand by the Office, was numbered not far short of 200!

If, on listening to the speakers before me, I could not help feeling proud of the work accomplished by our Committee, naturally I am aware that it was not perfect. Some people found it inadequate, others thought it went

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

too far. We have been reproached for being excessively pessimistic and for being too optimistic. In the face of these various criticisms, I wonder whether the conclusion to be drawn is not that in spite of everything we did what we should have done. Some comfort may be derived from the fact that criticisms have been levelled at us from all quarters within this assembly, for this would seem to indicate that the text adopted by the Committee is not without some value. The art of compromise is a difficult one to practise in everyday life, and in the political and social fields. It is however a condition of our existence and we may consider that the compromise achieved in the circumstances is a satisfactory one.

In order to assess what has actually been achieved we must look into the task that was assigned to the Committee. The datum for the work of the authors of the text—and naturally I include all who contributed to its preparation—was the social legislation of the various countries which endeavour to protect the workers and their families and to provide them with medical care and income security. I shall not revert to the definitions or to the various conceptions which were clarified by our work. All of us have become more aware of our contribution to the common endeavour but we had to take into account the complexity of changing legislation, the particular needs which this meets, and the varying national temperaments.

It may have seemed foolhardy to seek one or more common denominators, and, from this point of view, I think the text before you is worthy of attention because the discussions have shown that, despite deviations, we always came back to it in the end. If the Committee obtained a common denominator you should appreciate that, in doing so, it did not disregard the diversity of national conditions and, as far as possible, avoided anything that might force countries to adopt measures which would not be in accordance with their national characteristics.

In addition, the Committee realised that within the framework of principles it must think in concrete terms and try to determine what any given benefit would mean in practice for the worker and his family.

While it was quite natural that in the course of our work we should tackle first the question of minimum standards which would meet the basic needs of individuals, the fact remains that the Committee definitely wished that two other problems should be dealt with too before very long—I refer to advanced standards and problems affecting migrants. We have, in fact, discussed the problem of equality of treatment for non-nationals and we have briefly touched upon the broader question of the protection of migrant workers. A resolution along these lines is now before the Conference, and I do not think the Committee can be reproached for not having dealt thoroughly, in the time available, with this extremely complex and delicate subject. The text which is before you after the discussions of the Committee is in the form of a Convention. It is flexible enough to conform to the conditions of the modern world, and

it should be acceptable to all countries, whether they have reached an advanced stage of economic and social development or whether they still have much to achieve in the field of general well-being.

We cannot but be aware of the obsolescence of former Conventions. The Philadelphia Recommendations concerning income security and medical care paved the way and raised certain hopes, and national legislation is going through a constant process of improvement. We must now advance beyond these principles, develop them and convert them into specific commitments, and this, I think, is the sense in which the Committee on Social Security has carried out its work. Thus can we expect to achieve the ideal of social justice which is accepted by all Members of this Organisation.

Interpretation: Mr. GÓMEZ (*Government delegate, Colombia*)—The Government delegation of Colombia wishes to place on record its admiration of the manner in which the work of the Committee on Social Security, the results of which are contained in the document before us, was carried out. My Government has always attached maximum importance to the problem of public security, since it considers that this is the best way of affording just treatment to an ever-increasing proportion of the population.

My Government has achieved magnificent results in the field of social security, and it has done so with the full support of our people. Our first experiments in this field may be held up as examples of properly planned achievements and realistic concepts. We have preferred to advance surely, convinced, as we were, that we could not escape certain economic realities. If we could achieve universal happiness by means of legislation the world would be well satisfied but, unfortunately, good intentions alone are not sufficient. Society is a complex of homogeneous elements, directed by interdependent forces. To go against this truth is to put a stop to progress, since progress cannot be achieved in leaps and bounds but in logical and measured steps.

My Government has made considerable progress in the field of social security, and expects to make even greater progress in the future on the basis of experience already acquired. It is not held back by any obstacle since for it social justice is not merely a political undertaking, it is also the fulfilment of moral and ideological aims. My Government believes that, even were there no such agreements, pacts or legislation, its primary function is to bring social justice into labour relations and to ensure equitable distribution of burdens and benefits. The time has come to regenerate society not through hate but through the beneficial influence of Catholic doctrines.

In view of the complexity of the problem before us some people believed that we should act cautiously rather than approve precipitately texts which would have no practical effect. A Convention concerning minimum standards of social security must be designed to be acceptable to all countries, including those which, through no fault of their own but purely on account of a lack of material re-

sources, have not reached an advanced stage of social development.

My delegation has to make certain reservations regarding the procedure adopted in the Committee, as a result of which the work did not always proceed on a sufficiently concrete basis. The fact that the Articles were considered and approved first and that only afterwards did we consider the basic question of the form to be given to the instrument led to confusion and gave rise to certain problems. The introduction of a change in Article 3 made the solution of these problems still more difficult since our arguments have been based on the fact that the underdeveloped countries would be able to avail themselves permanently of the exceptions provided for in this Article and thus be enabled to ratify the Convention. As a result of these new and unexpected aspects, my Government was in favour of a Recommendation rather than a Convention, especially as, at the last moment, many of the bases presented by the Office and the calculations and deductions of the experts were changed and were no longer the result of reliable surveys.

In dealing with minimum standards it is essential to be realistic. They should comprise concepts below which no organisation should fall but with which all countries could comply. To include standards which, for some, might actually be maximum standards would be to jeopardise the final success of this instrument which is designed, after all, to be applied.

As regards the less developed countries the percentages laid down are compatible neither with their demographic structure nor with the geographical distribution of their populations. As a result we consider that the most useful form for this document would be that of a Recommendation, considering the variety of conditions it has to meet. My delegation is prepared, nevertheless, to vote for the Convention, provided that the amendment relating to Article 3 and the number of contingencies to be covered are approved, because it does not wish that this subject, of which my Government fully recognises the importance, should fail to be dealt with by the I.L.O.

STATEMENT CONCERNING STANDING ORDERS OF THE CONFERENCE

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—Mr. Delaney, United States Workers' delegate, has asked to be allowed to make a statement.

Mr. DELANEY (*Workers' delegate, United States*)—I have come to this platform because this afternoon we have had to make a decision which is contrary to the spirit of this Organisation, and I have a simple and sincere belief in this Organisation. As an Officer of this Conference I was asked to make a decision which concerned me considerably, one in which I was involved, from an inherent belief in freedom of speech, and one in which I had recognised a political manoeuvre on the part of the World Federation of Trade Unions to circumvent a situation that had been completely and thoroughly discussed and decided within the Workers' group itself.

I must say that my affection and devotion to the work of this Organisation was the principal agent in making up my mind. Since I come from a country that believes completely in freedom of speech in every sense I voted in favour of Mr. Raynaud, Workers' adviser, France, speaking before this Conference in respect of the report of the Committee on Social Security. I did so, knowing that he had no motive other than one of political trade union reasons.

I have come to this platform not to explain my reasons for voting for, or my concern with, this situation. I wish to ask this Conference to give serious consideration to a change in the Standing Orders of this Conference so that we shall not again be faced with a similar situation.

Article 14 of the Standing Orders says that on a decision of this kind, after consultation with the Officers, in cases where there is a minority expression within the group of Officers, the matter shall be put before the Conference without discussion and a decision shall be made.

I submit that that is not a democratic way to do things. Whether it be the Officers or anyone else, I think that it is the right of this Conference to make the final decision and I think it is the right of this Conference and its delegates assembled here to know the facts and to know what the decision was based on.

Having said that, I can assure members of this Conference that, whether it be representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions or representatives of any Government or Governments, this will never interfere with my devotion to freedom of speech. I intend to present to the Governing Body an amendment to the Standing Orders which will leave it to the delegates of the Conference, rather than the Officers of the Conference, to decide issues of this kind.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY¹ (*concl.*)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—No further speakers have notified a wish to speak on the report. If there are no objections the report of the Committee on Social Security will now be submitted for the approval of the Conference. No objections? The report is adopted.

(*The report is adopted.*)

DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)
—We will now vote on the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security, Article by Article.

An amendment to the Preamble has been submitted by the Employers' group, proposing replacement of the word "Convention" by the word "Recommendation". We will take a vote on this.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 43 votes to 111, with no abstentions.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS) —Are there any observations on the Preamble?

Mr. MYERS (*Government adviser, United States*)—The United States Government delegation is going to vote for the Convention concerning the minimum standards of social security. We do not believe that the document is perfect, nor do its provisions conform in all respects to our preferences. We realise, however, that in any international development of material such as this, there cannot be unanimity on all the various technical points involved. Nevertheless, on the whole, the proposed Convention does seem to furnish reasonable standards of social security for consideration by all countries throughout the world.

As to the form of the proposed instrument, the United States Government supported the amendment to change its form to a Recommendation. Nevertheless, while believing that a Recommendation would be preferable, we will not withhold our support for a Convention since the Conference prefers that form.

I would like to make clear that a vote in favour of a Convention does not indicate approval by the United States Government of all of the nine branches of social security contained in the instrument as being appropriate for adoption in the United States. Similarly, in each of the branches there are various alternatives permitted, some of which we do not believe are appropriate for action in the United States. Further, within several of the branches we do not concur with some of the technical features. For instance, in the sickness branch we believe that an alternative should be adopted for a seven-day waiting period rather than requiring a three-day waiting period. In an economically advanced country, workers ordinarily have sufficient savings for these minor cases, or employers often provide adequate sick leave under independent action. At the same time, significant savings to the over-all economy would result from eliminating a large amount of administrative work arising out of a short waiting period. Likewise, in the invalidity branch we believe that a six-months waiting period should be allowed with provision for such period being furnished by sickness benefits, individual or employer action, joint employer-worker co-operation, or vocational rehabilitation, including training allowances, as appropriate.

It is clear then that, with an instrument of this scope, a vote in favour of the Convention does not bind a State Member to be in favour of each and every one of the branches or alternatives within the branches. Our vote on the Convention does not indicate our approval of each of the branches or that we intend to implement or put into effect in the United States the system envisaged by each of the branches.

The United States Government took the strong position at last year's Conference that the minimum standards of social security

when contained in an international instrument are not an attempt to do away with voluntary private insurance, and we again affirm these principles. In the United States social security and private insurance have been complementary, not antagonistic or competitive. This is the opinion of virtually every group in the United States—that social security should be the basic floor of protection upon which voluntary private insurance can and should build. In actual fact, social security has stimulated private insurance in the United States. This is evidenced by the testimony of life insurance company executives in supporting expansion of the federal old-age and survivors' insurance system and in their sales campaigns to induce people to supplement their social security by private insurance policies. Not only have life insurance company executives supported the broadening of the social security programme but, in general, employers' organisations have likewise done so. The United States Chamber of Commerce has supported broadening the coverage and increasing the benefits of the Government's old-age and survivors' insurance system.

In respect of voluntary insurance the provision contained in last year's tentative conclusions, requiring that for such insurance to be used for ratification purposes it must be subsidised by the public authorities, was strongly opposed at that time by the United States Government. This provision has now been eliminated. Some other changes have been made which make it abundantly clear that voluntary private insurance will not be adversely affected by the instrument now before us.

The United States Government would like to reiterate its views expressed in response to the Director-General's Report. We have made great progress in providing financial security for our aged citizens, not through any exclusive single governmental solution to the problem, but in many different ways. Part of the problem is handled by the individual citizen himself, through savings, insurance and home ownership. Still other approaches are through voluntary action by employers, voluntary action by labour organisations and co-operative action by labour and management together. Finally, as an over-all foundation of social security, the Government has established certain programmes of social insurance and social assistance. Thus we are able to place primary reliance on the resourcefulness and voluntary action in co-operation of our people. Man does things more effectively of his own volition when he understands why they must be done, instead of doing them from compulsion. Governmental action is necessary to provide a floor of protection and to assist and promote the growth of voluntary assistance. A nation which chooses to rely on voluntary as well as governmental action for its social protection can find sufficient latitude for that approach within the provisions of this Convention. In endorsing the Convention no nation necessarily commits itself to supporting all the techniques of social protection listed in all nine branches of the instrument. What it does endorse is the common endeavour of free nations all over the world to set forth in an international instrument the basis upon

which each, in accordance with its own needs and circumstances, can carry forward its efforts to improve the security of its people.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—If there are no further observations, the Preamble is considered adopted.

(The Preamble is adopted.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—We now pass to the consideration of the Convention, Article by Article.

(Article 1 is adopted.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—An amendment has been submitted to Article 2.

Mr. KRINGLEBOTTEN (*Government adviser, Norway*)—An amendment has been presented to this Article which proposes that in Article 2 (a) (ii) the word "three" shall be substituted for the word "four". That implies that a country will have the possibility of ratifying the Convention when it has fulfilled the different social insurance schemes for three contingencies. The majority of the Committee had the impression that the obligation should be compliance with four.

In the Committee there was much discussion about this point and there were several amendments. One of the amendments was to the effect that if we had the figure three there should be provision that a country should at least comply with one of the Parts IV, V, VI, IX or X of the contingencies covered. There was no voting on this amendment in the Committee because the majority of the Committee accepted four contingencies.

On behalf of the Norwegian Government delegation I have presented a subamendment to this amendment which states that there shall be added the following words: "including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX or X". That means that a country which wishes to ratify the Convention shall have at least unemployment insurance, old-age benefits, employment injury benefits, invalidity benefits or a survivors' insurance scheme. We say that if a country is to be allowed to ratify the Convention it shall be required that it at least fulfil one of those Parts named in this subamendment. We are dealing necessarily with minimum standards, but the standard can be too low, and we think it would be a reasonable requirement to have such a provision in this Article.

PROTEST ON BEHALF OF THE POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK WORKERS' DELEGATIONS AND OF THE FRENCH GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—Mr. Vondras, Workers' adviser, Czechoslovakia, has asked to speak on a point of order.

Interpretation : Mr. VONDRAS (*Workers' adviser, Czechoslovakia*)—In the name of the Polish and Czechoslovak Workers' delegations,

and of the French C.G.T., I wish to protest strongly against the measures and manœuvres which have been carried out today with a view to preventing Mr. Raynaud, representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions, from speaking. These manœuvres have placed this Organisation in a ridiculous position from which it will rise with difficulty. Why are you afraid to hear the spokesman of an organisation which comprises 80 million workers? Is this your conception of democracy and the universality of the I.L.O.? To adopt this discrimination against Mr. Raynaud as representative of the W.F.T.U. shows clearly the tendencies which are dominating this Organisation, tendencies which the international working class will continue to fight and to condemn.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—I regret to have to inform the Workers' adviser from Czechoslovakia that I cannot see how his declaration constitutes a point of order. The speaker simply made a protest.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—We will now resume discussion of the proposed Convention concerning social security.

Mr. MENON (*Government delegate, India*)—When I come to deal with Article 3, I will be able to detail more fully the reasons which have persuaded my Government to agree to a Convention on the subject. The main point which has influenced us is that the text is sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of the less developed countries. From that point of view the amendment proposing that Members shall comply with at least three, instead of four, of Parts II to X is of great importance, and I presume that this applies also to other underdeveloped countries.

The word "three" was introduced after long discussions last year, and it is only this year that it has been replaced by "four". Remembering that we are now trying to evolve a formula for minimum standards and also to ensure that these standards, with the exceptions provided, could be implemented even by underdeveloped countries, I venture to think that it was unfortunate to change the word "three" to "four". I would therefore support the amendment for restoring the word "three".

Mr. STARK (*Workers' adviser, Austria*)—May I say a few words from the Workers' point of view about the amendment to substitute in Article 2 (a) (ii) the word "three" for the word "four", and also the subamendment which has been tabled in this respect? At first glance one might think that the figure four in this year's Convention as against the figure three in last year's conclusions might mean that one more branch is necessary in order to fulfil the conditions for ratification. To a certain extent this is true. I think, however, that it is necessary to take into account the reasons why the Committee was in favour of four instead of three items.

If you look at the stipulations regarding the qualifying period for invalidity benefits—those stipulations which are now contained in Article 57 of the new draft—you will find a very important change as against last year's conclusions. Last year, a qualifying period of only five years was considered sufficient in order to obtain invalidity benefits. This year, it has been changed to 15 years. In other words, it has been made more difficult this year to fulfil the conditions for a qualifying period than it was last year.

When considering this point I think you have to take into account the close connection which existed between these two items when the Committee considered this matter. Furthermore, to take one example, a country having a health insurance scheme which offers maternity benefits could, on the basis of this one branch, ratify on three different items and could ratify the Convention.

That is why, from the workers' point of view, we are in favour of four and are against changing it to three, but I must say that it is not a major issue at stake. It is more or less a minor question, a technical question, a question as to whether ratification should be made easier or not. If you decide in favour of three branches only instead of four, then we workers would very much favour the subamendment tabled by the Norwegian Government member, as it means nearly, if not exactly, the same idea which I expressed: that a certain minimum of branches of social security, not including health insurance, not including medical benefits and not including maternity benefits should be necessary in order to ratify this Convention. In other words, from the workers' point of view we should prefer four instead of three, but if three is adopted we should be in favour of the Norwegian subamendment.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—Before proceeding to a vote on the subamendment, I will ask the Clerk of the Conference to read it to us so that there shall be no misunderstanding.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The subamendment proposed by the Norwegian Government delegate would have the effect of making Article 2 (a) (ii) read as follows: "At least three of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X".

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—I shall now put to the vote the subamendment submitted by the Government delegate of Norway.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The subamendment is adopted by 56 votes to 52, with 35 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—As a result of the vote, the subamendment is adopted. If there are no objections Article 2, as amended, is adopted.

(Article 2, as amended, is adopted.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—We will now consider Article 3. An amendment has been put forward proposing the deletion of the words "but not for a longer period than ten years".

Mr. MENON (*Government delegate, India*)—Although I have been asked to move the amendment to Article 3, clause 1—an amendment of which I am part author—I would also like to give you some of the back history of this case, as it is of great importance so far as my country is concerned.

When we discussed this question of a draft text last year, I was one of the first, I think, to congratulate the Office on producing a text which was sufficiently flexible. My country is convinced that a rigid Convention, without any flexibility to meet the special factors of different countries, will not be workable. That is the reason, I venture to think, why most of the Conventions still remain unratified.

In the original text there was sufficient flexibility to meet the needs of all underdeveloped countries. One speaker this morning called the text a hybrid. I would say that a hybrid is sometimes a more beautiful and better product than the pure breed. I do welcome this type of text and that is one of the main reasons which has convinced me in supporting the principle of a Convention.

This particular clause was discussed very fully last year in relation to the requirements of underdeveloped countries. On this occasion also it was discussed and, as will be seen from the report, there was first a motion for doing away with this clause altogether, but it was turned down. There was next a proposal that it should have a limit of four years, which was also turned down. Finally, there was a proposal to have a ten-year limit, which was adopted, but a substantial number of members opposed this new addition.

Even in countries where there has been some form of social security for some years, we know how long it takes to evolve a comprehensive scheme of social insurance covering the whole population. Delegates can, therefore, imagine what a problem it will be in my country, with a population of 356 millions, if we have to cover one-half of them, and I do say that it is impossible to do so within ten years even with the best will in the world. Well, I may be told, in that case do not ratify the Convention until you have made sufficient progress so that you can fully implement it within the following ten years, after you have made sufficient progress. I can assure you that my country is not anxious to win commendations, ribbons or medals in regard to ratification of Conventions. We ratify only when we are satisfied that we are in a position to do so, and there is considerable advantage in allowing a flexible type of Convention which will enable underdeveloped countries to ratify even though it may take some years for them to reach the stage which is marked as a normal stage applicable to the more advanced countries. I do not accept the argument that by having this distinction we are doing away with the main principles underlying the Conventions of the I.L.O. If need be, these prin-

ciples will have to be changed. It is not as if, by allowing a country to take advantage of this Article, we were going to have no check whatsoever. Under this Article 3, clause 2 does provide that every Member has to make a declaration and give some explanation as to why it is continuing to take advantage of this clause, which is sometimes called an "escape" clause.

There is also in every country something called public opinion, and when a Convention is ratified public opinion will not be slow to make sure that some progress is made and that the ratification is not treated as a dead letter. This is the reason why I would myself prefer a ratification with sufficient scope given to underdeveloped countries to reach the final stage after a period of years. I have already explained that ten years is not adequate. The fact that some other countries have also added their signatures to the amendment shows that mine is not the only country with feelings in accordance with this amendment.

So far, I have dealt with the case on merits but I must mention also the legal issue which came before the Committee. The legal opinion was that a conditional ratification that a country will fulfil certain obligations within a period of ten years would not be quite in accordance with the principles underlying the Constitution in regard to Conventions. Well, the Committee took the view that it was not bound by the legal opinion and that it could give its own finding on the legal position. It may be that we are not legally bound, but I do venture to think that when a competent legal opinion is given to the effect that the addition of the words which I now propose should be deleted is contrary to law, that should be given full weight.

But I am not putting my case merely on the legal issue; my emphasis is more on the merits themselves, and I do commend this amendment for the consideration of the Conference.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—There has been some confusion and there have been different interpretations of the vote on Article 2 concerning the subamendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegate to the amendment submitted by the Government delegates of Mexico and Colombia. I shall therefore put this amendment to the vote as subamended.

The subamendment of the Norwegian Government has been adopted. We are now

putting to the vote the amendment as subamended by the Norwegian proposal. The Clerk of the Conference will read the amendment.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The amendment refers to Article 2 (a) (ii) and proposes that this subparagraph shall be amended to read: "at least three of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X".

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—Now that it is quite clear exactly on what we are going to vote, we will proceed to take the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The result shows 42 votes in favour and 61 against, with 39 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—The result of the vote is 42 in favour and 61 against, with 39 abstentions. There is therefore no quorum and the amendment is not adopted. The quorum is 106.

Mr. KAISER (*Government delegate, United States*)—In view of the confusion that seems to have arisen over this point I should like to propose that we have a record vote on this amendment.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—The Clerk of the Conference will again read this amendment to avoid confusion.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Conference is asked to vote on the amendment submitted by Mr. Desentis, Government delegate, Mexico, and Mr. González Barros, Government delegate, Colombia, to substitute in Article 2 (a) (ii) the word "three" for "four" and a subamendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegate to add "including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X".

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—In accordance with Article 20, paragraph 2 (1), the President may take a record vote. In this case I am using this prerogative and taking a record vote. We will now take the vote on the amendment and subamendment. The Clerk of the Conference will call the roll.

*Record Vote on the Amendment as amended to Article 2 (a) (ii) of the Proposed
Convention concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security.*

For (61)

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar (G) Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard (G) Mr. Kaufmann (G)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G) Mr. Thors (E)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen (G)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Tata (E)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik (G) Mr. Alamgir (G)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin (G) Mr. Myburgh (G)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. Murray (G)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. Garcia (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G)
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Magalona (G) Mr. Fernandez (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsuke (G)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)

Against (62)

<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Doyle (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Barkatt (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Rutnam (E) Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. George (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Oka (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Tran-Quoc-Buu (W)
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G) Mr. Sumarno (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajni (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)	

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—The result of the vote is as follows : 61 for, 62 against and 53 abstentions. The amendment and subamendment are therefore rejected.

POINT OF ORDER : ARTICLE 20,
PARAGRAPH 2 (1), OF THE STANDING ORDERS
OF THE CONFERENCE

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—Mrs. Andrzejewska, Workers' adviser, Poland, has asked to speak on a point of order.

Interpretation : Mrs. ANDRZEJEWSKA (*Workers' adviser, Poland*)—I should like on a point of order to raise the following question. Why, if the President was in favour of granting Mr. Raynaud, representative of the W.F.T.U., the right to address the Conference did he not have recourse to the provisions of Article 20 2 (1), which states : "Where a quorum has not been obtained in a vote by a show of hands the President may immediately take a record vote".

I would add that there is perhaps still time for the President to avail himself of this provision.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—I would explain to Mrs. Andrzejewska that on the first occasion I did not take a record vote because nobody asked for it. On the second occasion a delegate asked for a record vote and a record vote was taken.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION
CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL
SECURITY (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT (Mr. PONS)—Resuming discussion of the proposed Convention, we now come to Article 2. If there are no objections, Article 2 is adopted in its present form.

(*Article 2 is adopted.*)

(*Mr. Delaney takes the chair.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Mr. Dravid, Government delegate, India, wishes to speak on a point of order.

Mr. DRAVID (*Government delegate, India*)—If I have understood the proceedings correctly, I understand that, as regards Article 2, we first of all proceeded to vote on the Norwegian subamendment to the amendment first submitted, which suggested that the word "three" be substituted for the word "four". The Norwegian subamendment added a certain clause to that amendment. When the Norwegian subamendment was rejected, the original amendment proposed by the Government delegates of Mexico and Colombia should have been considered by the Conference in accordance with constitutional procedure. If this procedure is not adopted, I submit that the Article itself, as it stands in the original draft, should not be put to the vote. The correct procedure should have been first to

put the Norwegian subamendment to the vote, then the amendment submitted by the Mexican and Colombian Government delegates, and then, if this were rejected, to put the original draft to the vote. I submit for the consideration of the Conference that after having rejected the subamendment of the Norwegian delegate, the amendment submitted by the Government delegates of Mexico and Colombia should be considered.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—As I understand the point made by the Indian Government delegate, I must rule that this point of order is not valid.

The position is that the Norwegian subamendment was adopted and the Colombian and Mexican amendment, as amended by the subamendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegate, was rejected; and the original text of Article 2 in the report is maintained.

We will proceed with Article 3. Are there any observations in regard to the amendment before us?

Mr. LEÃO DE VASCONCELOS (*Government adviser, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mr. LEÃO DE VASCONCELOS (*Government adviser, Brazil*)—One of the most important characteristics of the modern world is the constant interest shown in social problems and in social security. The introduction of effective measures of social security and public assistance is considered one of the best means of alleviating misery and of avoiding the emergence of seditious forces.

We therefore feel it is essential to achieve international understanding in the social field and to establish international standards which can even be met by the economically underdeveloped countries. Now that we are conscious that labour legislation, including that relating to social security and social welfare, will have a very great influence on economic life, sacrifices must be made to enable the workers to enjoy a decent standard of living within the economic framework.

Labour legislation and social welfare in Brazil have advanced steadily since 1930 and I am glad to have this opportunity of co-operating in this world assembly, where social security experts have met to discuss minimum standards of social security suitable for inclusion in an international Convention. This Convention, if adopted, will represent a step forward in the evolution of the spirit of human solidarity.

In Brazil our social legislation surpasses in many respects the proposals now before you. Since it was first introduced our social security system has grown steadily in importance; it now protects a very large proportion of the population and provides a very wide variety of benefits. We could therefore comply with most of the parts contained in the Convention, though not with those concerning unemployment and family allowances.

We have no important problems in the field of unemployment because, being a new

country in full growth, we suffer rather from a shortage of manpower. Furthermore, our labour legislation is such that it ensures stability of employment.

As regards family allowances, my country has made considerable efforts to incorporate them in its social security system, but owing to our extensive demographic development and to the many contingencies which social security has to meet, we have been unable to provide for family allowances throughout the country. However, State employees receive a family wage, including a bonus for large families, introduced in 1941; extension of this system to other sectors is under consideration. As has been indicated by President Vargas in public statements and at international conferences, the Brazilian Government is paying constant attention to social security and social insurance.

However, my Government must reserve its position which regard to the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article 3. In view of its vast territory and the density of its population, Brazil might wish to avail itself of the exceptions provided for in that Article for a greater period of time than has been stipulated.

We are convinced that in due course we shall overcome the difficulties facing us in this respect and that we shall reach the maximum standards of social security as a result of the harmony which exists in my country between the Government, the employers and the workers. In this atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill we are sure to reach our objectives.

Before concluding I must, on behalf of the Brazilian Government delegation, give our full support to the amendment proposed with regard to Article 3 of the Convention by the Governments of Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Peru.

By fixing a limit to the period during which recourse may be had to the temporary exceptions provided for in this Article an obstacle will be placed in the way of ratification of the Convention which dealing, as it does, with minimum standards of social security, should be made easy of ratification and application.

Mr. ALAMGIR (*Government delegate, Pakistan*)—My friend Mr. Menon from India has dealt at great length with the merits and the legal aspect of the amendment proposing the deletion of the words imposing a 10-year limit. I will not take up much time, as we have a lot of work still to do and the time at our disposal is short. I would, however, like to make a few observations on behalf of the Pakistan Government in respect of the amendment we have proposed.

As you are aware, Pakistan came into existence only five years ago and we are facing all the gigantic problems which any country must encounter in its initial stages. We are yet in the infant stage of our development and our economy is almost entirely agricultural. Nevertheless, there is a limited measure of social security for industrial workers in our country. This exists in the form of maternity benefits and compensation for industrial injuries and diseases. Hospitalisation is also provided to a limited extent. A Workmen's

State Insurance Bill which seeks to provide cash and medical benefits to employees in the event of sickness, employment injury and maternity has been under consideration by the Government. Our efforts in this direction are, however, limited by our financial resources and by the acute shortage of medical personnel and hospitals. In spite of these obstacles, we are endeavouring to improve our social security measures as visualised in the proposed Convention.

Our Government's earnest desire in this respect is manifested by the fact that we have invited two I.L.O. experts to examine the whole question in the light of conditions prevailing in Pakistan. Until the experts arrive and make their proposals, and the Government takes a decision thereon, it will not be known what pattern of social security may finally emerge. We shall doubtless observe the I.L.O. standards and the proposed Convention irrespective of the fate which our amendment meets, but I wish to make it clear that it will not be possible for us to implement these provisions within the next ten years.

In these circumstances I appeal to the Conference to strengthen our hands and to help ratification by keeping the original text proposed by the Office and by deleting from the text submitted by the Committee the words "but not for a longer period than ten years" in Article 3, paragraph 1, lines 4 and 5 of the proposed text, in accordance with the amendment.

Interpretation : Mr. LEGRAS (*Government adviser, France*)—On behalf of the French Government delegation, I wish to support the amendment to Article 3 submitted by the Government delegates of Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Peru. I am convinced that the amendment made by the Committee to this Article of the proposed Convention on minimum standards of social security will have the opposite effect to that hoped for by the Conference. What is this aim? It is to ensure that underdeveloped countries can put into effect measures which will enable them to fulfil as soon as possible the conditions laid down by the minimum standards. It is certain, however, that in providing for a fixed period within which these measures must be carried out as from the date of ratification the Conference would run counter to this aim. Rather than risk not respecting this period, that is to say, not fulfilling their obligations, certain States Members will no doubt prefer not to undertake such obligations, and will not ratify. What will be the consequences? They will be that the I.L.O. will not be able to follow effectively their efforts in the field of social security nor to understand each year the reasons for which the exceptions will be maintained.

Furthermore, in not making it possible, by means of a reasonable concession, for underdeveloped countries to ratify the Convention, we risk inciting them to isolation, to disinterest in our future work and to withdrawal into themselves, which would be most regrettable for social development.

For a delay perhaps of a few years we risk prolonging indefinitely the period desired,

because the States which have not been given satisfaction will not undertake any obligation, even a moral one. Finally, and you will have considered this aspect of the problem, representatives of the underdeveloped countries will perhaps think that the fixing of such a period is an expression of mistrust. But we should not forget our own experience. It has sometimes taken several decades for the most socially highly developed countries to adopt social security legislation which is today considered satisfactory. Why should we refuse to underdeveloped countries the period which we considered indispensable in the most highly developed States?

I would ask those who, in the Committee, supported Mr. Alexander's amendment which has been embodied in Article 3, to think again of all the aspects of the problem. I am not asking them to retract, because we are all pursuing the same aim, that is, to act in such a way that the underdeveloped countries may as soon as possible be able to apply the minimum standards. But I should like this desire to manifest itself in an atmosphere of confidence. If we say to the representatives of these countries: "We understand your difficulties; we will not fix any period but will have confidence in you and leave it to you to take, as soon as possible, the measures required for the adoption of minimum standards", do you not think they will respond to our appeal? When these countries have ratified, with temporary exceptions, do you think that this ratification will not be a moral obligation on them to ensure as soon as possible, within the limits of their means, that they obtain the results sought by the Conference? Do you think they will wish, in delaying indefinitely the moment when they will be able to fulfil these conditions, to betray the confidence which we have placed in them?

The French Government delegation is prepared to show them this confidence and that is why it will vote in favour of the amendment which, moreover, makes it possible to return to the first draft submitted by the Office.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Having exhausted the list of speakers on the amendment I propose to put to the vote the amendment submitted by the Government delegates of Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Peru.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 113 votes to 32, with 8 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The amendment is adopted. If there are no objections, Article 3 is adopted as amended.

(Article 3, as amended, is adopted.)

ORDER OF WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, wishes to make a statement.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—Before the members leave the Conference Hall this evening and before they make arrangements to leave Geneva after the Conference ends, I wish to announce a decision which has just been taken in the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee has considered the present state of business of the Conference and has reached the conclusion that it will be necessary for the Conference to take certain final votes on Saturday morning.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We will continue the discussion of the proposed Convention concerning Social Security.

(Articles 4 to 17 are adopted *seriatim*.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—An amendment has been submitted proposing to substitute for paragraph 1 of Article 18 the following text:

"1. The benefit specified in Article 16 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that the benefit may be limited—

- (a) to 26 weeks in each case of sickness, in which event it need not be paid for the first 3 days of suspension of earnings; or
- (b) to sickness lasting more than one week, provided that there is no other limitation."

Are there any observations?

Mr. SHARP (*Government delegate, Australia*)—I am quite sure that at this stage of our proceedings brevity will be more effective than eloquence or even lucidity.

We considered this amendment very carefully before we submitted it and I will be as brief as possible in giving you the reasons for it. The United States Government delegate has already indicated some of those reasons. What we seek to do by this amendment is to insert in Article 18 provisions somewhat along the lines of those already provided for, or to be provided, in the case of unemployment benefits in Article 24. In particular, we want to see inserted in Article 18 the seven-day period but only where no other limitation operates in the case of sickness benefit.

I just want to point out very briefly the reasons why this amendment is necessary in the case of the Australian social security system. Most of our awards—in fact, I can say all of our awards—providing for regular employment already contain at least one week's sickness leave. If therefore the period of the first week is to be covered by the benefit provided here, you will have in effect a double coverage which is completely unnecessary. I would add that, as stated before, the seven-day waiting period would only operate where there is no other limitation. In effect, this means that the provision which we seek to insert would have effect in the main only

for those countries where the social security benefits are provided through general finance rather than under an insurance system.

Finally, I do think we must keep this in mind, that the standards provided here are minimum standards and we must give those countries, at least, whose social security systems are already regarded as being reasonable, an opportunity at the outset to be at least in line with the minimum standards. If they are to be excluded, they have no opportunity to ratify the Convention and the use of the term "minimum" becomes absurd.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Is this amendment seconded?

Mr. BOCKETT (*Government delegate, New Zealand*)—I second it.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The amendment being seconded, a vote will be taken on it.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The result is 42 votes for and 63 against, with 36 abstentions.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The quorum not having been obtained, the amendment is not adopted. If there are no objections, I declare Article 18 adopted.

(*Article 18 is adopted.*)

(*Articles 19 to 25 are adopted seriatim.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—An amendment has been submitted by the Norwegian Government delegation, proposing replacement of paragraph 2 of Article 26 by the following text:

"The prescribed age shall be not more than 65 years or such higher age as is fixed by the competent authority, with due regard to the working ability of elderly persons in the country concerned."

I will ask Mr. Kringlebotten, Government adviser, Norway, to comment on this amendment.

Mr. KRINGLEBOTTEN (*Government adviser, Norway*)—It may perhaps be useful to give a short explanation of the amendment presented by the Norwegian Government delegation to paragraph 2 of Article 26. The reason for this is, first, that a similar amendment was defeated in the Committee by a vote of 147 for to 147 against, with 12 abstentions; and secondly, because it deals with a technical question mostly and, so far as I can see, will not weaken the instrument now before us.

Article 26, paragraph 2, deals with the age conditions which shall be prescribed in an old-age pension scheme in order that the scheme may fulfil the requirements of the proposed Convention. As you will see from the text proposed by the Committee, there is a certain flexibility as to the retiring age which may be prescribed and that is a reasonable, and in my opinion also a necessary, provision in view of the fact that the normal working age—and

accordingly the retiring age—varies considerably in the different countries, according to different climatic conditions, general health conditions and other factors. For these reasons we have a great variety of retiring ages prescribed in old-age pension schemes in the different countries—generally from 60 to 70 years. In my own country we have a retiring age of 70 years in our general old-age pension scheme, but we have special schemes covering certain groups of workers where the retiring age is lower because it is considered adequate that they may retire at an earlier age. Therefore, in our old-age scheme for seafarers the retiring age is 60 years; in our corresponding scheme for forestry workers it is 65 years, and for manual State workers it is 68 years. All three groups have the opportunity of retiring with a pension some years before having reached the normal retiring age.

Now according to Article 26 (2) the retiring age may be 65 or a higher age, but if the retiring age is set higher than 65 years a condition is laid down that the number of residents having attained that age may not be less than 10 per cent. of the number of residents under that age but over 15 years, if this scheme shall be considered as being covered by the Convention. I cannot see that there is a sufficient reason—or may I say any reason at all—to maintain this condition. And why is this condition not applied also in connection with the 65-year age limit? There are certainly many countries which could not fulfil a similar 10 per cent. condition based on a retiring age of 65 years. The implementation of this 10 per cent. formula will give different results according to the demographic structure of the population in the different countries and also in the same country, the ratio between people having reached the prescribed retiring age and the active population continuously varying from year to year. Therefore it may well be that a country which fulfils the condition one year will suddenly find its old-age scheme falling outside the Convention—and this not because there has been any change in its legislation, but merely because there has been a change in the demographic structure of the population.

I am aware that the Committee has tried, in the second sentence of paragraph 2, to soften the rigid implementation of the 10 per cent. formula by reducing the percentage to 9 during a certain period; but even this provision shows that the 10 per cent. formula is irrational and in fact has nothing to do with the standards of an old-age pension scheme which shall be covered by the Convention.

The Norwegian Government sees it in this way: that the retiring age is for the legislative authorities in each country to decide, according to the demographic structure of the population and the normal working ability of elderly people. A low retiring age is in itself no asset for a country, either for that country as a whole or for the persons who have reached that age, as long as they still have their working capacity. As a matter of principle, therefore, we have moved this amendment to Article 26 because we are of the opinion that the 10 per cent. formula contained in paragraph 2 is irrelevant when one has to consider the

different aspects which have to be taken into account when the retiring age is decided upon in the different countries. The main point in drafting old-age pension regulations is, in my opinion, not to secure benefits to a certain percentage of people above 15 years, as drafted in Article 26, but to secure pensions to elderly persons whose working ability is so reduced that they should be entitled thereto.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—If there are no more speakers I propose to put the amendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegate to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 65 votes to 52, with 14 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The amendment is adopted. If there are no objections I declare Article 26, as amended, adopted.

(Article 26, as amended, is adopted.)

(Articles 27 to 77 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We will now take the Annex to the Convention. If there are no objections I shall consider it adopted.

(The Annex is adopted.)

DISCUSSION OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF ALIENS AND MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We now come to the proposed resolution. An amendment has been submitted by Mr. Della Chiesa, Workers' adviser, Italy.

Interpretation : Mr. DELLA CHIESA (Workers' adviser, Italy)—I am speaking on behalf of the Italian workers, the workers of a country which, as you know, is very interested in the question of migration and in equality of treatment of non-national residents.

The resolution adopted on this subject in the Convention is not satisfactory to the Workers' members. Article 68 leaves a certain freedom of action to States Members to introduce into their national legislation special provisions concerning non-nationals. However, together with the other Workers' delegates, while understanding that this drafting is due to the difficulties encountered, I had expected and hoped that we might have found a better form of words than the draft resolution.

In this connection, I must recall here that in the Committee I proposed, in agreement with the Italian Government member, that the Governing Body should be invited to place the question of non-national residents and migrants on the agenda of the next session of the Conference. It was thereafter decided that the final text should be drawn up by the Drafting Committee, and the present draft has the effect of putting this off to the Greek kalends.

The amendment to the last paragraph of the proposed resolution cannot be considered

as impeding the Governing Body; the new text remains general but is a little more pressing and expresses better the common desire to see that sufficient consideration is given to this important question.

The Employers disappointed us very much by voting against it in the latter part of the Committee's discussions. I hope that after this disappointment and bitterness there will be some sweetness and consolation. There is a Latin saying *dulcis in fundo*; I should like to know whether this is still true today.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I shall put the amendment to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The result of the vote is as follows: 78 in favour, 9 against and 31 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The amendment is defeated through lack of a quorum.

ADOPTION OF PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Before we vote on the Convention as a whole, I should like to refer back to Article 2, since I have had a request from my fellow Vice-President from the Government group, Mr. Dravid, who apparently disagrees with me in my ruling. I propose to go back to this Article not because I believe that my ruling is contrary to the Standing Orders but because I hope that Mr. Dravid and those who share his view may get complete satisfaction before concluding this discussion of this problem.

I will explain the situation as I understand it. The Norwegian subamendment was adopted. The amendment submitted by the Government delegates of Mexico and Colombia, as amended by the Norwegian subamendment, was rejected by a record vote. The amendment itself was not put to the vote and I am prepared now to put it to the vote. Are there any objections to that procedure? There is an objection.

Interpretation : Mr. PEYROT (Employers' adviser, Italy)—I wish to make a few remarks on the subject of this procedure. The subamendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegate was adopted. Thereupon, the amendment submitted by the Mexican Government no longer exists as such. It only exists as subamended by the Norwegian subamendment. Therefore, we can no longer vote on the amendment as it previously stood.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—Since there has been an objection to my effort to give satisfaction to my colleague, I must retain my ruling as originally made when we were discussing Article 2. I now propose to put the Convention, as amended, as a whole, to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The Convention is adopted by 109 votes to 22, with 14 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The Convention is adopted. It will now be referred to the Drafting Committee of the Conference.

ADOPTION OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION
CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF ALIENS AND
MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE FIELD
OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I now put the resolution to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The proposed resolution is adopted by 125 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I should like to take this opportunity to express, on your behalf, our appreciation to Mr. Doublet and Mr. Alexander for the excellent report and the services they have rendered.

(The Conference adjourned at 7.30 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Gonçalves
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Rowe (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Jordan (substitute for Mr. Thom)	<i>Ecuador :</i> Mr. Paredes	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Peyrot (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Storti (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Heinrici (substitute for Mr. Björck) Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Browaldh (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Nordenskiöld (substitute for Mr. Sölvén)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Hammerl) Mr. Rudolph Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Tatsuke (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Saxer (substitute for Mr. Rappard) Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Dubois (substitute for Mr. Kuntschen) Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troolet Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. Grande (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Legras (substitute for Mr. Hauck) Mr. de Lagarde (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Texier (substitute for Mr. Jouhaux)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Murehison (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Ross (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. McLean (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substitute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Kirim
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Mora (substitute for Mr. Peralta)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Raymakers (substitute for Mr. Fennema) Mr. Korte (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Dennys (substitute for Mr. Buckland) Mr. Taylor (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Bartlett (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson	<i>United States :</i> Mrs. Perkins (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Mr. Myers (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Calhoun (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerinn) Mr. Henriksen (substitute for Mr. Östberg) Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Bayce (substitute for Mr. Pons) Mr. Troitiño
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Tata Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. del Pino (substitute for Mr. Cowley) Mr. Cofiño	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau Mr. Tran-Thanh-Buu
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Kolský	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Juhl-Christensen (substitute for Mr. Dreyer) Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mrs. Kalinowska (substitute for Mr. Licki) Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas	
	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. McCarthy (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle		

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Tennfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Tessier (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

TWENTY-THIRD SITTING

Thursday, 26 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

THIRTEENTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Malik, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Thirteenth Report of that Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan ; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I formally propose that the Thirteenth Report of the Selection Committee, which has been printed and circulated to you, be adopted.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, the Thirteenth Report of the Selection Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

RATIFICATION OF CONVENTION BY CUBA

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference has an announcement to make.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Conference is informed that the Director-General registered on 25 June 1952 the ratification by Cuba of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948. This brings the total number of States Members which have ratified this Convention to 14.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MATERNITY PROTECTION²

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now deal with the report of the Committee on Maternity Protection. Will Mr. de Sandoval,

Chairman of the Committee, and Miss Stenberg, the Reporter, kindly come to the platform for presentation of the Committee's report.

Interpretation : Mr. de SANDOVAL (*Government delegate, Cuba ; Chairman of the Committee on Maternity Protection*)—I will try to abide by the recommendation for brevity which has been made in regard to delegates' statements in the plenary sittings.

When the danger which had threatened humanity during the first world war had been averted, the I.L.O. adopted in Washington six international Conventions of a fundamental nature. One of the most important concerned maternity.

Later, when it came to ratifying this last Convention and incorporating it into national legislation the good intentions and the idealistic stimulus of Part XIII of the Peace Treaty of Versailles were forgotten.

The Committee on Maternity Protection entrusted with the task of revising Convention No. 3 understood that its mission entailed a double purpose—to improve the Convention and to facilitate its ratification. The Committee tried, in an anti-discriminatory and a wide sense, to apply the basic and scientific principles of social justice, among which is that of the working mother's care for her children, to new sectors, profiting from the experience gained during the last 33 years. The proposed Convention and Recommendation represent agreements arrived at, with full regard for high social and economic principles, after discussions in which experts from the three groups and from the Office took part, the functions falling to the Committee on Social Security and to the Committee on Maternity Protection having been duly co-ordinated.

Nevertheless, as it is almost impossible to arrive at uniformity on really important matters, the main points which could not be settled will be brought before the plenary sitting for final solution.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

² See Third Part, Appendix X.

Miss Stenberg, Netherlands Government delegate and Reporter of the Committee, will present the report which was approved at the meeting the day before yesterday.

Miss STEMBERG (*Government delegate, Netherlands; Reporter of the Committee on Maternity Protection*)—As you all know, the Maternity Protection Convention is one of the oldest Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference. It was adopted in 1919 and has been in force since 13 June 1921. Up to now it has been ratified by only 18 States and, so far as I know, judging from the various reports of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, its application by some States has not been wholly in conformity with its requirements. Still, the Convention has done good work and has contributed to the development of provisions for maternity protection in many countries. As the Convention is already more than 30 years old, you can understand that in those 30 years there has been considerable development in this field. No wonder that the Governing Body placed the question of the revision of this Convention on the agenda of this session of the Conference.

The revision has had as its aim to make the Convention more flexible and to bring it more into harmony with the ideas nowadays prevailing on the subject. The first thing the Committee did was to widen the scope of the Convention. In addition to industrial undertakings, commercial undertakings, agriculture and all kinds of non-industrial undertakings are brought within the scope of the Convention—even domestic workers and homeworkers. The question will arise whether the Committee has not taken too great a step all at once.

The text proposed by the Office gave Governments the possibility, under Article 7, of excluding from the application of the Convention several non-industrial occupations. The Committee was not in favour of the possibility of such an exclusion, but decided that the Governments should be able to avail themselves of temporary exceptions in respect of domestic work for wages in private households, of women wage earners working at home, and of other occupations. These exceptions are of a temporary nature, as the Government is bound after some years to apply the Convention in respect of these occupations.

Article 2 provides expressly that in the case of women covered by the Convention no distinction may be made as regards age, nationality, race or creed. This was not so in the old Convention.

Article 3 provides for maternity leave. This is fixed at 12 weeks, six of which are obligatory and must be taken after confinement. The benefits provided for in the revised Convention are more precisely defined and a little higher than those provided for in the existing Convention.

The Office text contained an Article (Article 8) providing that Members which, before the date of adoption of the revised Convention, had laws and regulations on maternity protection the scope of which was not as

wide as that of the Convention could limit the application of the Convention to the undertakings as defined by their legislation. That Article has not been accepted by the Committee.

A supplementary Recommendation is also proposed which elaborates the principles of the Convention.

As the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security, dealt with by the Committee concerned, also contained some provisions respecting maternity, our Committee took notice of the decisions of that Committee.

It is unnecessary to tell you that the matter dealt with in the revised Convention is of great importance not only for women but also for their children and consequently for the future population of any country. It merits, therefore, the careful consideration of the Conference.

Before I leave this platform I must tell you that the report does not contain anything about final articles; I propose to you, therefore, that if and when the report and the Convention have been adopted, the Conference should be presented with this resolution:

“The Conference instructs its Drafting Committee to insert in the text to be submitted to it for final vote, in replacement of Articles 5 to 12 of the Maternity Protection Convention (No. 3), 1919, final provisions in the form last approved by the Conference.”

Mr. SHAHEED (*Government adviser, Pakistan*)—Before a vote is taken on this proposed Convention I consider it necessary to express in a few words our attitude towards it. I notice that some amendments have been received only this morning, which we have not had time to study; therefore, what I say will not apply to the amendments.

Coming from a country which has had in operation for decades maternity benefit legislation which I daresay is in certain respects in advance of that in some of the highly developed countries, we were quite enthusiastic about the proposed Convention and would have voted for it if a couple of amendments submitted by my Government with a view to making the text flexible in regard to methods of payment of benefits had been accepted. Article 4 of the Office text provided for maternity benefits to be paid either out of social security funds or out of public funds. Our amendment, moved at the committee stage, sought to make it possible for employers also to pay the benefits. I explained during the discussion of the amendment that, in view of the fact that in certain countries there might be neither social security schemes in operation nor any immediate possibility of making arrangements for payments out of public funds, due to economic considerations, the best way to meet the situation would be to let the employer pay the benefits. I also explained that such legislative measures in my country are taken only in consultation with representatives of the interests concerned, including employers, at the tripartite level, and are on the whole working very satisfactorily. Therefore, until such time as the introduction of social security schemes and schemes for meeting expenses out

of public funds was found feasible we should not shut out the possibility of ratifying the Convention on the basis of the existing practice of payment by employers.

Despite these explanations, however, the Committee not only rejected the amendment but made the following addition to the text of Article 4: "In no case shall the employer be individually liable for the cost of such benefits due to women employed by him", thereby making it clearly impossible for employers to bear this responsibility under the Convention.

Further, the Committee decided to delete Article 8 of the Office text, which provided for the possibility of exempting certain industrial undertakings from the application of the Convention. Delegates will notice that the definition of "industrial undertakings" in Article 1 of the Convention is extremely wide, and it would be administratively impossible for underdeveloped countries to apply the Convention to the unorganised industrial undertakings. Article 8 of the Office text very wisely took into account the different stages of development in the different regions of the world. In fact the wide scope of the original Convention of 1919 was one of the reasons why it received only 18 ratifications during the last three decades. After the deletion of Article 8 and the rejection of our amendment to Article 4, I doubt if the new Convention will receive as many ratifications during the next 50 years.

We feel that the Committee did not realise that even with the amendment proposed by us the Office text involved a substantial advance over existing conditions in most countries and that ratifications of the Convention would clearly have benefited the women workers. Progress does not lie in passing Conventions at international gatherings and then putting them into cold storage at the national level.

We can expect better results by being more practical. This is an international gathering and we are supposed to adopt minimum common standards. In doing so, the strength of the weaker links of the chain must be taken into account if the intention is to keep the entire chain strong. At the same time our Government would not like to impede the progress of advanced countries and, if they sincerely feel that they can adopt the provisions of the present text, we wish them God-speed. As for ourselves, we sincerely feel that, due to the reasons explained, we shall find it impossible to implement the provisions as a whole and, therefore, to ratify the Convention. We shall, however, endeavour to implement as many of its provisions as possible as we are committed in our five-year programme of legislative action in the field of labour to improve our maternity benefit legislation.

We shall therefore abstain at the time of voting. I may add in passing—in respect of the amendment proposing that the existing text of Article 4, paragraph 8 should be replaced by the following: "8. The cost of the maternity benefits to be paid to women workers shall be charged to social security funds or to the employers concerned, or to employers' insurance funds supplemented by social security funds."—that it is a good

attempt to meet the point of our amendment to Article 4 but, without the revision of the original text of paragraph 8, we still feel that it would be difficult for underdeveloped countries to ratify this Convention.

Mr. WIJENAIKE (*Government delegate, Ceylon*)—As far as my country is concerned, I regret I shall not be able to support the proposed revision of the Maternity Protection Convention as contained in the report of the Committee on Maternity. I am unable to support the proposed revision of the Convention not because my Government is opposed to the principles which underlie it but because the proposed revision of the Convention, as it is now framed, is an utterly unworkable instrument. The existing Convention is considered too rigid but the proposed revised version is even worse. It should not be forgotten that although the existing Convention was adopted as far back as 1919 it has been ratified by only 18 States so far. I doubt whether any Member of this Organisation, even if it ratifies the proposed Convention, if adopted, will be able to implement fully its provisions. I am certain that none of the underdeveloped countries of Asia will be able to ratify it in the foreseeable future. The full implementation of the revised Convention as proposed will involve the full-time attention of the greater part of any labour inspectorate.

The Office text was, in general, eminently reasonable and sufficiently flexible as far as the underdeveloped countries were concerned. Its scope was limited and did not include agriculture, domestic servants and women workers at home. I am really at a loss to know how the maternity protection of domestic servants at home can ever be successfully implemented.

Article 8 of the Office text, which took into consideration the difficulties of underdeveloped countries, was deleted by the Committee despite an emphatic plea for its retention by the underdeveloped countries. Under Article 8 of the Office text it was possible for underdeveloped countries to limit the period of maternity leave to eight weeks. In my own country, under our maternity benefit legislation, a woman is entitled to cash benefits for a period of six weeks and leave for a period of eight weeks. Under our proposed social insurance scheme a woman will be entitled to cash benefits for a period of eight weeks in the occupations covered by the scheme. Pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care and qualified midwives and medical practitioners are also available free of charge, as part of the general health services.

I sincerely feel that the Committee has been carried away by its own enthusiasm. Little or no consideration has been taken of the point of view of underdeveloped countries. Almost every proposal of any consequence made by the representatives of the underdeveloped countries in order that the proposed revised Convention might be made a workable instrument was defeated.

I cannot help but say that there is a growing sense of frustration among the underdeveloped countries. We also are as keenly interested as the rest of the Members of this Organisation

in playing our part in furthering its objects. The aims of the social policy of underdeveloped countries are today identical with the aims of the social policy of the more advanced countries. We, however, have to repair the neglect of centuries. Progress must necessarily be to some extent slow. My experience of the work of this Organisation now convinces me that the time has come when we must seriously consider the introduction of regional Conventions. Conventions having world-wide application in the present state of unequal economic development in various parts of the world appear to be more and more meaningless. I make this special plea because otherwise I feel the working masses of the underdeveloped countries may lose their faith in this great Organisation when it adopts Conventions containing standards which they themselves are fully aware cannot be attained by their Governments, however progressive these Governments may be.

At all costs the danger of such a situation being created should be avoided for the future peace and well-being of the world.

Interpretation : Mrs. TROISGROS (*Workers' adviser, France*)—As a representative of the French women workers, I belong to a country which fortunately is not—as Report VII shows—the only one in which the national legislation, through social security and regulations concerning employment and re-employment, accords maternity protection before and after confinement.

Analysing the impression of an attempt to “go slow” which one got in the work of the Committee, we find the following paradox. Not all representative elements of these advanced countries always act in accordance with logic, which would require them to be the first to show what it was possible to achieve in their own countries and to collaborate as fully as they could to promote, in their own national interests, equivalent social advancement at the international level, thereby carrying out the very purpose for which assemblies of this kind meet.

The recognition of the right to work of everyone, man or woman, must not preclude recognition of the natural fact that, biological conditions being as they are, women in every country, whether they are housewives or working for their living, have the same right to live in humane, and therefore normal and guaranteed, conditions.

It is, moreover, inconceivable that children should be deliberately penalised from their conception onwards because their mothers are wage earners subject to a strict, implacable labour system.

All this is so true, so essentially inherent in humanity, that the founders of the I.L.O., from its very constitution in 1919, felt the need to prepare a Convention concerning maternity protection. Thirty-three years have passed. It is scarcely surprising that the Governing Body has decided that this Convention requires revision. We the workers have placed in the word “revision” all our hopes for improvement. Some countries, taking into account their existing legislation, consider

that the flexibility given to the revised Convention and to the Recommendation submitted to you will give them the possibility of ratifying the Convention and of strengthening it.

For the moment we leave aside our more advanced requirements for an international text and, considering the position of all the workers in these countries, we are voting in favour of the Convention and the Recommendation submitted.

But, as a representative of the French women workers, I would like to express our astonishment that it has not yet been possible, since the amendment submitted to the committee by the Belgian Government member was rejected, to transfer from the Recommendation to the Convention the clauses which should not merely recommend the prohibition of but completely forbid overtime for pregnant women and their employment on night work, dangerous, unhealthy and very hard work. To provide maternity leave and yet to allow pregnant women workers to work in these conditions seems incomprehensible.

In ordinary life, and particularly as regards one's own folks, there is no need for special legislation to make one object to a pregnant woman having to stand for long periods or to lift heavy weights. Respect for these principles is taught to the young. Are we to suppose that in undertakings these elementary principles will give rise to complicated discussions in order to discover whether the work is suitable or not?

We can only hope that good faith and goodwill will play their part in both cases, but we think that this Convention will lose all its effectiveness if we remove its most important and really consistent part.

It is not without value to emphasise here that where such provisions have been incorporated in national legislation the intention has obviously been to protect the health of the mother, but still more to safeguard the future by protecting the physical health of the future citizen and worker, which is essential for the continuance of the economic life of a country. We have—it is very clear—to continue to develop in all countries of the world a mentality which will fully understand that it is necessary in the case of a woman who is expecting a child to disregard for a time certain economic principles—even the profit motive—which are rigidly held and which threaten motherhood.

I think it necessary to remind you that the child is, when all is said and done, the most important and the most beautiful product of humanity. For their living contribution, for this intellectual and economic capital which a mother brings to society, all working mothers, whether they are housewives or work for their living, should be regarded as the primary workers for human progress. The principles on which the work of the Committee on Maternity has been based are precisely those of the workers whom I represent—logic and a sense of proportion. The principle of not regarding the child as subordinate to the undertaking is fully satisfactory to us. The independence of the child, by the free choice of a crèche if necessary, is one of a number of freedoms which the women of my country—and no doubt

of many others—have no intention of allowing to disappear.

Some women work voluntarily, because of the circumstances that exist. Others go to work because the family is too poor. Some want to bring up their children at home, normally. I do not think I am being irrelevant in calling on the I.L.O., which has always shown great interest in the life of the working classes, to think of that. I ask it to consider existing family conditions of workers throughout the world and, in the light of experiments now under way—family allowances, etc.—to work to give these families a better chance.

Time is short. Besides the threat of war there is often, for the working class family, the danger that the breadwinner cannot provide by his work and from his wages decent living conditions, proper education or even, sometimes, decent housing.

Can we go on talking of progress, of justice, of social peace, when we all know perfectly well that the unrest can be explained and can be avoided?

We consider that it is no longer possible to be satisfied with mere declarations; we must translate these words into deeds.

We have before us a text for approval. We have not forgotten the pioneers of the I.L.O. who were the architects of Convention No. 3 of 1919. Their memory is still alive: it calls on us to show ourselves their worthy successors.

Dame Florence HANCOCK (*Workers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—In view of the state of the agenda, my remarks will be very brief. I want to say that the Workers' group of the Committee supports the Convention. We are not satisfied that it is all we would have liked it to be; nevertheless it is a very good step forward as compared with the Convention now in operation. I am going to content myself therefore, having said that, with dealing with the amendments before the Conference.

The amendment proposed by the Employers' delegate of Brazil is seeking to put into the Convention something which the Committee rejected—namely, the placing upon employers of the liability for paying maternity benefits. I realise that this system is in operation in some countries and it may be that because there are no social insurance schemes and no national funds employers have the liability or have accepted the liability. Nevertheless, the Workers' group of the Committee feels that to put into a Convention the principle of the liability of employers to pay maternity benefits is likely to operate against the employment of women and is, in our judgment, discriminatory against women. We shall therefore oppose the amendment which is now before you.

The amendment proposed by the Government delegate of Sweden seeks to take out of the Convention paragraph 2 of Article 5, which reads as follows: "Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly." I do not think the Conference needs me to express the Workers' reasons for opposing this. We shall oppose that amendment.

The amendment proposed by the Government delegates of Canada, Cuba, France,

Indonesia, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru and the United States refers to Article 7. Article 7 of the Office text sought to exclude certain classes of workers from the scope of the Convention. The Workers' group in the Committee was not at all happy; it felt that the exclusion of certain workers was far too definite, and it seemed to us to undo what we had tried to do in earlier articles of the Convention. The Workers' group therefore moved an amendment in the Committee to provide for progressive measures of application, instead of using the word "exclude". This, unfortunately, did not find support in the Committee and, in order to try to reach as large a measure of agreement as possible, the Workers' representatives withdrew the suggested words and substituted "temporary exception" from the application of the Convention. This was adopted by the Committee. The amendment proposes deletion of the word "temporary". Nevertheless, the Workers' group has authorised me to say that, having regard to the fact that the amendment I am discussing does propose a new paragraph to Article 7 which would at least ensure that the Governing Body, at the end of five years, should submit a report to the Conference—that is, limiting to some extent the article—we are prepared, as a Workers' group, to accept the amendment, and will vote in favour of it.

I would, in conclusion, just commend the Convention to the Conference. I hope that having regard to the great importance of motherhood the Conference will find itself able to support the Convention.

Interpretation: Fr. STOKMAN (*Government delegate, Netherlands*)—If I now speak from this rostrum it is certainly not to plead in favour of a Convention which recommends itself. My intention is to emphasise the observations made by Mr. van den Daele, Minister of Labour of Belgium, and by Mrs. Troisgros, French Workers' representative, on the often distressing problem of working mothers.

Too many mothers are compelled to seek and accept salaried employment in order to be able to supply the material needs of their families. During the hours of work the children are entrusted to crèches, of which establishment by the States is being increasingly requested. According to a report of a World Health Organization Committee of Experts on Mental Health, this separation of mother and child, especially during the early years of the child's life, has been proved to have disastrous consequences on the health of the child and on his psychological and physical development.

Allow me to quote certain extracts from this W.H.O. report. On page 17 of the French text of technical report No. 31 of the W.H.O. it says: "At the present stage the social and financial policies of many nations seem to consist in encouraging mothers of children of pre-school age to work outside their homes for national production. The establishment of crèches and day nurseries often constitutes one of the means used by Government policy to encourage this tendency. Evidently only the national Governments are competent to evaluate the importance of industrial produc-

tion. However"—and this is the strong conviction of the Committee—"decisions which would have demanded weighing the needs of the child against those of national production have been arrived at with a complete ignorance of the price paid by the future generation, definitely harmed in its effective development."

On page 13 of the French text the report of the experts gives the following warning to the responsible authorities for social policy: "The administration of social legislation often forgets a fact which constitutes an additional reason for maintaining the close bond between mother and child. To support the child separately from his mother often in the long run proves much more costly than giving direct financial assistance to the mother." In these circumstances, I consider it necessary to take into account the social measures which should be taken in order to put an end to the intolerable situation in which many mothers find themselves, and to promote a social and economic policy which would be more healthy, more humane, and, in general, more favourable to society itself.

In the Declaration of Philadelphia of the I.L.O. the principle was affirmed that "all human beings . . . have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and with equal opportunity".

But for many working mothers this right does not in fact exist. They are compelled to compromise and even to sacrifice either their spiritual development and that of their children or else the economic security of their families. They have no choice; they have neither the freedom nor the dignity which the I.L.O. wishes to guarantee to every human being.

Allow me, therefore, to urge that the I.L.O. studies the problems of working mothers, and their physical, psychological, economic and social consequences, as much for the sake of the working women themselves as for the children, the family and society.

The study of these problems seems to be invested with particular urgency for the economically underdeveloped countries, to which we wish to give technical assistance. In the past, only too often, economic development was paid for by the health of human beings and by the destruction of families. That is not social progress but social retrogression.

In 1947 the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution on women's work in general, and in that resolution the Governing Body was invited to entrust the I.L.O. with the task of undertaking the study of all the problems of women's work. I am well aware of the fact that the I.L.O. Division entrusted with the study of these problems is overburdened and that it is doing everything in its power to carry out the research which has already been undertaken in this field. I am grateful for that, but allow me to request that this aspect of the problem be dealt with without delay. If I lay emphasis on the heartbreaking problem of working mothers I do so because I am convinced that this problem is of exceptional importance, and

because I know that the I.L.O. is fully prepared to contribute to the study of its solution.

Mrs. KALINOWSKA (*Government adviser, Poland*)—We have a Convention concerning maternity protection before us, and my delegation wants to point out that more and more women are filling the workers' ranks. We know that woman has asserted herself not only as a good and conscientious worker but also as a faithful companion of the working man, struggling side by side with him for freedom and social justice. We know that in capitalist countries women are discriminated against, that women are often denied the right to work, thus forming, along with other groups of workers, the reserve army of labour. We know that in those countries women are, as far as possible, denied access to qualified employment and kept in this way at a lower level of knowledge and consciousness. We know that, where employed, women are paid lower wages. All this is done so that they may be doubly exploited, so that differences may be created within the working masses which will divide their ranks and weaken them. But the working masses strive towards unity and equality; they strive towards liberation. This is the trend and perspective of history, and history goes forward, not backward.

In my country the working class took the power, it liberated the nation, and it freed women and gave them their right to live and work in full equality. It gave woman at the same time the possibility of expanding her own creative abilities for her own benefit—the benefit of her family and society as a whole.

In the view of my delegation protection of maternity is a logical consequence and a prerequisite of woman's right to work and to receive equal pay—woman, who by her nature, is a mother. I will not dwell upon the significance to society of this fact because it is sufficiently clear, but in the Committee we heard the Employers contend with regard to almost any provision of the proposed Convention we had before us that maternity protection is contradictory to equality of pay. Unfortunately, there were representatives among the Workers' group who, on several occasions, some consciously and some unconsciously, let themselves be impressed, and retreated before this utterly false contention which is contrary to the basic rights and interests not only of the working woman but also of the whole working class. Indeed, this apparent concern for equality of women wage earners on the part of the Employers was simply an attempt to conceal, by high-sounding phrases, their true concern for profit. When women demanded equal wages, when on the initiative of our delegation the I.L.O. discussed the Equal Remuneration Convention, then the Employers said they could not agree to that because maternity protection raises the cost of production. These were at least plain and frank words—cost of production—but now the Employers say they cannot agree to maternity protection because they cherish equality. The facts are that in the capitalist world women have neither equal pay nor adequate maternity protection.

My delegation is fully aware that in conditions of capitalism woman cannot achieve her full right to work and to be protected as a mother or her full right to equality. But as a worker she strives for this and she should be actively supported by the whole working class. Actually, she is being supported by all conscious workers. From the International Labour Organisation we should also expect genuine action in this respect. Unfortunately, the result of the Committee's work does not fulfil these expectations.

We were convened here in order to revise a Maternity Protection Convention which is 33 years old. It would be thought that revision after 33 years would mean improvement and progress. As a matter of fact, during those years revolutionary changes took place in the world, and, besides the Soviet Union, several Peoples' Democracies came into being where the working classes were in power and laid the foundations for a happy, peaceful future for their peoples and their children.

The delegation of my country, feeling its deep solidarity with the working masses of the world, conscious of its duty to assist them in their struggle towards better living and working conditions, came to this Conference with a number of constructive proposals that could have improved the Convention concerning maternity protection. Our proposals were based on experience. In my country women enjoy their right to work in equality, and thanks to far-reaching maternity protection they can take full advantage of their free access to all types of qualified work, to all types of courses, schools and professional training. In my country 17,000 women occupy leading posts in production which they have obtained only within the last three years; moreover, 15,000 women are members of administrative councils from the lowest to the highest level, including Parliament and the Supreme Court.

But the proposals we brought were for more modest standards of maternity protection than those existing in my own country. They were adapted to the conditions in another economic and social system and, in our amendment to Article 7, we considered also the possibilities and conditions of underdeveloped countries. We proposed that within the term of maternity leave there should be a compulsory period of two weeks' pre-natal leave in order to protect the health of both the mother and the child. The necessity for pre-natal rest from work has been confirmed not only by practice and by medical authorities but also, and unfortunately in vain, by a medical practitioner who was a delegate to this very Committee of ours. In order to enable the woman worker to take advantage of her leave in the security to which she is entitled as a mother, for the good of the future generation, we asked that she should receive her full normal wage during her leave. In order to enable her to resume work without detriment to her child, we asked for nursing facilities to be provided by the place of employment and for the establishment of nurseries where more than 100 women worked in a factory. We also deemed it the right of a mother to have her employment safeguarded throughout her pregnancy and not only during her leave.

These were our proposals, which are realistic requirements if our Convention is to make some progress in comparison with that of 1919. But during our work at the Conference we witnessed something which is today a general trend in the capitalist world, namely, an increased attack on workers' rights, an attack which is closely linked with military preparations. We witnessed a tendency to set the clock of history back by more than 33 years. All of our basic proposals were rejected as well as an important amendment proposed by the representative of Belgium which was designed to alleviate the strain on a working mother at her place of employment. What is more, the new text in Article 5 concerning nursing breaks is a backward step in comparison with the previous Convention.

On the initiative of the Swedish Government delegate, even the Recommendation was weakened.

The delegate of the United States—of that highly industrialised country which spends billions of dollars on armaments and yet possesses meagre maternity protection in only four out of its 48 States and, as is well known, has even up to the present no social health insurance—showed considerable concern for the so-called flexibility of the Convention, driven by humanitarian benevolence towards underdeveloped countries and a desire to assure the greatest possible number of ratifications! As to ratification, this assembly is certainly aware that the United States itself had ratified, up to 1949, six out of the 98 international labour Conventions then in existence, although I am sure the majority of them are flexible enough and many of them contain the colonial clause.

Concern over ratifications was amply used by some delegates as a threat and pressure on the Committee whenever progressive proposals were put forward. It was also used during the discussion we had in the plenary sitting yesterday. As I had to repeat on several occasions during the debates in the Committee, a logical consequence of the mere consideration for ratification by all countries, in accordance with their hitherto existing laws and practices, would lead to the adoption of an international document which would be a sheer formality, stating neatly (and petrifying) the present situation on the lowest level. This would result in a paradox whereby we would not only not go forward but would take another step backward in international legislation with regard to conditions already existing in many countries.

I submit that this is a sad mockery, a waste of time and effort, which cannot add to the prestige of the International Labour Organisation. I think it is self-evident that the Convention should be an incentive for better laws and practices; another basis for those for whom they should be destined, that is the workers, to demand their rights. The attitude of the Employers who take the opposite view is conditioned by their class interests, but what I regret to see—and feel compelled to point out—is the attitude of some representatives of the Workers' group who acted contrary to the interests of the workers they represent. I will quote only one very important example.

The Workers' group included in Article 1, as it should have done, non-industrial, agricultural and home wage earners, only to exclude them in Article 7, which ought to have been voted down because it resembles in a surprising manner the notorious colonial non-application clause. It was argued all the time in the Committee that underdeveloped countries, for whom it would be difficult to adhere immediately to complex obligations, should be given the possibility of gradually applying the Convention. Consequently, then, if Article 7 was designed for anyone at all it was designed for those very countries. But as it stood, and as it was finally amended by the Workers' group itself, it permitted any and all countries to exclude from maternity benefits, with one stroke of the pen, all those women workers who apparently have been included in the Convention. This is not merely a loophole; it simply does away with the obligation on the part of any country, developed or not, to provide maternity benefits for masses of unprotected and exploited women. When my delegation tried to limit this Article in precise wording to what had been meant in the discussion, *i.e.*, both in time and area of the underdeveloped countries, the representatives of the Workers' group not only did not accept our amendment but overnight, under some more pressure, they retreated even further from their own previous position and accepted a more rounded legalistic formula of exclusion.

I do not think those representatives on their return home will find it easy to face the persons who sent them.

This example is maybe the most important because it affects so many women workers and because it was such an obvious retreat. But there were other progressive proposals that were voted down and reactionary amendments that were upheld, either over the abstention, or even with the active support of those representatives of the Workers' group of whom I was speaking.

My delegation believes that it is not by timidity and yielding to pressure that workers achieve better conditions, and it also believes that this is not the way that the International Labour Organisation will fulfil its task as prescribed by its Constitution. But we believe that this wrong will be righted by those whom it immediately concerns and who, thanks to their consciousness and strength, will know how to struggle and win better conditions.

FINAL VOTE ON THE CONVENTION CONCERNING HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now interrupt the discussion of the report of the Committee on Maternity for the final vote on the Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture. The text submitted by the Drafting Committee has been printed and circulated to you.

*Final Vote on the Convention concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture**For (124)*

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi (G)	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar (G) Mr. Kafai (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G)
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G) Mr. Solari (E) Mr. Espejo (W)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G) Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Doyle (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey (G) Mr. Mazhar (G) Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson (G) Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsuke (G) Mr. Oka (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak (G) Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar (G)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. George (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Benítez (E) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Smith (G) Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G) Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Dahlberg (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitíño (W)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Soberón (G) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)
	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G) Mr. Sumarno (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh (G) Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G)

Against (16)

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Burne (E)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Taha (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. O'Brien (E)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. McCormick (E)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Rutnam (E)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Campanella (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen (E)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Ling (E)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Elias (E)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Chau (E)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 124 for, 16 against,

with 51 abstentions. The Convention is therefore adopted.

FINAL VOTE ON THE RECOMMENDATION
CONCERNING HOLIDAYS WITH PAY
IN AGRICULTURE

now take the final vote on the Recommendation
concerning holidays with pay in agriculture.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall

Final Vote on the Recommendation concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture

For (136)

<i>Afghanistan</i> :	<i>Czechoslovakia</i> :	<i>Iran</i> :	<i>Philippines</i> :
Mr. Latifi (G)	Mr. Roháč (G)	Mr. Afchar (G)	Mr. Lanting (G)
	Mr. Plešek (G)	Mr. Kafai (G)	Mr. Fernandez (W)
<i>Argentina</i> :	Mr. Gref (E)	Mr. Keyvan (W)	
Mr. Puente (G)	Mr. Kolský (W)		<i>Poland</i> :
Mr. Lescure (G)		<i>Iraq</i> :	Mr. Chajn (G)
Mr. Solari (E)	<i>Denmark</i> :	Mr. Mohamed (W)	Mr. Licki (G)
Mr. Espejo (W)	Mr. Bramsnaes (G)		Mr. Farnik (E)
	Mr. Dreyer (G)	<i>Ireland</i> :	Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Australia</i> :	Mr. Rise (E)	Mr. Maguire (G)	
Mr. Sharp (G)	Mr. Nielsen (W)	Mr. Murray (G)	<i>Portugal</i> :
Mr. Shaw (G)		Mr. Doyle (W)	Mr. Gonçalves (W)
Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Dominican Republic</i> :		
	Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Israel</i> :	<i>Sweden</i> :
<i>Austria</i> :		Mr. Berinson (G)	Mr. Björck (G)
Mr. Hammerl (G)	<i>Egypt</i> :	Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	Mr. Eckerberg (G)
Mr. Boehm (W)	Ismail Bey (G)	Mr. Moriel (E)	Mr. Bergenström (E)
	Mr. Mazhar (G)		Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Belgium</i> :	Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy</i> :	<i>Switzerland</i> :
Mr. van den Daele (G)		Mr. Del Bo (G)	Mr. Rappard (G)
Mr. Troclet (G)	<i>Finland</i> :	Mr. Purpura (G)	Mr. Kaufmann (G)
Mr. de Bock (W)	Mr. Wuori (G)	Mr. Pastore (W)	Mr. Mōri (W)
	Mr. Jylhä (G)	<i>Japan</i> :	
<i>Brazil</i> :	Mr. Karikoski (E)	Mr. Teramoto (G)	<i>Syria</i> :
Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G)	Mr. Sumu (W)	Mr. Tatsuke (G)	Mr. Joukhadar (G)
Mr. da Rocha Leão (G)		Mr. Oka (W)	Mr. Sioufi (G)
Mr. Pires (E)	<i>France</i> :	<i>Liberia</i> :	Mr. Cachecho (W)
	Mr. Ramadier (G)	Mr. Tamba (G)	<i>Turkey</i> :
<i>Burma</i> :	Mr. Hauck (G)		Mr. Azak (G)
Mr. Maung (G)	Mr. Walino (E)	<i>Luxembourg</i> :	Mr. Saymen (G)
Mr. Myint (G)	Mr. Jouhaux (W)	Mr. Biever (G)	Mr. Kirim (W)
		Mr. Wilwertz (G)	<i>Union of South Africa</i> :
<i>Canada</i> :	<i>Federal Republic of Germany</i> :	Mr. Krier (W)	Mr. George (W)
Mr. Sverdlow (W)	Mr. Sauerborn (G)		
	Mr. Eckert (G)	<i>Mexico</i> :	<i>United Kingdom</i> :
<i>Ceylon</i> :	Mr. Bührig (W)	Mr. Aguilar (G)	Mr. Roberts (W)
Mr. Wijenaike (G)	<i>Greece</i> :		
Mr. Abeywira (G)	Mr. Pavlakis (G)	<i>Netherlands</i> :	<i>United States</i> :
Mr. Wijemanne (W)		Fr. Stokman (G)	Mr. Delaney (W)
	<i>Guatemala</i> :	Miss Stemberg (G)	
<i>Chile</i> :	Mr. Peralta (G)	Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>Uruguay</i> :
Mr. Torres (G)	Mr. Monzón (G)		Mr. Nogueira (G)
Mr. Cisternas (G)		<i>New Zealand</i> :	Mr. Perotti (G)
Mr. Benítez (E)	<i>Haiti</i> :	Mr. Bockett (G)	Mr. Troitiño (W)
Mr. Hormazabal (W)	Mr. Jumelle (G)	Mr. Smith (G)	
		Mr. Velviu (W)	<i>Venezuela</i> :
<i>China</i> :	<i>Iceland</i> :		Mr. Montoya (G)
Mr. Yü (G)	Mr. Gudmundsson (G)	<i>Norway</i> :	Mr. Graterol (G)
Mr. Tuan (G)	Mr. Ólafsson (G)	Mr. Kringlebotten (G)	
Mr. Liang (W)	Mr. Thors (E)	Mr. Ulsaker (G)	<i>Viet-Nam</i> :
	Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	Mr. Östberg (E)	Mr. Buu-Kinh (G)
<i>Costa Rica</i> :		Mr. Dahlberg (W)	Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G)
Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>India</i> :		
	Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Pakistan</i> :	<i>Yugoslavia</i> :
<i>Cuba</i> :		Mr. Ahmad (W)	Mr. Potrč (G)
Mr. de Sandoval (G)	<i>Indonesia</i> :		Mr. Petrović (G)
Mr. Soberón (G)	Mr. Samjono (G)	<i>Peru</i> :	Mr. Lučovnik (E)
Mr. Cowley (E)	Mr. Tobing (G)	Mr. García (G)	Mr. Veber (W)
	Mr. Sumarno (W)	Mr. Leguía (G)	

Against (12)

<i>Australia</i> :	<i>China</i> :	<i>Japan</i> :	<i>United Kingdom</i> :
Mr. Burne (E)	Mr. Ling (E)	Mr. Adachi (E)	Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Canada</i> :	<i>Ireland</i> :	<i>New Zealand</i> :	<i>United States</i> :
Mr. Taylor (E)	Mr. O'Brien (E)	Mr. Anderson (E)	Mr. McCormick (E)
<i>Ceylon</i> :	<i>Italy</i> :	<i>Syria</i> :	<i>Venezuela</i> :
Mr. Rutnam (E)	Mr. Campanella (E)	Mr. Elias (E)	Mr. Velutini (E)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 136 for, 12 against,

and 37 abstentions. The Recommendation is therefore adopted.

FINAL VOTE ON THE RECOMMENDATION
CONCERNING CONSULTATION AND
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND
WORKERS AT THE LEVEL OF THE UNDERTAKING

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall

now take the final vote on the Recommendation concerning consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking.

*Final Vote on the Recommendation concerning Consultation and Co-operation between
Employers and Workers at the Level of the Undertaking*

For (174)

<i>Argentina</i> :	<i>Dominican Republic</i> :	<i>Israel</i> :	<i>Portugal</i> :
Mr. Puente (G)	Mr. Troncoso (G)	Mr. Berinson (G)	Mr. Pereira Jardim (G)
Mr. Lescure (G)	Mr. Peynado (G)	Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	Mr. Antunes Varela (G)
Mr. Solari (E)	Mr. Guerrero (E)	Mr. Moriel (E)	Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)
Mr. Espejo (W)	Mr. Ballester (W)		Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Australia</i> :	<i>Egypt</i> :	<i>Italy</i> :	<i>Sweden</i> :
Mr. Sharp (G)	Ismail Bey (G)	Mr. Del Bo (G)	Mr. Björck (G)
Mr. Shaw (G)	Mr. Mazhar (G)	Mr. Purpura (G)	Mr. Eckerberg (G)
Mr. Burne (E)	Mr. Kamel (W)	Mr. Pastore (W)	Mr. Bergenström (E)
Mr. Thom (W)			Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Austria</i> :	<i>Finland</i> :	<i>Japan</i> :	<i>Switzerland</i> :
Mr. Hammerl (G)	Mr. Wuori (G)	Mr. Teramoto (G)	Mr. Rappard (G)
Mr. Rudolph (G)	Mr. Jylhä (G)	Mr. Tatsuke (G)	Mr. Kaufmann (G)
Mr. Weinberger (E)	Mr. Karikoski (E)	Mr. Adachi (E)	Mr. Kuntschen (E)
Mr. Boehm (W)	Mr. Sumu (W)	Mr. Oka (W)	Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Belgium</i> :	<i>France</i> :	<i>Liberia</i> :	<i>Syria</i> :
Mr. van den Daele (G)	Mr. Ramadier (G)	Mr. Tamba (G)	Mr. Joukhadar (G)
Mr. Troclet (G)	Mr. Hauck (G)	Mr. Tolbert (G)	Mr. Sioufi (G)
Mr. van der Rest (E)	Mr. Waline (E)		Mr. Elias (E)
Mr. de Bock (W)	Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Libya</i> :	Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Brazil</i> :	<i>Federal Republic of Germany</i> :	Mr. el Gerbi (G)	<i>Turkey</i> :
Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G)	Mr. Sauerborn (G)	Mr. Carter (G)	Mr. Azak (G)
Mr. da Rocha Leão (G)	Mr. Eckert (G)	<i>Luxembourg</i> :	Mr. Saymen (G)
Mr. Pires (E)	Mr. Winkler (E)	Mr. Biever (G)	Mr. Dünder (E)
	Mr. Bührig (W)	Mr. Wilwertz (G)	Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Burma</i> :	<i>Greece</i> :	Mr. Diederich (E)	<i>Union of South Africa</i> :
Mr. Maung (G)	Mr. Macris (W)	Mr. Krier (W)	Mr. Orkin (G)
Mr. Myint (G)		<i>Mexico</i> :	Mr. Myburgh (G)
<i>Canada</i> :	<i>Guatemala</i> :	Mr. Aguilar (G)	Mr. Brooke (E)
Mr. Maclean (G)	Mr. Peralta (G)	Mr. Desentis (G)	Mr. George (W)
Mr. Goulet (G)	Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>Netherlands</i> :	<i>United Kingdom</i> :
Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>Haiti</i> :	Fr. Stokman (G)	Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-
Mr. Swerdlow (W)	Mr. Jumelle (G)	Miss Stemberg (G)	Evans (G)
<i>Ceylon</i> :	<i>Iceland</i> :	Mr. Fennema (E)	Mr. Buckland (G)
Mr. Wijenaike (G)	Mr. Gudmundsson (G)	Mr. Borstlap (W)	Sir John Forbes Watson
Mr. Abeywira (G)	Mr. Ólafsson (G)		(E)
Mr. Rutnam (E)	Mr. Thors (E)	<i>New Zealand</i> :	Mr. Roberts (W)
Mr. Wijemanne (W)	Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	Mr. Bockett (G)	<i>United States</i> :
<i>Chile</i> :	<i>India</i> :	Mr. Smith (G)	Mr. Kaiser (G)
Mr. Torres (G)	Mr. Dravid (G)	Mr. Anderson (E)	Mr. E. Murray (G)
Mr. Cisternas (G)	Mr. Menon (G)	Mr. Velvin (W)	Mr. McCormick (E)
Mr. Benítez (E)	Mr. Tata (E)	<i>Norway</i> :	Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>China</i> :	Mr. Shastri (W)	Mr. Kringlebotten (G)	<i>Uruguay</i> :
Mr. Yü (G)	<i>Indonesia</i> :	Mr. Ulsaker (G)	Mr. Nogueira (G)
Mr. Tuan (G)	Mr. Samjono (G)	Mr. Östberg (E)	Mr. Perotti (G)
Mr. Ling (E)	Mr. Tobing (G)	Mr. Dahlberg (W)	Mr. Troitiño (W)
Mr. Liang (W)	Mr. Tedjasukmana (E)	<i>Pakistan</i> :	<i>Venezuela</i> :
<i>Costa Rica</i> :	Mr. Sumarno (W)	Mr. Malik (G)	Mr. Montoya (G)
Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>Iran</i> :	Mr. Alamgir (G)	Mr. Graterol (G)
<i>Cuba</i> :	Mr. Keyvan (W)	Mr. Ali (E)	Mr. Ochoa (W)
Mr. de Sandoval (G)	<i>Iraq</i> :	Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Viet-Nam</i> :
Mr. Soberón (G)	Mr. Pachachi (G)	<i>Peru</i> :	Mr. Buu-Kinh (G)
Mr. Cowley (E)	Mr. Ibrahim (G)	Mr. García (G)	Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G)
Mr. Cofiño (W)	Mr. Mohamed (W)	Mr. Leguía (G)	Mr. Chau (E)
<i>Denmark</i> :	<i>Ireland</i> :	<i>Philippines</i> :	<i>Yugoslavia</i> :
Mr. Bramsnaes (G)	Mr. Maguire (G)	Mr. Lanting (G)	Mr. Potrč (G)
Mr. Dreyer (G)	Mr. Murray (G)	Mr. Magalona (G)	Mr. Petrović (G)
Mr. Rise (E)	Mr. O'Brien (E)	Mr. Fernandez (W)	Mr. Lučovnik (E)
Mr. Nielsen (W)	Mr. Doyle (W)		Mr. Veber (W)

Against (2)

<i>Greece</i> :	<i>Italy</i> :
Mr. Tsatsos (E)	Mr. Campanella (E)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 174 for, 2 against

and 13 abstentions. The Recommendation is adopted.

VOTE BY SHOW OF HANDS ON THE
RESOLUTION CONCERNING
CONSULTATION AND CO-OPERATION
BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS AT THE
LEVEL OF THE UNDERTAKING

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now take a vote by show of hands on the resolution concerning consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 137 votes to 2, with 16 abstentions.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE
ON MATERNITY PROTECTION ¹ (cont.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We now resume discussion of the report of the Committee on Maternity Protection.

Mr. GRANDE (*Government adviser, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation: Mr. GRANDE (*Government adviser, Brazil*)—With regard to the proposed Convention concerning maternity protection, the Brazilian Government delegation wishes to point out that it does not agree with the wording of paragraph 8 of Article 4 which reads as follows: "In no case shall the employer be individually liable for the cost of such benefits due to women employed by him." This is because sections 392 and 393 of the Brazilian Consolidation of Labour Laws lay down the following:

"392. A woman shall not be permitted to engage in employment during the six weeks preceding and following childbirth.

"393. Throughout the period mentioned in the previous section a woman shall be entitled to receive her full wages, calculated on the basis of the average wage received by her during the preceding six months of work. She shall also be entitled to return to her former occupation.

"The provision of maternity benefits by social security institutions shall not exempt employers from fulfilling the obligations referred to in this section."

In the same connection, Article 157 of our Federal Constitution provides that our labour and social security legislation shall be based on the following principles, besides others concerned with the improvement of the living and working conditions of the workers:

"X. The working woman's right to rest before and after childbirth without prejudice to her employment or wages.

"XVI. The provision, through contributions from the State, the employers and the workers, of benefits in respect of maternity, sickness, old age, invalidity and death."

In Brazil, as everyone can see, our social legislation affords every care and protection to mothers and children, because we are fully convinced that nations cannot develop or prosper if they do not devote special attention to their human resources. We therefore keep

constant watch over the future of our race, we fight for the health and well-being of our people, and afford special protection to pregnant working women who contribute to the economic greatness of our country. In no circumstances do we allow such women to remain abandoned and unprotected, for it is they who will give birth to new generations of workers whom all countries want to see strong, robust and capable.

That is how we think in Brazil, under the leadership of President Getulio Vargas, the creator in our country of most advanced social legislation, which today ensures the well-being of our people. This great statesman—a real labour statesman—has increased, in Brazil, the prestige of human labour and the dignity of the worker by setting up the great iron and steel industry in order to guarantee our economic emancipation. He realised that it was not sufficient to turn to account the natural resources of our country by exploiting the riches of its subsoil, and was at even greater pains to obtain recognition for the true worth of human beings.

In these circumstances the Brazilian Government delegation will vote in favour of the proposed Convention concerning maternity protection, but we must place on record our categorical objection to paragraph 8 of Article 4 since it contains provisions contrary to those of Brazilian legislation which establishes more favourable conditions for pregnant working women.

We shall therefore act on the basis of paragraph 8 of Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation which reads as follows: "In no case shall the adoption of any Convention or Recommendation by the Conference, or the ratification of any Convention by any Member, be deemed to affect any law, award, custom or agreement which ensures more favourable conditions to the workers concerned than those provided for in the Convention or Recommendation."

My country unreservedly supports this Convention, which will contribute to the development of social legislation throughout the world.

Mr. MENON (*Government delegate, India*)—Yesterday, when dealing with the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security, I explained how I was pleased to find a draft which was sufficiently flexible and which made it possible for my country to be able to vote for it.

I was hoping that the same might be true in this case. I am sorry to say that it is not.

We all know that the original Convention of 1919 was ratified by only 18 States over a period of 30 years. That was what made it necessary to undertake a thorough revision of that Convention. This has been done, and a text was prepared by the Office which, subject to some changes that we intended to suggest, went a long way towards meeting our difficulties.

Unfortunately, the document now before us contains several modifications which have made it extremely difficult for us to accept the text. There have been various changes in regard to the forms of payment, the sources

¹ See Third Part, Appendix X.

from which the money for payments should come, implementation in stages, and coverage.

Take, for instance, Article 7. It is true that under this Article an underdeveloped country can, by stretching it to the limits, extend coverage in the first place to a very small proportion of the population. But I myself do not like a provision of that kind. I do not think it would be quite honest for us to say that we ratify this Convention and restrict it in the first instance to a small category of, say, industrial workers.

In the case of the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, there was a more possible proposal regarding the restriction of its provisions.

Let me explain that we are well aware of the need for progressive social legislation and that our country is proud of what we have done. Even in regard to maternity we have legislation respecting factory workers and women workers in mines and in plantations. Not only the Central Government of India but also some of the State Governments have independent legislative measures.

To show how keen we are on this type of legislation we might point out that in the original Office text there was no provision for the coverage of plantation workers. It was we who suggested that such workers should also be covered because they form an organised class of labour, the industry can afford to pay maternity benefits, and, administratively, I think it will be feasible. But, as I said a while ago, in view of the present form of the text, and all the difficulties, most of which have remained unsolved, my country will not be able to vote in favour of the Convention. We therefore propose to vote against its adoption.

Mr. PIRES (*Employers' delegate, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mr. PIRES (*Employers' delegate, Brazil*)—The Brazilian Employers' delegation regrets that on this occasion it must disagree with the opinion of its group and must dissociate itself from the principle laid down by the Committee on Maternity in paragraph 8 of Article 4 of the proposed Convention.

The Brazilian Employers' delegation is opposed to the prohibition in the proposed Convention of the employer's being individually liable for the costs of maternity benefits due to women employed by him. Maternity and its costs as concerns working women are a matter not only for the State but also for the undertakings in the work of which they play a part. It is true that in some countries social security provides solely for payment of the full salary to the pregnant woman, but nothing prevents these or other charges being borne by the employers. Moreover, when these charges are assumed by the employers it represents a high degree of social development and understanding of the problem of maternity with regard to the employment contract. Consequently, nothing prevents social security benefits in regard to maternity being paid, in addition to the salary, by the employer himself.

I would like to say that in Brazil, in addition to social security protection and in accordance

with constitutional provisions, the employers are responsible for the payment of the full wages of the woman worker during six weeks before and six weeks after confinement. The Brazilian employers are justly proud of the Brazilian constitution and of the social legislation introduced by President Vargas, which go far beyond the standards laid down here.

At congresses held recently in Teresopolis and in Araxá, they proclaimed the excellence of this legislation and spoke in favour of the maternity costs of women workers being borne by the S.E.S.C. and the S.E.S.I., the assistance organisations run by the employers themselves. These organisations protect not only all women workers but also the wives of workers, women who are living with workers as their wives, the unmarried adult daughters and the children of workers. During the last few years they have arranged for medical consultation in 80,000 cases and for attendance at 15,000 confinements. Some three million workers are covered by these organisations.

Since we consider that the proposed Convention should make provision for the maintenance of such a system in the countries which ratify it we submit the following amendment to the proposed Convention under discussion :

"Article 4, paragraph 8—replace the existing text by the following :

"8. The cost of the maternity benefits to be paid to women workers shall be charged to social security funds or to the employers concerned, or to employers' insurance funds supplemented by social security funds'."

The adoption of this amendment, which I have the honour to present at this plenary sitting, will make it possible to introduce any system relating to the question under study and will reach the standards laid down by the Convention under discussion without prejudice to the form which it might be considered desirable to adopt.

Interpretation : Mr. de HULSTER (*Employers' adviser, France*)—The Employers' group has instructed me to express our reservations and objections with regard to the text submitted for the approval of the Conference.

First of all I would like to state with all the conviction of which I am capable that the Employers understand perfectly the human problems raised by maternity for women wage earners. I think I can say that in all countries the overwhelming majority of employers—at least the employers worthy of the name—do all they can to arrange working conditions and the distribution of jobs in a manner which takes account of these human problems. I would add, moreover, that similar problems arise for other categories of workers such as aged workers, young workers, workers who are physically disabled as the result of industrial accidents and, unfortunately in some countries, war invalids. For all these persons lighter work must be provided and in general employers do their duty as far as they are able and as far as the technical requirements of production will allow.

But if employers uphold the principle of maternity protection they consider none the less that provisions in this respect should not

go beyond what most of the States Members of this Organisation can accept. The Employers therefore have to raise a certain number of objections. We feel that there are technical requirements connected with the functioning of an undertaking which exist irrespective of the legal system or the system of ownership covering the undertaking. We feel that at a time when all the world is agreed that productivity must be increased the laying down of over-strict and excessively detailed rules may seriously hinder any increase in productivity or improvement in the lot of those dependent upon it, both at the national and at the international levels. We also believe that as far as possible benefits must be afforded by means of a system of compensation. This is provided for in the text, at least with regard to cash benefits and medical maternity benefits. That is why I would like to point out here that the group as a whole will not be able to support the amendment submitted by the Brazilian Employers which proposes that Article 4, paragraph 8 should be replaced by the following: "8. The cost of maternity benefits to be paid to women workers shall be charged to social security funds or to the employers concerned, or to employers' insurance funds supplemented by social security funds."

I would like to draw the attention of the Conference to one point. Certain of the obligations laid down in the existing texts cannot possibly be met. I refer to the provisions of the Recommendation concerning the protection of employment and the prohibition of the employment of pregnant and nursing women on certain types of work. We are afraid that these obligations may cause some prejudice with regard to the employment of women and that therefore these rules may turn out to be to the disadvantage of those whom they are designed to protect. We would like to draw the attention of the Conference to this important point.

We consider that on a certain number of other points the Convention goes too far for it to be acceptable to many countries. I refer, for instance, to the provisions concerning cash benefits to the extent of two-thirds of previous earnings. Since even in relatively advanced countries such as France such benefits only amount to 50 per cent., and the figure of 45 has been retained in the standards of social security, the employers consider that the proposed $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. or even 100 per cent. will not be acceptable to many countries. The Employers also think that, for practical reasons, the scope of the proposed text is excessively wide. I am thinking of its inclusion of agriculture and domestic workers. That is why the group as a whole will support the amendment submitted by a number of Governments, which proposes the insertion in Article 7 of a new paragraph 5, providing for an examination of the derogations applied, after a lapse of five years from the date of entry into force of the Convention.

The Employers consider that we should do a serious job and should endeavour to be logical. I would like to remind you that last year Convention No. 100 concerning equal pay for men and women workers for work of equal value was adopted. In the text now

submitted to us we find provisions which seem to us to go against that Convention. I have in mind in particular the provision which states that interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly. The Employers do not consider that this is a point of principle, but they are opposed to a general obligation of this kind and consider that the question would be better dealt with by collective agreements. The problem has already been solved in this way in some countries, but the Employers cannot accept a general obligation.

The Employers will therefore support the amendment submitted by the Swedish Government, which proposes the deletion of paragraph 2 of Article 5.

Lastly, the Employers' group would like to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that Convention No. 3, adopted in 1919, has only been ratified by 18 countries so far, and many of the economically most powerful countries, and the countries with the largest numbers of wage earners, have not been able to ratify this Convention. We consider that any increase in obligations will result in the revised Convention, if it is adopted, being ratified by an even smaller number of countries than Convention No. 3. We further consider that the addition of a new Convention to the 42 other Conventions which have only been ratified by five countries or less will add nothing to the prestige of the I.L.O. The Employers' group can therefore vote for neither the Convention nor the Recommendation.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now proceed to the adoption of the report of the Committee on Maternity Protection. If there is no objection, the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED REVISED CONVENTION CONCERNING MATERNITY PROTECTION

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now proceed to the discussion and adoption of the proposed Convention concerning maternity protection, Article by Article.

(Articles 1 to 3 are adopted seriatim.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—An amendment has been proposed to Article 4, paragraph 8, by the Employers' delegate of Brazil. According to this amendment the existing text should be replaced by the following :

"8. The cost of the maternity benefits to be paid to women workers shall be charged to social security funds or to the employers concerned, or to employers' insurance funds supplemented by social security funds."

Does anyone wish to speak ?

Mr. BAR-NIV (*Government delegate, Israel*)—This is only the fourth year that I have attended this Conference, but, even so, I was rather surprised to hear the Employers' dele-

gate from Brazil say that as an employer he preferred to pay the worker directly out of his own pocket instead of belonging to a social security fund.

From the words spoken by the Government delegate of Brazil, and from what we have heard in the Committee, it is clear that the proposed amendment is intended to facilitate ratification by States Members having a system of employers' direct liability.

Prima facie my delegation should vote for the amendment because my Government took over a system of direct liability which, only now, it is going to replace by social security. But we are not going to do so: we are not going to impose the bad system we have upon an international Convention. No one argues that the system of direct liability is the best one or even a good one. It acts against equal pay and against the employment of women. The mere fact that we have a bad system in our country does not prompt us to advise others to follow the same method and thus make the defective system of one country a feature of an international Convention. I submit that Conventions should not be adapted to existing national legislation but that international Conventions should serve to prompt and improve national legislation.

For the above reasons my delegation will vote against the amendment proposed by the Employers' delegate of Brazil and I hope that States Members with legal provisions similar to our own will follow our lead.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We shall now proceed to vote by show of hands on this amendment.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 91 votes to 27, with 37 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT—The amendment is rejected. If there are no objections, I declare Article 4 adopted in its original form.

(Article 4 is adopted.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now take Article 5. An amendment has been put forward by the Government delegate of Sweden, proposing that paragraph 2 of Article 5 should be deleted. This paragraph reads as follows:

"2. Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly."

Mrs. THORSSON (*Government adviser, Sweden*)—When the 1919 Convention concerning maternity protection, which is one of the classical Conventions in the history of the I.L.O., was placed for revision on the agenda of this year's session of the Conference, it was for the purpose of creating an instrument to be incorporated in the International Labour Code, which would not only establish certain absolute demands for satisfactory legislation on maternity protection but would at the same time be flexible enough in its adjustment to the special circumstances of different countries to facilitate a much larger number of ratifica-

tions; it will be remembered that since 1919 Convention No. 3 has only been ratified by 18 countries.

The Swedish Government does not believe that fulfilling this purpose will involve any weakening of the text of the Convention. On the contrary, the Convention must establish standards from which no deviation can be allowed without endangering the very principles underlying the creation of an International Labour Code. But these principles are also endangered if, as we have seen more than once, texts are adopted which are highly presentable on paper but cannot be ratified by more than, at the most, a very small number of countries. The aim should be—and this is the wise policy both for Governments and for workers and employers—to produce a text which will make it possible for a relatively large number of countries to ratify the Convention. In other words, to establish an international model that is recognised in practice for national legislation in the field covered by the Convention. What is needed, therefore, is to arrive at a text which is both fixed and absolute enough in its underlying principles and adaptable enough in the detailed application provisions to allow of an adequate number of ratifications.

The text of the revised Convention on Maternity Protection now submitted to the Conference very substantially satisfies these demands. The object of the proposed revision of the old Convention No. 3 is partly to bring it into line with more recent experience in the field of maternity protection and with the legislation in a large number of countries, and partly to facilitate more widespread ratification than hitherto by making certain provisions more flexible.

The Swedish Government has, in the main, been able to accept the new text in principle and had hoped to be in a position to ratify the proposed Convention in a not too distant future. Unfortunately, this has been made impossible by the Committee's adoption of an amendment proposing an additional paragraph 2 in Article 5 as follows: "Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly."

At last year's session in the discussion on the Equal Pay Convention, the Swedish Government expressly declared that as a matter of principle it does not intervene in questions of wage fixing in private employment but leaves them to be settled entirely by collective bargaining between employers and workers. Hence, it is clear that the Swedish Government is not in a position to prescribe, as would be the result of ratifying the Convention containing a paragraph such as Article 5 (2), that the breaks during which a woman is allowed to nurse her child should be treated and paid for as working time. It is not possible for Sweden to impose such regulations on employers and workers.

I do not think that my Government is alone in this matter. In every country where wage fixing is freely left to the parties concerned exactly the same difficulty must arise. I question whether it would be wise or to the advantage of working women to adopt a Convention

on maternity protection that we know in advance cannot be ratified by a particular group of States Members—not because they cannot carry out the provisions on maternity leave, not because they cannot provide maternity benefits or protection of employment as required by the Convention, but only because the Convention, in one of its less important articles, contains a provision which a relatively large number of more highly industrialised countries with a not too low standard of social legislation cannot apply. We cannot believe that the proposed policy is a wise one; we cannot but feel that the text of the Convention would benefit by the elimination of a clause which is in practice incompatible with the end in view. The right place for such a paragraph is in the Recommendation.

The Swedish Government delegation therefore wishes to submit the amendment to delete paragraph 2 of Article 5 of the proposed Convention.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—Is the amendment proposed by the Swedish Government delegate seconded?

Interpretation: Mr. ULSAKER (*Government adviser, Norway*)—I second it.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—The amendment having been seconded, we shall vote on it by a show of hands.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 82 votes to 52, with 19 abstentions.*)

The PRESIDENT—The amendment is rejected. The Conference will now consider Article 5 in its original form. If there is no objection I declare Article 5 adopted.

(*Article 5 is adopted.*)

The PRESIDENT—We will now take Article 6. If there are no objections I declare Article 6 adopted.

(*Article 6 is adopted.*)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now pass to Article 7. An amendment to this Article has been submitted by the Government delegates of Canada, Cuba, France, Indonesia, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru and the United States. The amendment reads as follows:

“(a) paragraph 1, line 4: delete the word “temporary”; (b) insert a new paragraph 5 as follows: “At the expiration of five years of the first entry into force of the Convention, the Governing Body shall submit to the Conference a special report concerning the application of these exceptions, containing such proposals as it may think appropriate for further action in regard to this matter.”

Mrs. KALINOWSKA (*Government adviser, Poland*)—I ask that (a) and (b) be voted on separately.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We shall take a separate vote on each part.

Mr. ULSAKER (*Government adviser, Norway*)—I have the honour to present the amendment proposed by the Government delegates of Canada, Cuba, France, Indonesia, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru and the United States. The amendment consists of two parts: (a) the deletion of the word “temporary” in line 4 of paragraph 1; and (b) the insertion of a new paragraph 5.

I appreciated very much hearing this morning that the amendment would be supported by the Employers' and Workers' delegates, and that there are accordingly the best possibilities for the adoption of the amendment. In view of the fact that we are dealing here with matters of principle, I nevertheless think it useful to state some of the main reasons for the amendment.

The purpose of this amendment is to give Article 7 a form which is desirable in a Convention where we are dealing with the relationship between the obligations of ratifying Member States and the task of the I.L.O. in controlling the application of ratified Conventions. I believe that we all share in the intention of the wording of Article 7, paragraph 1, as proposed in the Committee by the Workers' group and now presented in the Committee's report. This intention is to achieve progress in the future development of maternity protection. Nevertheless, it is necessary to give the instrument with which we are dealing such form and content that it may take its place as an effective and realistic part of the work of the I.L.O. The purpose of Article 7 as a whole is to give States Members which ratify the Convention the opportunity to except from its application, in whole or in part, certain categories which are defined in the Article. By a system of annual reports from the ratifying States Members to the I.L.O. attention should be drawn to the stage of development of maternity protection in the various countries. The intention of this procedure is to put on Governments a slight pressure (or to make an appeal to them) to take action to decrease the exceptions by progressive legislation, as rapidly as appropriate. It seems to me quite clear that the Governments of States Members cannot as a rule, at any given time, give any binding promise as to the progress of legislation in the future; and if they could it seems to me to be a solution of doubtful value to try to put obligations on States Members as to their future legislation in the form of a Convention.

Therefore, I must stress that the draft text of Article 7 speaks of “temporary exceptions” without fixing any limit as to time. It seems to me that this text may give rise to difficulties in the work of the I.L.O. in controlling ratification of the Convention. The purpose of the amendment, as presented, is to solve these problems in a realistic way. Exceptions which are declared by the ratification of the Convention must in any case be regarded as real exceptions until the ratifying country, by actual effective legislation, has introduced the necessary improvements in maternity protection. The word “temporary” should therefore be deleted from Article 7, paragraph 1.

The progress in maternity protection would most effectively be assured by a system of

annual reports as mentioned in paragraph 4 of Article 7 and by paying special attention in the I.L.O. to developments in this field in the coming years. It is therefore proposed in a new paragraph 5 that the Governing Body shall, at the expiration of five years after the first entry into force of the Convention, submit to the Conference a special report concerning the application of exceptions which are declared; and further that the report should contain such proposals as the Governing Body may think appropriate for further action in regard to this matter.

I recommend to the Conference the adoption of this amendment.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now vote on the first part of the amendment to Article 7, which is to delete the word "temporary" in paragraph 1, line 4.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The first part of the amendment is adopted by 113 votes to 24, with 15 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now vote on the second part of the amendment to Article 7, to insert a new paragraph 5.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The second part of the amendment is adopted by 131 votes to 3, with 14 abstentions.)

Mrs. KALINOWSKA (*Government adviser, Poland*)—Will you put Article 7, as amended, to the vote?

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now vote by show of hands on Article 7, as amended.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Article 7 as amended is adopted by 132 votes to 11, with 9 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now vote on the proposed Convention as a whole.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The proposed Convention as a whole is adopted by 101 votes to 24, with 26 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Convention is adopted and will be sent to the Drafting Committee. I call upon Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, who wishes to explain his vote.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—I have asked for this opportunity to explain the position of the United Kingdom Government in regard to this Convention.

The United Kingdom Government has not participated in the work of the Committee on Maternity Protection. I should say at once that this was not due to any lack of interest in the question of maternity protection. On the contrary, anyone who is at all acquainted with the social services of the United Kingdom would agree that there is ample evidence of the abundant interest which my Government takes in this extremely important question.

Under our social security schemes the benefits available to women before and after childbirth, while differing in some respects from those now proposed, are fully adequate to enable women to refrain from working during the periods envisaged in the proposed Convention. Moreover, we can claim with confidence that our practice generally in this field is at least as advantageous to women as the provisions embodied in the international regulations.

In view, however, of the actual conditions and practice as they have developed in the United Kingdom, it has been considered both unnecessary and undesirable so far as we are concerned to rely on special legislative prohibitions and restrictions on the employment or dismissal of pregnant women as such or within a particular period after childbirth. Legislation of that kind, however necessary in various countries where the law and practice as to terms and conditions of employment are different, would in the United Kingdom involve various practical disadvantages and even unnecessary hardship to many women. We have found it better and sufficient to rely on a more elastic combination of legal obligations and trade practice for the protection of women employees generally, coupled with advanced social security services and highly organised arrangements for giving health education and medical advice to women in connection with maternity.

Moreover, both women themselves, with the help of such advice, and employers, had as a matter of practice recognised the need for special consideration and special arrangements as regards absence from work or adjustments of conditions of work in connection with pregnancy and childbirth.

It would have been possible for the United Kingdom Government delegation to have taken part in the work of the Committee and to have attempted to obtain an instrument more in keeping with the way in which these matters are handled in our country. My Government did not consider, however, that such an attitude would be helpful or constructive in view of the fact that for many countries the fundamental principles embodied in the 1919 Convention and retained in the present text are regarded as essential for ensuring adequate protection.

It was for this reason that the United Kingdom Government delegation decided not to take part in the work of the Committee, and for similar reasons they have abstained on the vote on the Convention and will similarly abstain on the vote on the Recommendation. But I wish to make it clear once again that the maintenance of fully adequate standards of maternity protection by the methods on which we have successfully relied remains a matter of prime concern to the United Kingdom Government.

DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTION CONCERNING FINAL ARTICLES OF THE MATERNITY PROTECTION CONVENTION (REVISED)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—Before we take a vote on the resolution concerning Final Articles, I call on Mrs. Kalinowska, Government adviser Poland.

Mrs. KALINOWSKA (*Government adviser, Poland*)—My delegation proposed an amendment yesterday to the Final Articles and I am surprised that it was not circulated. It relates to a deletion. My delegation moves the deletion of the colonial non-application clause from the Final Articles of the Convention concerning maternity protection. Our delegation believes that Article 7 of the Convention—which unfortunately was adopted some minutes ago—already gives States Members ample possibility of excluding broad masses of working women from the scope of the Convention. If we added to this the colonial non-application clause it would give the metropolitan powers an additional possibility of excluding from maternity benefits those masses of women who live and work in dependent territories and who need maternity protection and the application of such a Convention so much the more because they live and work in the most difficult conditions. They are mostly exploited and they are mostly deprived of protection.

I would remind you of a study made by the I.L.O. of conditions in colonies. The study says that on plantations, especially in Africa, there is practically no maternity protection, there are no maternity benefits, there is neither pre-natal nor post-natal leave for the women, there is no pay, and so on; and it concludes by saying that the conditions from the point of view of the health of the women and of their future children are very far from being satisfactory. One could add: not only the future children but the existing children, because we know that in colonial territories child labour is prevalent on plantations and even in the mines.

I would also add that in Conventions adopted by the United Nations this colonial non-application clause was never passed; it used to be defeated in all instances by the votes of those countries which have the best and most recent experience of conditions in colonial areas. It was defeated in all instances by an overwhelming majority, and it is regrettable that the I.L.O., which should act for the benefit of workers, is tenaciously sticking to this obsolete clause. I can anticipate the argument that the metropolitan powers have to take into consideration the autonomy of the colonial territories because we have heard it so often in the General Assembly and in other meetings. Whenever progressive social

measures ought to be applied in these territories, all of a sudden the metropolitan powers show concern for autonomy and democracy in these territories. We know that they do not feel this concern and that they know how to exert pressure when their interests are at stake. We consider that these metropolitan powers are responsible under the United Nations Charter for these territories and that it is their duty to apply the Conventions there.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will give an explanation regarding the amendment which has just been proposed.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The amendment proposed by the Polish Government delegation to the resolution concerning Final Articles is to delete from the Final Articles the provision dealing with the application of the Convention to non-metropolitan territories.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—Is the motion seconded?

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—I second it.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now put the amendment to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The result is 14 votes in favour, 77 against, and 29 abstentions.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—The amendment is rejected. In any case, there was no quorum. We will now vote on the Resolution concerning Final Articles, proposed by the Reporter.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The result is 95 votes for the Resolution, 2 against and 25 abstentions.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—There is no quorum. The vote is therefore null and void and will take place again this afternoon.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.15 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Vondras (substitute for Mr. Kolský)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed	<i>Poland :</i> Mrs. Kalinowska (substitute for Mr. Chajna) Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Souza (substitute for Mr. Lescure) Mr. Solari Mr. Valera (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Juhl-Christensen (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. McCarthy (substitute for Mr. Maguire) Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Doyle	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopez Mr. Fragozo Fernandes (substitute for Mr. Gonçalves)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. McKenzie (substitute for Mr. Sharp) Mr. Johnston (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Hegney (substitute for Mr. Thom)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel	<i>Sweden :</i> Mrs. Thorsson (substitute for Mr. Björck) Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Giesecke (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Rudolph) Mr. Weinberger Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Boccardi (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Storti (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troolet Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Boek	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Tatsuke (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias Mr. Cachecho
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. de Hulster (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substitute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Lübke (substitute for Mr. Bührig)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Willard (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Watkinson (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Brass (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Orkin Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Broumley (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Hancock (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stenberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Miss Perkins (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. McGrath (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Thors Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Rohatgi (substitute for Mr. Tata) Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerim) Mr. Östberg Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Ochoa
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Helmi (substitute for Mr. Tobing) Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potré Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučović Mr. Veber

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.*)

TWENTY-FOURTH SITTING

Thursday, 26 June 1952, 3.15 p.m.

President : Mr. David

ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING MATERNITY PROTECTION¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will now take the proposed Recommendation concerning maternity protection, paragraph by paragraph. There are no amendments and I hope there are going to be no speeches; therefore I will announce each paragraph and I shall take it as adopted if there are no observations.

(The Preamble and Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now take the Recommendation as a whole. If there are no objections I shall consider the Recommendation adopted.

(The Recommendation as a whole is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The Recommendation is adopted and will be placed before the Drafting Committee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WORKERS' HEALTH²

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now consider the report of the Committee on Workers' Health which has been printed and circulated to you. As you all know, this Committee was presided over by Miss Frances Perkins, United States Government adviser. Miss Perkins would first of all like to make some remarks concerning this report. I shall ask Mr. Willot, Reporter of the Committee, to present the report to the Conference later on.

Miss PERKINS (*Government adviser, United States; Chairman of the Committee on Workers' Health*)—I take great satisfaction in presenting this report. The proposed international regu-

lations on the protection of the health of workers in the places of their employment are the first international regulations containing general, protective and preventive measures against occupational diseases. Moreover, this report emanates from a committee which, in the days of its deliberations, has been unanimous in its understanding and support of the purpose and objectives of such measures. The differences of opinion have been with regard to methods and details, and the debates have been conducted in a spirit of reasonableness and goodwill.

Previous regulations of the I.L.O. have dealt with the hazards of particular circumstances and particular elements, such as lead in 1921, phosphorus in 1919, and of diseases such as anthrax in 1919, or particular occupations such as underground work in 1935. But knowledge in this area has increased greatly in the last 15 to 20 years, and also the use of a wide variety of chemical substances and hazardous procedures has increased with the expansion and improvement of production.

Medical knowledge of diagnosis and treatment has increased and engineering experience as to mechanical methods of prevention has developed rapidly. The present regulations, therefore, contain a great variety of preventive procedures against all occupational diseases.

Notification of the occurrence of all such diseases, mechanical and engineering protective measures to reduce hazards, medical examination, the study of symptoms, are included in the regulations to permit of remedial measures and the detection of the occurrence of such diseases.

The Committee presents this report in the belief that it is one of the most important steps yet taken for the improvement of industrial conditions throughout the world and provides a greater opportunity for a good life for all of God's people.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The report is now before the Conference.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix X.

² See Third Part, Appendix XI.

There will be a general discussion on the report and afterwards we shall take the amendments. I have to request the speakers who have signified their desire to speak in the general discussion to do so. As regards the amendments I will request the speakers to restrict their speeches to the amendments proper and not include in them general remarks. That is why we are dividing the discussion into two parts, the first of which will be the general discussion.

Interpretation : Mr. ESPINOZA (*Workers' adviser, Chile*)—The Workers' group in this Committee was brilliantly led by Mr. Vermeulen of the Netherlands. He and my other distinguished colleagues will be able to explain more clearly than I the viewpoints of our group. I would not have addressed the Conference but for the fact that, as a Latin American, I consider it right that in all these discussions the voice should be heard of workers from countries with problems for which we are requesting constantly greater attention from the I.L.O.

My remarks will be of a general nature as it would not be possible to make a detailed analysis here. My purpose is to define the position of the Chilean workers towards this important subject, the protection of the health of workers in places of employment.

I fully agree on the need for and advisability of international regulations on this subject. I warmly support the idea of a Convention laying down minimum standards for the protection of the health of the workers and the prevention of the diseases which workers are liable to contract in the course of a particular employment. I support the idea of a Convention particularly, because these international instruments have been losing the significance and the value they should have in the development of social justice. The irresponsibility of persons who approve these instruments and fail to apply them and the weakness of the I.L.O. have turned Conventions into statements of little more than academic value. However, in spite of this unfortunate situation, the decisions of the International Labour Conference still have great value as standards for the guidance of the workers in their struggles and claims and of Governments sincerely concerned with the welfare of their peoples.

The proposed conclusions of the Committee concerning the notification of occupational diseases, technical measures for the control of health hazards and medical examinations do not in our opinion constitute anything which might be called minimum standards. They are in reality elementary standards for the protection of the health of workers and therefore nobody should have any objection to them.

I have supported these conclusions as a demonstration of the solidarity of the Chilean workers with workers who still do not benefit from legislation respecting the protection of their health or who live in countries where the legislation in this respect is still inadequate. The Chilean Labour Code of 1931 contains ample provisions for the protection of the

health of workers. These provisions have been supplemented by the regulations of 1940 concerning industrial hygiene and safety and the Act and Decree of 1938 respecting preventive medicine. We shall continue to strive for the continuous development of this protection.

It should, however, be noted that, if, whenever the Conference studies a particular problem, its thoughts are directed only towards territories and countries which, for historical, political or economic reasons, have not attempted to deal with that problem or to take measures for its solution, the I.L.O. will steadily become less active and more timid in determining the aims of social justice. It even might be thought that we are recommending that social justice should be doled out with a teaspoon. Such an attitude does not go with the great mission that has been entrusted to the I.L.O. nor with the repeated appeals of Mr. Morse, the Director-General, when he insists on the great steps which must quickly be taken if we desire to achieve peace.

I have attempted to bring to the Committee the benefit of the experience and particularly the goodwill of the Chilean working classes. We hope that our small contribution will help to achieve the high objectives of the International Labour Organisation and more particularly the aspirations for social justice and peace which have been awakened in the hearts of all the workers of the world.

Interpretation : Mr. UYTENDHOEF (*Government adviser, Belgium*)—The Belgian Government is glad to see the different countries represented at this Conference recognising the need to adopt international regulations providing for the protection of the health of workers in places of employment, and hopes that these regulations will take the concrete form of a Convention accompanied, if necessary, by a Recommendation for the practical application of certain principles of industrial hygiene.

We wish to refute the arguments which may be put forward by certain persons in order to have this instrument take the form of a Recommendation only.

Admittedly the proposal submitted by the Office to the Governments of the various countries was for a Recommendation but it is wrong for the Office thus to have prejudged our intentions in the matter. In fact some Governments, and in particular the Belgian Government, have asked for the principles of the protection of the health of workers in places of employment to be the subject of a Convention and not merely of a Recommendation. During the work of the Committee the Belgian Government pointed out in this connection that if the questionnaire had allowed of any choice between the two forms of instrument a greater number of Governments would probably have expressed themselves in favour of a Convention. The discussions which followed have confirmed this impression.

Why should we have a Convention and not a Recommendation?

Because problems of hygiene and industrial medicine are of great importance in the field of social development, from both the moral

and humanitarian points of view ; it is therefore reasonable that they should be regulated at the international level by an instrument which offers the greatest and most formal guarantees.

It has often been stated that good health is by far the most precious gift of humanity, and I repeat it once again. There is no doubt that today many industrial processes involve great risks to the health of the workers carrying them out. These risks are the origin not only of occupational diseases recognised as such but also of a considerable proportion of general morbidity. Clear proof of the seriousness and frequency of occupational diseases exists and has existed for a long time in the mass of medical literature on this question and in extremely significant statistics. As to how far general morbidity can be attributed to industry, it is generally admitted, though less evident, that occupational risks are not confined to risks of occupational diseases with clear symptoms ; there are also insidious and less obvious attacks on the human organism by various factors of unhealthiness. Unhealthy conditions caused by industrial processes often result in various pathological symptoms and, if they do not increase general morbidity, they at least maintain it.

It is also admitted that workers have to pay a very heavy price in suffering and misery because of occupational diseases, and that a heavy financial burden is laid on the entire community.

The problem of the protection of the health of workers is of prime importance and the urgent need for a solution increases with the rapid development of industrial techniques and the industrialisation of more areas of the world.

I think I can say without exaggeration that the improvement of social and moral standards in the various countries depends to a large extent on the development of healthier conditions and the greater use of prophylactics in workplaces. Thus if everyone recognises that the fight against disease and its causes is a fundamental duty of the whole of humanity, they will also admit that this fight should be carried on with as much vigour and perseverance in places of employment as anywhere else.

The arguments put forward by some persons to justify their refusal to subscribe to formal commitments are not pertinent.

For one thing industrial hygiene and medicine are not new fields of study with regard to which one could hesitate to accept formal commitments. In all countries the systematic study of occupational diseases and the means of preventing them have been going on for several decades, in some cases for half a century. The International Congress on Industrial Medicine has been meeting for many years and is attended by an ever-increasing number of specialists from all over the world.

It can also be stated that today industrial hygiene and medicine are clearly defined sciences and their basic principles find universal application. For a long time now all the industrialised countries have had legislation respecting social hygiene, the provisions of which go far beyond the proposed international instrument which we have put before you.

An additional argument put forward by those who would prefer a simple Recommendation to a Convention is that the underdeveloped countries have not the necessary administrative services to apply these provisions. This argument is no more pertinent than the others. It is inadmissible that the more advanced countries should be on the same level as the underdeveloped countries. Moreover, with the technical resources we have at our disposal today it should not be difficult to provide the countries concerned with the necessary administrative machinery.

Obviously, a Convention concerning the protection of the health of workers in places of employment could not be applied overnight in every country. The essential point is that every country should be morally obliged by the very existence of this Convention to make the necessary efforts and sacrifices in order to ratify as soon as possible.

For these reasons, the Belgian Government considers a Convention preferable to a Recommendation for international regulations concerning the protection of the health of workers in places of employment. It reaffirms its faith in the effectiveness of the principles of international solidarity and its desire to meet the aspirations for social justice of the working classes and hopes that you will share its point of view.

Mr. de SOUZA MONTEIRO (*Government adviser, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation : Mr. de SOUZA MONTEIRO (*Government adviser, Brazil*)—The Brazilian delegation is proud to justify its vote in favour and to submit a short summary of our points of view concerning the conclusions of the Committee on Workers' Health.

Brazil is to be congratulated because the labour legislation was consolidated by Decree No. 5,452, issued on 1 May 1943 by President Getulio Vargas. Articles 154-222 of that Decree amply regulated the subject with which we are dealing.

Thus the Government delegation of Brazil was placed in a privileged position and did not have to do anything more than follow the work of the Committee because the workers of Brazil already possess everything that we are attempting to guarantee to the other peoples.

The first point of the conclusions proposed by the Committee concerns the form of the international regulations. This point has been left for the decision of the Conference next year, when the general subject will be submitted for second discussion. Nevertheless we can anticipate—as we have already done in the Committee—that Brazil will approve the regulations to be adopted, even if they take the form of a Convention, because we have, in practice, already approved all the principles proposed.

Indeed, the second point—notification of occupational diseases—has been dealt with by Articles 190 and 191 of the law I have referred to, and by the Employment Injury Act. Not only is the list more complete than the one we have approved here : it is being revised and extended by the Ministry of Labour. We would like to point out that, according to Brazilian

legislation—and after long discussion the Committee came to the same conclusion—other diseases can also be considered as occupational diseases even if they are not actually inscribed on the established list, once the relationship between cause and effect has been established, that is, once it has been proved that the illness is due to the occupation.

So far as the third point is concerned—technical measures for the control of health hazards—I would refer once more to Decree No. 5452 of 1943 where, for the sake of greater clarity and effectiveness, the subject was divided into two parts: (a) industrial hygiene, and (b) industrial safety.

Besides the fact that our social laws contain detailed provisions concerning lighting, insulation, temperature, cleanliness, ventilation, canteens, nurseries and other facilities for the protection and welfare of the workers, I would point out that, according to Article 155 of the Labour Code, no industrial establishment may function without having been previously inspected and approved by the competent authorities in the field of hygiene and safety.

As regards the unhealthy industries and other dangerous activities, with which our work here is most concerned, the competent authorities may add any other requirements they consider necessary in view of the unhealthy nature of the particular activity.

Finally, concerning the compulsory nature of the medical examination of workers in unhealthy or dangerous industries which is the concern of the fourth point of our Conclusions, our Labour Code also requires not only an initial examination but a periodic renewal of such an examination (Article 189).

The Government delegation of Brazil will therefore vote without reservation for the adoption of the report and of the conclusions drawn up by the Committee on Workers' Health.

Interpretation: Mr. VAYSSIÈRE (*Government adviser, France*)—On behalf of the French Government delegation, I would like to say that we will vote for the conclusions submitted by the Committee on Workers' Health.

I feel I should point out that when the Committee on Workers' Health voted for the proposal which now figures under point 1 of the Conclusions, it was guided by two main considerations. First, by the fact that the Governments, having been consulted on a proposed Recommendation, had not had the opportunity to express their opinion on a Convention. Secondly, it was clear at the end of our deliberations that, the Office text having been adopted as a whole, all these measures could not be incorporated in a Convention; hence the view was taken that the Convention would need to be supplemented by a Recommendation. We must emphasise that through its vote the Committee clearly established its preference for a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation.

What arguments have been opposed to the decision of the Committee on Workers' Health? In the first place, it was said that only some 80 or 90 per cent. of the measures adopted by our Committee are applied in the industrialised

countries. It was said also that in the under-developed countries a whole generation would be needed before they could be applied. Finally, it was said that the adoption of a Convention, the rigidity of which would prevent its ratification, would only discredit the I.L.O.

To these arguments we can answer that certain countries, France among them, already apply all the measures which have been adopted and that they are of benefit not to a minority only but to all industrial and commercial workers. Furthermore, the rapid progress of industrialisation in all countries and the progress of modern techniques which often demand the use of toxics and new work processes bringing new risks, make it necessary and urgent for measures of protection to be provided.

The text voted by the Committee leaves it to the Office to discriminate between the principles, which are the subject of a Convention, and the methods of application, which should be incorporated into a Recommendation. I believe that the decision of the Committee is a wise and reasonable one.

Finally, I would like to remind you, as I have already done before the Committee, that it is to the interest, properly understood, of the employers, to watch over the health of workers and to make use of their services in optimum conditions, following preliminary medical examination.

These are the reasons for which we shall vote for the conclusions of the Committee.

Mr. CHAPMAN (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—The tripartite Committee on the Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment decided by the narrow majority of 88 votes to 85: (1) that the form of the international regulations should be referred to the Conference for a decision at its next session; and (2) that the Office should prepare as alternatives (a) a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation; (b) a Recommendation.

The Committee discussed the question of a Recommendation or a Convention at its second sitting and decided to leave the matter for decision later at this session. This discussion took place at its fifteenth sitting. It was not, however, a discussion or vote on the straight issue of a Recommendation or Convention. The voting took place on the resolution for postponement just mentioned which was introduced by the Workers verbally and came as a surprise to some of the Committee's members. The Employers voted against the resolution, their view being that a tripartite committee of 63 members which had discussed and amended the Office text at no fewer than 15 sittings was in a position and had a duty to give definite guidance on this important issue to its successors next year.

The proposal in the report will involve the Office in the preparation of alternative texts, and the Governments and others in consideration of them. Time at the next session will be spent in discussing what we believe should be a foregone conclusion instead of being devoted to the difficult and controversial matters of substance. The proposed conclusions of the

Office text cover the subject of the protection of the health of workers in an exhaustive and detailed way. The Employers' amendments were uniformly directed to making its provisions more flexible and practicable. They were all rejected. The amendments which succeeded seemed to aim at the imposition of an inflexible medical and administrative perfection. All industrial diseases are to be notified and a by no means satisfactory list of 19 industrial diseases is to be made a compulsory minimum. It would have been much better to have had an illustrative list as the Employers suggested. On the other hand, the statistics of notifications may be worthless and alarming as they need not be based on a medical certificate, as the Employers desire. All appropriate and necessary measures to remove certain risks are to be taken, and they appear to require employers to go beyond present technical possibilities. All workers subject to special risks must undergo medical examination immediately before employment and perhaps periodically afterwards. The Employers have the impression that the practice of even the leading industrial countries does not cover more than 80 to 90 per cent. of the requirements. The regulations imply a standard of scientific knowledge, medical and administrative organisation and economic resources which go far beyond the means of less advanced countries. There can be no doubt that if the regulations were embodied in a Convention few countries would be able to ratify it and the valuable guidance the regulations contain would be without effect. International regulations covering industrial diseases so completely are being considered for the first time. It is a difficult and controversial subject, in respect of which there is still much need for further enquiry and experiment. The high and specific standards of the text would be totally unrealistic and premature as the terms of a Convention. As a Recommendation they would form an exhaustive and valuable guide to Governments. It is claimed that this is already known to the Committee who have just finished their labours on the Office text, and that it is their duty to record a definite opinion to this effect.

For the reasons I have mentioned the Employers ask the Conference to approve their amendment which will shortly be brought forward to the proposed resolution No. 1 of the report, to the effect that the international regulations should be adopted in the form of a Recommendation.

Mr. VERMEULEN (*Workers' adviser, Netherlands*)—It seems to be the usual procedure at this Conference that the debate on the principal questions which have been dealt with during sessions of the Committees is repeated in the plenary sitting of the Conference. Speaking on behalf of the Workers' group I wish to say that I am not going to do that.

We in the Workers' group believe that the protection of the workers' health can be best achieved if the international regulations take the form of a Convention. We think that this Convention should contain the notification as such and the medical examination as such, and

this answers all the remarks made by the Employers' representative who spoke before me. He tried to draw a picture of a Convention which was too detailed and impossible of ratification by the Governments. I think the way I have shown you is much better and less complicated, and for that reason I appeal to you to give the workers the benefit of the doubt and accept the report of the Committee.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—There are no more speakers for the general discussion on the report. I will request the Reporter, Mr. Willot, to reply to the points made here.

Interpretation: Mr. WILLOT (*Government adviser, Belgium; Reporter of the Committee on Workers' Health*)—The Committee on Workers' Health met on 16 occasions under the chairmanship of Miss Perkins.

The representatives of all groups—Government, Employers and Workers—unanimously agreed on the necessity for international regulations concerning the health of workers in places of employment. They considered that, like war, occupational diseases killed hundreds of thousands of workers every year.

The point on which the Committee failed to agree, as has already been stated, was whether the regulations should take the form of a Recommendation or a Convention. A number of the members, and the Employers in particular, were in favour of a Recommendation, basing their argument particularly on the fact that the list of occupational diseases varied from country to country and that it was impossible to draw up a Convention. Others considered that a Convention would be more exacting because of its legislative character, and that the protection of the health of the workers was a fundamental objective pursued by the I.L.O.

After two meetings the Belgian Government representative, who had submitted an amendment proposing that a Convention should be drawn up, withdrew his amendment in favour of an amendment submitted by the Workers' group proposing that the Office should be asked to prepare for the next session of the Conference a proposed Convention supplemented by a Recommendation, and a proposed Recommendation.

This proposal was adopted and is contained in point 1 of the conclusions before you. I would like briefly to go over the four points which formed in particular the subject of our discussions during the meetings of the Committee.

As you can see from point 2 of the proposed conclusions the aims pursued are the initiation of measures of protection, particularly in places of employment, the investigation of working conditions and other circumstances which have caused occupational diseases, and the compilation of statistics of occupational diseases in all countries.

One important point resulting from the amendment submitted by the Workers' group relates to the notification of all occupational diseases which might be considered to rise as a result of employment.

I think if the Conference accepts the proposed resolution concerning the agenda of the next

session it will have to establish at its next session what, in law, are to be considered as diseases arising as a result of employment.

A list has in fact been drawn up in point 4 in accordance with the amendment adopted with regard to point 3 and as a result of the voting in the Committee. This list should be considered as a minimum and should be of an obligatory nature. It is intended for inclusion in national lists to be completed in accordance with the requirements of each particular country.

Sections III and IV do not call for any comment.

I would request that, after the general discussions now going on and after the discussion of the proposed text before you, the proposed resolution concerning the agenda of the next session, adopted at the last meeting of the Committee, be submitted to the Conference.

Lastly, I would appeal to the sense of humaneness of all the delegates here to take all measures necessary for the protection of the health of the workers. Other persons who spoke just now have stated that good health is man's most precious possession. Personally, and as a Catholic, I would like to say that spiritual health and bodily health are man's most precious possessions.

In the name of all those whose work cost them their lives I ask you to take the necessary measures to protect the health of those who are working today and those who will be working tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there are no observations I shall take it that the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION OF PROPOSED CONCLUSIONS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS CONCERNING PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF WORKERS IN PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall proceed to vote on the conclusions mentioned in the report and on the proposed resolutions with the exception of the proposed resolution concerning the agenda of the next session for which a vote by a two-thirds majority is necessary. We shall vote on the conclusions paragraph by paragraph.

First of all, however, an amendment has been submitted by the Employers' group concerning paragraph 1 of the proposed conclusions, to the effect that the proposed international regulations shall be adopted in the form of a Recommendation. If there are no speakers on this amendment, it will be put to the vote, after which we shall vote on paragraph 1.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 89 votes to 54, with two abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The amendment having been rejected, I shall take a vote on paragraph 1 of the proposed conclu-

sions in its original form. If there are no objections I shall declare it adopted.

(Paragraph 1 in its original form is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there are no objections, I declare paragraph 2 adopted.

(Paragraph 2 is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—In connection with paragraph 3, Mr. Ross, Employers' adviser, Canada, has signified his desire to speak.

Mr. ROSS (*Employers' adviser, Canada*)—To save the time of the Conference, the Employers' group has withdrawn three amendments which they had submitted to paragraphs 3 and 4, of the proposed conclusions. But, having done so, they wish me to make a statement on their behalf about the points to which these amendments referred.

With reference to paragraph 3, the Employers' group has not understood the purport of this conclusion. Is it a statement of principles or a quite impracticable administrative directive? In our opinion it is a confusing and unnecessary article and should be omitted.

Paragraph 4 has to do with a list of so-called occupational diseases, and the Employers' group feels that the Committee was without the knowledge and the competence to discuss or take a decision on such a list. The list is an unsatisfactory one from many points of view. Scientific, industrial and procedural difficulties of getting an international list which can be treated as an obligatory minimum are serious. The present list should be considered and treated merely as a typical list.

The amendment to paragraph 6 was a consequential amendment.

The Employers' group will vote against paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 as they come up, without any further statement.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I will now take a vote on paragraph 3. Unless there are any objections, I declare paragraph 3 adopted.

(Paragraph 3 is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will now deal with paragraph 4. Unless there are any objections, I declare paragraph 4 adopted.

Mr. CHAPMAN (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—We must have a vote on paragraph 4. The Employers' group has an objection.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will take a vote on paragraph 4 as requested by the Employers' group.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Paragraph 4 is adopted by 119 votes to 32, with 10 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will proceed with the adoption of the text, paragraph by paragraph.

(Paragraphs 5 to 22 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We have passed the conclusions paragraph by paragraph and I now put them to the vote as a whole. If there are no objections, I take it they are adopted.

Mr. CHAPMAN (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—We would like a vote on the total text of the conclusions.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—As requested, there will be a vote on the conclusions as a whole.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The conclusions as a whole are adopted by 124 votes to nil, with 33 abstentions.*)

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE
ELIMINATION OR REDUCTION OF RISKS
OF WORKERS EXPOSED TO OR IN CONTACT
WITH HARMFUL SUBSTANCES OR RADIATIONS¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We should now come to the proposed resolution concerning the agenda of the next session. In order to pass this, however, we require a two-thirds majority; it will therefore be put to the vote later on. Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans has signified his desire to speak on the resolution. I therefore call upon him.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—I actually asked that the resolution should be put to the vote paragraph by paragraph, as I wish to speak on paragraph 2.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—In accordance with this desire, the resolution will be put to the vote paragraph by paragraph, but this vote is not to be taken now, as I have explained. However, when the vote is taken paragraph by paragraph Sir Guildhaume will have an opportunity to speak on the relevant paragraph.

We will now vote on the proposed resolution concerning the elimination of risks, paragraph by paragraph.

(*The Preamble to the Resolution and paragraphs (a) to (i) are adopted seriatim.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We now deal with the resolution as a whole. Unless there is indication to the contrary I take this resolution as adopted.

Mr. CHAPMAN (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I ask that the resolution as a whole be put to the vote.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—There is a request that this resolution be voted upon and we will therefore proceed to take the vote.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 137 votes to nil, with 16 abstentions.*)

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE
COLLECTION AND DIFFUSION OF INFORMATION
ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF HARMLESS OR LESS
HARMFUL SUBSTANCES
FOR HARMFUL SUBSTANCES¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will now proceed with the resolution concerning information on the replacement of harmful substances, taking it paragraph by paragraph. If there are no objections, I declare the Preamble adopted.

(*The Preamble is adopted.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—There is an amendment to paragraph 1, proposed by the Employers' group. It reads as follows: "After the words 'invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office' substitute the words 'to consider the advisability of instructing' for the words 'to instruct'". Does anyone wish to speak on this?

Mr. CHAPMAN (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—This resolution was agreed in Committee at short notice, and in the Employers' opinion, without adequate discussion. It may be desirable to do the work proposed but it is uncertain how productive any results would be. It is certain, however, that it will be a great and prolonged task, and it is uncertain whether the Office has the staff and resources to carry it out. The Governing Body must plan priorities in controlling the work of the Office and the Employers feel that the Governing Body should have an opportunity of deciding whether, when and how this task should be undertaken.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there are no other speakers on the amendment, I will put it to the vote.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 71 votes to 54, with 5 abstentions.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will now take the proposed resolution paragraph by paragraph.

(*Paragraphs (1) and (2) are adopted seriatim.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there are no objections, I declare the resolution as a whole adopted.

(*The resolution is adopted.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—On behalf of you all, I desire to express my thanks to Miss Perkins, the Chairman of the Committee, to the Officers of the Committee, especially the Reporter, Mr. Willot, and the members of the Committee for producing this useful report and enabling us to take our decision on it.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix XI.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix XI.

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE REPORTER OF
THE COMMITTEE ON MATERNITY PROTECTION
CONCERNING FINAL ARTICLES OF THE
MATERNITY PROTECTION CONVENTION
(REVISED), 1952¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We now have to consider and vote on the resolution concerning the Final Articles of the proposed Maternity Protection Convention (Revised) proposed by the Reporter. I would first of all request the Secretary-General to say a few words in this connection.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—There is an explanation that should be made concerning this matter and with your permission I will call upon the Legal Adviser to make the explanation on my behalf.

The LEGAL ADVISER—I have been asked to explain the precise legal effect of the resolution which is now before the Conference. The resolution reads as follows: "The Conference instructs its Drafting Committee to insert in the text to be submitted to it for final vote, in replacement of Articles 5 to 12 of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), final provisions in the form last approved by the Conference".

¹ See above p. 353.

The resolution is the usual resolution which it has always been the custom of the Conference to adopt when revising Conventions for the purpose of authorising the Drafting Committee to insert in the text of the revised Convention standard articles in the latest form. If the resolution is adopted, the Drafting Committee will insert in the Convention exactly the same Final Articles as appear in the other Conventions submitted to this session of the Conference for approval. If the resolution is not adopted, the effect of its non-adoption will be that the text coming forward from the Drafting Committee will necessarily contain the Final Articles in the original Convention.

It may be convenient to the Conference for me to indicate by way of illustration what the result of that would be. Article 9 of the original Convention provides that each Member which ratifies this Convention agrees to bring its provisions into operation not later than 1 July 1922. The inclusion in a text adopted in 1952 of the 1919 provisions would clearly produce an entirely anomalous and perhaps I may say, with respect, an absurd situation.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We will now take the record vote on the resolution concerning Final Articles, proposed by the Reporter. This draft resolution has already been circulated.

Record Vote on the Resolution concerning the Final Articles of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, Proposed by the Reporter of the Committee on Maternity Protection

For (161)

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi (G)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G) Mr. Riso (E) Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Doyle (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G) Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Burne (E) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G) Mr. Guerrero (E) Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Bergenström (E) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Weinberger (E) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey (G) Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard (G) Mr. Kaufmann (G) Mr. Kuntschen (E) Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Karikoski (E) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G) Mr. Tolbert (G) Mr. King (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar (G) Mr. Sioufi (G) Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Waline (E) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi (G)	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh (G)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung (G)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Winkler (E) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Diederich (E) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Taylor (E) Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Tsatsos (E)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar (G) Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Myburgh (G) Mr. Brooke (E) Mr. George (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Rutnam (E) Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G) Mr. Fennema (E) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G) Sir John Forbes Watson (E) Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Smith (G) Mr. Anderson (E) Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Ling (E) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G) Mr. Thors (E) Mr. Ástmarsson (W)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Östberg (E) Mr. Dahlberg (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Tata (E) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik (G) Mr. Alamgir (G) Mr. Ali (E) Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Soberón (G) Mr. Cowley (E) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G) Mr. Tedjasukmana (E) Mr. Sumarno (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh (G) Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G) Mr. Chau (E)
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi (G) Mr. Ibrahim (G) Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
		<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajń (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)	

Against (0)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The result of the vote is as follows: 161 for, 0 against and 2 abstentions. The resolution is therefore adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON
EMPLOYMENT IN MINES¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now consider the report of the Committee on

Employment in Mines, which has been circulated to you. As you know, the Committee was presided over by Mr. Sauerborn and Mr. Patnaik was the Reporter. I ask both of them to come to the platform.

Mr. PATNAIK (*Government adviser, India; Reporter of the Committee on Employment in Mines*)—I have the honour to present to you the report of the Committee on Employment in Mines. This report marks a phase in inter-

¹ See Third Part, Appendix XII.

national deliberations. The question of the conditions of employment of young persons in coal mines has been under discussion for some years. The report proposes a resolution this year and a Recommendation in certain matters hereafter. The work of the I.L.O. is never-ending and the work in this field will go on for many years' still. The report makes a beginning in a somewhat comprehensive manner in establishing international standards for young workers in mines.

The report is a simple and, may I say, a straightforward document. It proposes standards in regard to minimum age, medical examination, vocational training and guidance, night work and inspection services. It proposes further study of certain aspects of social welfare developments to be made by the Coal Mines Committee. In short, it aims at the improvement of conditions of young miners at a steady pace.

These proposals have no airs of grandeur. They make no appeal to the superior ambition of workers. The document is earthy, perhaps too earthy for the liking of some progressive Governments. As a matter of fact, at one time some of the Workers' representatives thought of dissociating themselves from the deliberations of the Committee, but fortunately better counsel prevailed. All sections of opinion agreed upon a realistic proposal on the basis of give and take. The more progressive Governments and the Workers' representatives agreed to the proposals only as a measure of international co-operation. We all witnessed international collective bargaining in play at the Committee.

The basis of the report is a desire to bridge the gulf between the more and the less advanced countries. The proposals are not too high for the less advanced and not too low for the more advanced countries. They have been framed on the sole criterion of achievability within a reasonably short period of time. They claim to have only one merit, namely, the virtue of realism. I suggest that this report might be considered on this basis.

Interpretation: Mr. VONDRAS (*Workers' adviser, Czechoslovakia*)—The Czechoslovak delegation is not satisfied with the results of the work of the Committee on Employment in Mines. I must point out that the proposed text submitted to the Governments by the I.L.O. was generally speaking rather progressive and it seemed that there was a real wish to assist young persons employed in mines.

We have not participated in the work of the Committee because young miners in my country have any need for the protection provided by a resolution of this sort. They enjoy nowadays privileges of which young miners in capitalist countries dare not even dream. One proof of this is the fact that the Czechoslovak Government pays every month the sum of 10,000 crowns, that is to say, 900 Swiss francs, for the vocational education of each young miner. The occupation of miner in my country has become a heroic calling, an honourable and glorious calling; and our young miners say spontaneously and with reason: "I am a miner—who is better than I?"

We participated in the work of the Committee in order to express our complete solidarity with young miners throughout the world and in the hope that next year the entire question of the protection of young persons employed underground in coal mines would be the subject of a second discussion with a view to the adoption of a Convention. But the discussion in the Committee and the results of the work of the Committee show that the Employers' members and some of the Government members in the Committee lacked the good will really to aid the young miners. On the contrary, they showed that it was their intention to limit as much as possible the draft drawn up by the Office. Right from the start of the Committee, we noticed that the Employers' group made a series of proposals with a view to substituting the words "regulation of employment" for the word "protection" in the title of Report IX (2), prepared by the Office for this session of the Conference, with the obvious intention that the discussions on the entire draft should thereby be limited.

Although the Czechoslovak delegation was of the opinion that the original draft text was sufficiently positive, they thought it necessary to propose several amendments which, if accepted, would have provided effective and practical protection for young miners. These amendments were principally connected with remuneration and hours of work, but members of the Committee, including Workers' members, did not think it desirable to support these amendments, which are, nevertheless, of vital importance to young miners. These facts, in addition to the reference to the Coal Mines Committee of the parts on social security and social welfare, were the reasons why this text, which was on the whole fairly progressive in its original form, is now so limited that the resolution before you, which in any case does not impose obligations on anybody, will not bring about any concrete improvement in the living and working conditions of these young miners.

In the end, it now seems that this resolution is not even to be considered as a first discussion but as a final text. Only the question of minimum age for the admission of young persons to underground employment in coal mines, which has been before the I.L.O. for 17 years, is perhaps to be included in the agenda of the next session of the International Labour Conference with a view to the adoption of a modest Recommendation. In that way nobody will be too much affected by it.

The discussions in the Committee have clearly shown that any hope in the possibility of achieving peace in the class struggle is a pure illusion. I am certain that if the miners of any country at all followed the work of the Committee they would, and rightly, no longer wish to hear talk of such a type of "social peace".

The Employers' members and those of the Government members who have spared no effort to limit as much as possible the scope of the draft resolution are well aware that miners know how to fight for their rights and for their claims. It is quite clear, too, that mine workers, whether they are employed in coal mines or in any other sort of mines, will

in future have to resort, as they already have done in the past, to making use of well-trying methods of class struggle in order to obtain their rights and those of young persons employed underground in coal mines, because the Employers and certain Government delegates have shown them that there is no other means.

Whatever you may imagine, this text will not really improve their lot. They can only obtain some improvement in their living and working conditions by their united and persevering action. Only united action, both at the international and at the national levels, by miners throughout the world, will result in the achievement of these aims.

Interpretation : Mr. LEGRAND (Employers' adviser, Belgium)—In the name of the Employers' members of the Committee on Employment in Mines, who have asked me to be their spokesman, I have the honour to inform this Conference of the various reasons for the position adopted by the Employers' group in the course of the Committee discussions and before the Conference as a whole.

First of all, in order to avoid any misunderstanding we are compelled to state that the drafting of paragraph 50 of the report of the Committee, which was drawn up after the last sitting of the Committee, should be amended to make it quite clear that the unanimous vote obtained was merely on the fact that the report and the text were in conformity with the decisions of the Committee. This, of course, does not mean to say that we agree with the contents in general and to the entire text of the draft. It would have been better to say, for example: "This report and the conformity of the text of the draft resolution with the deliberations of the Committee . . .", etc. Furthermore, as regards the text of paragraph 39 of the Committee's report, where it is stated, in connection with paragraph 22 (night work) of the text of the resolution as submitted by the Office, that the Employers' and Government members of the United Kingdom reserved their right to reopen the question at a later stage of the proceedings, we have submitted to the Officers of the Conference an amendment to add at the end of paragraph 23 (paragraph 22 of the Office text) of the resolution the words "except under the conditions provided for by Convention No. 90 (Revised)".

It is a question of correcting the tendency of paragraph 23 to be too categorical in the prohibition laid down therein, which would entail considerable difficulties in its practical application. This arrangement would be made only in accordance with the provisions of an official document respecting the work of young persons, which is itself the subject of a Convention.

Although we are all agreed that there are very many measures to be adopted for the protection of young persons working in mines, both with regard to their recruitment and for the purpose of awakening in them an interest in their work so that they will take up mining as a career—in other words to bring them really to like mining—we must also remember that these young persons, for the purpose of such questions as social security, should be considered as members of a vast body of workers.

That is why it is very difficult to dissociate their general social standard from that of other mine workers, since the legislation and collective agreements which govern them are of necessity the same, as they work under the same contract of employment.

It is quite true that there exist in a number of coal-producing countries special conditions respecting mine workers, and this is only just. These conditions should be made to form part of general measures, and we must understand that no absolutely rigid regulations can be made.

That is why we have constantly tried to seek measures which can be put into practical effect and which can be brought into harmony with the life of the mine worker as a member of society.

If we wish our efforts to bear fruit we must limit ourselves to immediate possibilities without seeking solutions which may be eminently desirable but which are not practicable under present-day conditions. The Government representative of the most important coal-producing country in Europe stated in our Committee that a resolution was, for the moment, a much more acceptable instrument than a Convention which could not be ratified by his Government.

We prefer a resolution accepted with goodwill, which brings us much nearer to the achievement of something practical, to instruments which have binding force only in name, for past experience has often shown us that such instruments, though endowed with all the virtues, have no more tangible results than the expression of good intentions.

For this reason the Employers' members of the Committee, with one abstention, voted against the proposed resolution concerning the placing on the agenda of the 1953 Session of the Conference, for a second discussion, of the question of the minimum age for admission of young persons for employment underground in coal mines, with a view to a Recommendation on this question. That is why they will vote in the same manner in this assembly. The work done by the members of the Industrial Committees, persons who come into everyday contact with the problems we are discussing, seems to be entirely in conformity with our views. In preparation for the discussion of this matter by the Conference, four successive sessions of the Coal Mines Committee have met. Its members have worked conscientiously, competently and in good faith. Their discussions have often resulted in unanimous resolutions. In the course of these discussions our Employer colleagues have often gone as far as they thought possible and they have always been supported by their respective Governments and—I insist on this point—they have been supported by their Worker colleagues.

In the course of the discussions in our Committee we have never ceased to stress our desire that these questions should first of all be discussed by the Coal Mines Committee. We thought that the other groups were also of the opinion that this procedure should be followed. Certainly we know that the Conference is the supreme organ of the International Labour Organisation, and that this assembly is sovereign, and that the right of

initiative of its Members on any point is absolute. But when we discover that, under the avalanche of new amendments, the text prepared by the Office, taking into account the resolutions of the Coal Mines Committee and the replies from Governments, is in danger of being changed too much, then the members of the Industrial Committees may legitimately ask themselves whether we are only using as a springboard the documents drawn up by them with the object of achieving results.

We respect the sovereignty of the Conference and the right of initiative of its members. But we may at least ask those who, with us, have arrived at unanimous decisions, to remember this and not to go beyond the decisions already taken, because in that case the whole existence of the Industrial Committees is brought in question.

I hope that these few remarks will have your attention. The Employers' members are very happy to have brought their full co-operation to the Committee on Employment in Mines.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I have no more names down for the general discussion. Have the Chairman and the Reporter any remarks to make ?

Mr. SAUERBORN (*Government delegate, Federal Republic of Germany; Chairman of the Committee on Employment in Mines*) speaks in German.

Interpretation : Mr. SAUERBORN (*Government delegate, Federal Republic of Germany; Chairman of the Committee on Employment in Mines*)—In rising to address you at the close of this debate it is not my intention to enter into the dispute on individual points. It is rather my intention to outline briefly the various points of view which guided this Committee in its work.

In the preamble to the proposed resolution reference is made to the fact that the prevailing conditions of work in coal mines and of life in coal mining areas call for special attention to meet the needs of young persons for normal physical, social and vocational development.

Our work was concerned with two questions of outstanding importance: first of all, the special protection of young workers employed underground in coal mines, and secondly the ensuring of sufficient manpower in the future for this specially important basic industry. Although, naturally, not all the members of the Committee were of the same opinion regarding the manner in which the above questions should be solved—as is obvious from the narrow majorities by which the proposals concerning the age of admission of young persons to employment in coal mines, the prohibition of night work, and rest pauses, were carried—nevertheless, thanks to the loyal collaboration of the members of the Committee, far-reaching agreement was reached on the subject as a whole.

It is really owing to the excellent preparatory work carried out at the meetings of the I.L.O. Coal Mines Committee and by the International Labour Office that we have covered so much ground in so short a time.

Two parts of the Office text, those concerning social security and social welfare, in so far as they apply particularly to workers in coal mines, have been set aside and it is proposed in one of the resolutions before you that they should be referred for further study to the I.L.O. Coal Mines Committee. All the other matters are dealt with in the proposed resolution concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines. I think I may say that the Committee has done good work, and I hope that this assembly will vote in favour of the proposed resolutions.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there is no indication to the contrary I shall consider the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

DISCUSSION OF AND VOTE ON PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS IN UNDERGROUND WORK IN COAL MINES¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall proceed with the consideration of and the vote on two of the proposed resolutions of this Committee. As before, we shall take them paragraph by paragraph. First, the resolution concerning the regulation of employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines.

(The Preamble and Paragraphs 1 to 22 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We come now to paragraph 23, concerning night work. An amendment has been submitted by the Employers' group. Mr. Minton, Employers' adviser, United Kingdom, will speak on the amendment.

Mr. MINTON (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—This amendment to add the words "except under the condition provided by Convention No. 90 (Revised)" at the end of paragraph 23 has been proposed, as Mr. Legrand indicated in his opening statement, because we consider that the text as it stands is too absolute. There may very well be occasions when it is necessary to retain the services of persons on the afternoon shift, for example if some emergency has arisen, if there has been a tram off the lines or a fall of ground that the people on that afternoon shift have to clear. We should not be able to retain their services until that position was cleared unless there were a provision of this kind in the Convention.

The second point is one that is rather peculiar at the moment to the position in Great Britain; that is, the desire to provide an exception under one of the clauses of Convention No. 90 which would enable us by collective agreement with the trade unions to arrange different times from those laid down specifically in the Convention. In my country there are three

¹ See Third Part, Appendix XI.

districts where at the present moment the main producing shift commences very early in the morning—at 2.30, 3.30 or 4.30 a.m.—and unless there is a provision of this kind in the resolution it would be morally against the principle of the resolution for my country to continue to allow the people to work on those shifts. The practical consequence of that would be that we should have to deny the right to employment of several young persons between the ages of 16 and 18. On the other hand, if this exception is provided, according to Convention No. 90 it will be possible for us to agree with the trade union concerned with regard to the hours that should be worked. I should say that in principle we agree that night work for young persons should be discouraged and we have, in fact, taken steps to ensure that in the course of time this special exception that I have referred to in the case of Great Britain will no longer be necessary, but I do not feel that I can subscribe to a text of a resolution which I know I cannot loyally carry out even if there is no legal obligation for, shall we say, two or three years' time. Therefore, I ask you to adopt this very reasonable amendment for the reasons which I have stated.

Mr. SUSSEKIND (*Government adviser, Brazil*) speaks in Portuguese.

Interpretation: Mr. SUSSEKIND (*Government adviser, Brazil*)—The Brazilian Government delegation will vote in favour of the adoption of the proposed resolution as it was drawn up by the Committee on Employment in Mines since no specific regulations exist on this subject and since the measures envisaged in this text represent reasonable progress at the international level with regard to the protection of young workers employed underground in coal mines.

Brazilian legislation, like that of some other countries, lays down rules providing greater protection for young persons employed in mines, which go further than the text submitted to the plenary sitting of this Conference by imposing more restrictions with regard to this onerous, unhealthy and almost inhuman work. Suffice it to indicate in this connection that the Brazilian Consolidation of Labour Laws prohibits the employment of young persons under 21 years of age underground (section 301), except for the purpose of apprenticeship in the case of young persons between 18 and 21 years of age, and then such employment is limited to three hours a day for practical training underground. In addition to this practical apprenticeship, young persons are given technical training and receive remuneration in respect of time spent in training (section 7 of Legislative Decree No. 9576 of 1946). Hours of work underground may not exceed six per day (section 293 of the Consolidation of Labour Laws) with a compulsory rest pause each day (section 298 of the Consolidation of Labour Laws). Winding time is included in hours of work for the purpose of remuneration (section 294 of the Consolidation of Labour Laws). Full wages are paid in respect of weekly rest days and public holidays (Act No. 605 of 1949). The period of annual

holidays with pay is 20 working days (section 132 of the Consolidation of Labour Laws as amended by Act No. 816 of 1949). There is constant medical supervision of young persons and the regulations relating to inspection confer on the appropriate bodies the necessary powers for financing and enforcing the measures to which I have referred.

However, since paragraph 8 of Article 19 of the Constitution prescribes that "in no case shall the adoption of any Convention or Recommendation by the Conference, or the ratification of any Convention by any Member, be deemed to affect any law, award, custom or agreement which ensures more favourable conditions to the workers concerned than those provided for in the Convention or Recommendation", the Brazilian Government delegation will vote in favour of the proposed resolution since the measures contained therein constitute a reasonable advance at the international level with regard to the social protection of young persons. No argument could speak more clearly in favour of this conclusion than the statistical tables published in Report IX (1), prepared by the International Labour Office, from which it can be seen that thousands of young persons of 16, 15 and even 14 years of age are employed in various countries in underground work in coal mines. This happens in 1952, notwithstanding the existence of the Constitution of the I.L.O., as amended in 1946, in the Preamble of which stress is laid on the urgent necessity of improving the conditions of work of young persons in order that lasting peace based on social justice may be obtained.

The Brazilian Government, which prides itself on being a signatory to the Constitution, believes in it and acts accordingly. That is why the proposed resolution before us, which we hope will be approved without reserve, introduces nothing new to Brazilian labour legislation.

The Brazilian Government delegation cannot, however, terminate its remarks in support of the text adopted by the tripartite Committee on Employment in Mines without expressing its disapproval of the amendment submitted by the Employers' group in the Committee envisaging the employment at night of young persons under 18 years of age in underground work in mines. We cannot remain silent, since the text of paragraph 23 of the resolution respecting night work submitted by the Committee is the result of an amendment which I had the honour to submit in the name of my delegation and which was approved by the Committee.

I would remind you that night work is unnatural, anti-social and deleterious to health; it is more dangerous than day work and renders young persons more liable to fatigue and consequently to psychological and physiological disorders. Further, it disrupts family life and adversely affects the cultural development of the young persons, which is indispensable to the social progress of any nation.

It may be true that the requirements of the modern world make a general and strict prohibition of night work impossible, but I think that, in the case of young persons who are still growing, such prohibition should be as general as possible and should in any case

be positive and absolute where onerous and unhealthy work such as is carried on in coal mines is concerned.

I would point out in this connection that the restriction of night work of young persons has always been one of the most important and humane objectives of the I.L.O. Convention No. 6 of 1919, which was ratified by 34 countries, including Brazil, lays down rules prohibiting the execution of night work in industry by young persons under 18 years of age; and Convention No. 90 of 1948 allows the employment at night of young persons between 16 and 18 years of age only where this has been permitted by the competent authority after consultation with the appropriate employers' and workers' associations. The Paris Conference of 1945 adopted a resolution expressing the desirability of further restrictive measures respecting the employment of young persons at night.

It is easy to see, therefore, in view of the facts I have stated, that if this plenary sitting approves the amendment to which I have referred this Conference will be responsible for a step which is contrary to the whole trend of the social work of the I.L.O. since 1919—magnificent work which enabled the Organisation to survive the last world war.

In conclusion I repeat that the Brazilian Government delegation is convinced that this amendment will be rejected, because the majority of countries which replied to the questionnaire were in favour of the prohibition of the employment of young persons on night work and because we States which are signatories to the Constitution of the I.L.O. believe in the principles enumerated therein and will vote in accordance with the principles of social justice and human dignity.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now vote on the amendment.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The result is as follows: 67 votes for, 29 against, and 6 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—In the voting which has just taken place there was no quorum. The vote is therefore null and void. We can now proceed with consideration of the resolution paragraph by paragraph. If there is no objection to paragraph 23, this paragraph is adopted in its original form.

Mr. MINTON (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—In accordance with paragraph 3 (1) of Article 20 of the Standing Orders, which reads as follows: "Where a quorum has not been obtained in a vote by a show of hands or in a record vote, the President may take a record vote on the same question at one of the two next following sittings", may I suggest that the President should follow this procedure with regard to this amendment, and pass on to paragraph 24?

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I agree to Mr. Minton's suggestion. I wish to make the position clear. The amendment, as well as the original paragraph, is still to be voted upon. We shall take a record vote on the amendment,

as requested, and if the amendment is adopted the paragraph as amended will be put to the vote. If it is not adopted, then the original paragraph as it stands will be put to the vote. We shall now proceed to paragraph 24.

(Paragraphs 24 to 28 are adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—In normal circumstances the resolution as a whole should now be put to the vote but, as there are still some paragraphs to be voted on, we cannot follow this procedure at this stage. We will return later to this resolution.

ADOPTION OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE FACILITIES IN COAL MINES¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now proceed to the next proposed resolution, which concerns social security and social welfare facilities in coal mines. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the proposed resolution is adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall not now consider the proposed resolution to include the question of the minimum age of admission to work underground in coal mines in the agenda of the next session of the Conference. This particular item is going to be the subject of a record vote at the next plenary sitting, not at this sitting. Although, of course, the matter will come up again for consideration, I would like now to thank the Chairman, the Reporter and the members of the Committee on Employment in Mines, who have done valuable work.

FIRST REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE²

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now proceed to consider the First Report of the Resolutions Committee, which has been circulated. Mr. Hauck, the Chairman of the Committee, will present the report.

Interpretation: Mr. HAUCK (*Government delegate, France; Chairman and Reporter of the Resolutions Committee*)—The Resolutions Committee, in presenting its first report, submits to you the results of its work on a resolution which was submitted by a number of Workers' delegates who are members of the Governing Body of the I.L.O.: Mr. Jouhaux, Mr. Cofiño, Mr. Shastri, Mr. Delaney, Mr. Möri, Mr. Boehm, Mr. Pastore, Mr. Jodoin, and Mr. Roberts.

This resolution, which dealt with freedom of association, gave rise to a long discussion, during which amendments were presented to and criticisms made of the proposed resolution. The amendments were put forward by the representative of the French Workers on the

¹ See Third Part, Appendix XI.

² See Third Part, Appendix IV.

Resolutions Committee, Mr. Le Léap. The criticism came from the Employers' group. The criticisms of the proposed draft resolution have been summarised in the report which you have before you, which makes it clear that the Employers, while supporting the principle of freedom of association, felt that they could not propose adoption of this resolution by the Conference, because they considered that adoption of the resolution in its present form was inexpedient.

At the present time I do not think that it will be useful to spend too much time on an account of the discussions in the Committee, but I will reply to any observations which may be made by members of the Conference.

Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*) speaks in Polish.

Interpretation: Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*)—In view of the fact that the First Report of the Resolutions Committee leaves completely aside the position taken by the Government delegation of Poland in regard to the draft resolution submitted, I wish in this way to make clear what our position is.

Among the important problems which are before this Conference the problem of the violation of trade union rights comes first. The attack on the fundamental rights of workers, the right of association in order to defend their economic interests and the right to strike have gathered momentum in connection with war preparation and are closely linked with the increasing fascist tendencies of the imperialist countries.

The Governments of the capitalist countries increasingly try to convert the trade unions into an instrument of war preparation, of war propaganda and of a policy directed against the working class. The attack on the liberties of trade unions which we witness in the capitalist world forms part of a general attack directed against all democratic freedoms and constitutes a fragment of a process aiming at the liquidation of democratic rights and liberties.

One could support these statements by citing numerous incidents which have occurred and which still occur in the capitalist world. Such brutal attacks occur in the United States as well as in the countries of Western Europe, in Africa, in Asia and in many countries of Latin America. They take different forms. They range from the murder of trade union leaders, as we have seen in Greece, to brutal actions by the "allied" American-Japanese forces in Japan.

The Japanese draft law concerning the prevention of subversive activities makes it possible to consider every organisation and every newspaper as subversive and to suspend their activities. This law aims at strangling the workers' movement and the progressive forces of Japan. In spite of the fact that under the pressure of the masses the Japanese Government has been forced to revise this draft law 23 times, the law still has all the characteristics of "muzzle" provisions, against which the working masses are increasingly protesting by adopting the method of general strikes, which have taken place on several occasions.

Western Germany the so-called Adenauer Government has submitted to the Parliament in Bonn a Bill concerning the organisation of factories. This Bill, in regard to its fundamental provisions, closely resembles the "muzzle" laws of nazism which have instituted the *Führerprinzip* in the factory. The new Bill deliberately submits the workers of the given enterprise to the interests, the will and the whims of the employers.

The working masses of Western Germany realise that this new Bill has been prepared under the influence of the recently signed general agreement, and under the pressure of the masses the leaders of trade unions, who do not want to lose the remnants of their prestige and their weakened hold on the rank and file, follow reluctantly the fight undertaken by the workers against this particular Bill. In spite of the agreement between Mr. Fette and Mr. Adenauer, the communists, the social democrats, the Christian democrats, and also people who do not belong to any party whatever, have all joined in carrying out the fight because they have realised that a tenacious and systematic struggle would force the so-called Adenauer Government to withdraw this anti-workers Bill.

A number of speakers who have already spoken from this rostrum mentioned the notorious Taft-Hartley Act. It is worth recalling that under the provisions of this law American miners had to pay a fine of \$3,750,000 during the last few years. The carpenters' and wood-workers' union had to pay \$2,000,000. In reaction to the increase in strikes, the American Congress is at present discussing a draft submitted by Mr. Howard Smith which aims at drastically limiting the right to strike. The weekly *U.S. News World Report* of 16 May this year reports that further anti-worker Bills are being prepared, and among them a Bill which would forbid collective agreements or strikes carried out in more than one plant.

The arrest and trials of trade union leaders in Franco Spain, the repression and terror in Tunisia, the last frontal attack of the French Government against the C.G.T.—these are just a few examples that illustrate the tendency to break the fundamental rights of the workers.

In spite of the heroic resistance of the masses, who do not want to be dragged into a war and who do not want to shoulder the burden of war economy, the situation is very serious because the Governments of the capitalist countries are prepared to use every means in order to break the trade union movement.

It was therefore to be expected that in a situation which is so serious the authors of the resolution concerning the rights and the liberties of trade unions would find it proper to protest against and to condemn the brutal practices of the Governments of the capitalist countries. Undoubtedly the authors of the resolution understand that the trade unions and the working class of the world expect that this Conference will take a firm stand in regard to the persecutions and restrictions carried out against the trade unions in a number of capitalist countries and colonies. The authors of the resolution have, however, submitted a text which is merely a declaration,

and, brushing aside the situation as it exists, they endeavour to whitewash those who try to repress the trade union movement.

Mr. Jouhaux and his colleagues have not mentioned the facts I have just described. Mr. Jouhaux has not spoken, although he could have helped greatly to make the situation understood in regard to both the general situation and that in his own country. An outline of the existing situation would have been a starting point for the resolution, instead of the mild platitudes which have been expressed so that the Government which sent Mr. Jouhaux to this Conference should not be offended. Such silence represents another proof for the working masses of the world that trade union leaders of this kind are connected with the actions of capitalist Governments which I have already mentioned. Such a stand represents the real substance and the true intention of the resolution submitted. On this occasion, as on similar previous occasions, the authors of the resolution have made a big blunder because they have underestimated the commonsense and the intelligence of world public opinion, and in particular the class instinct of the working masses who, during years of struggle against heavy odds, have learned to distinguish between friends and enemies. Such manoeuvres will not whitewash anyone.

If the authors of the resolution are truly concerned with trade union freedom, let them join in the protest against the action undertaken in their own countries and that undertaken in other capitalist countries. I can assure them that in undertaking such genuine action they could count on our full support.

During the discussion in the Resolutions Committee, the World Federation of Trade Unions, which represents 80 millions of workers from all over the world, submitted a number of amendments aimed at inserting the right ideas in the text and adjusting the resolution to the present serious situation. The Polish Government delegation fully supported these amendments. Unfortunately, the authors of the resolution formed a bloc with the Employers' group and representatives of the Governments of capitalist countries and rejected all these amendments, having thus shown once again their intentions and designs, and having thus confirmed their joint responsibility for the persecutions that are taking place.

In these circumstances the Polish Government delegation, refusing to participate in action which aims at creating mere illusions that something is being done to defend trade union rights, could not and did not support the resolution submitted.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—I think it is a pity that the First Report of the Resolutions Committee does not reflect the discussion which went on in that Committee. One of the reasons may be that this report was not discussed in the Committee itself before being printed. I must make it clear that in making this remark I do not imply that the majority in the Resolutions Committee would be able or willing to produce a document reflecting their behaviour in that Committee. I think it is a pity that no reader

of this report would ever guess what was the substance of the amendments submitted by the French Workers' member of the Committee, amendments which were rejected by the joint effort of the representatives of the reformist trade unions, the Employers' group and the representatives of the capitalist Governments. The report keeps completely silent about this; it keeps completely silent about the fact that the movers of the resolution made it abundantly clear during the discussion in the Committee that the resolution as drafted was concerned with the interests of the capitalist employers and Governments; they made it abundantly clear that the underlying idea was that of so-called "social peace"—which is only a soft expression for the idea that the working class organisations should stay politically idle and keep out of the field of the political battle at a time when the capitalists, outside or inside the Governments, wage a new offensive against the working masses, using all means available to them—political or non-political—what does it matter after all?

It is the striking feature of this report that, while keeping absolutely silent on all this, it is at pains to explain what it calls the "objections" of the Employers' group to the draft resolution. We have seen more than once at this Conference that the Employers' group and the so-called Workers' representatives stage a kind of sham fight in order to conceal their common alliance directed against the real, basic and vital interests of the working class. They may be sure that the rank and file of the labour movement in their own countries are not so foolish as not to see through their manoeuvres. After all, these manoeuvres are not new in the history of the struggle of the workers, and their attempts to find new disguises for them are bound to fail, as the experiences of the broad masses of the working people expose them for what they are.

Coming to the text of the proposed resolution itself, I wish to state on behalf of the whole Czechoslovak delegation that we have no doubts about the expediency, and indeed the urgency, not only of a resolution but also of every conceivable action aimed at safeguarding the independence of the trade union movement. In view of the rising number of provocative actions and oppressive measures against trade unions and workers' organisations in the capitalist countries; in view of the persecution of the workers' leaders who are being jailed on trumped-up charges, sentenced to death or even killed without trial; in view of the anti-labour legislation of which the Taft-Hartley Act is only one example; in view of the efforts of the capitalists to curtail workers' rights with the help of State machinery; in view of the increasing attempts to destroy the workers' organisations and to disrupt the unity of the working class movement from within with the help of agents of the ruling class in the capitalist countries—in view of all these things it is clear that a resolution asserting the full scope of workers' rights and pointing out the necessity of freedom of action, which the trade unions must preserve in order to counteract effectively the attacks made against them by the capitalists, could have its value.

But the resolution which we have before us is, unfortunately, worded in such a manner that it hides the real issues at stake. It is true that it asserts in its last paragraphs the principle of the independence of the trade unions, but it does so in a way which is a reflection of a certain political concept, a concept which misunderstands or misrepresents the fundamental problems of the political aspect of the struggle of the working class. In fact—and this is what this resolution amounts to—it tries, under the pretext of defining the independence of the trade unions, to smuggle in a certain conception of trade union activities which, instead of strengthening the fighting spirit of the trade unions, tends to weaken it. It is this economic, reformist and so-called “non-political” conception of their activities which is aimed at disinteresting the trade unions in the political struggle, without which the working class is not able to defeat its merciless enemy: the capitalist society itself.

The resolution admits the possibility of political affiliation of trade unions, but makes it quite clear that such affiliation is to be regarded as something exceptional, something for which allowances must be made, something which is permitted because it cannot be prevented, instead of making it clear that the core of the problem is not whether the trade unions may or may not have political affiliations but of what kind those affiliations may be.

It is the nature of the political party and political organisation, its objectives, the political programme and its political practice which are the only criteria in judging whether the political affiliation of trade unions is right or not from the only decisive point of view, namely, whether it helps the working class to achieve what was rightly termed by the words “working class power”.

No wonder that the movers of this resolution opposed, with the emphatic support of the Employers, any amendment which would, to use the words of one of them in the discussion in the Resolutions Committee, revolutionise the resolution. Indeed, this resolution is anti-revolutionary and is intended to be anti-revolutionary. They also admitted that they want only a resolution defining trade union activities in such a way that the employers could agree with the definition.

No wonder that the movers of the resolution refused even to discuss the social-political phenomenon which is of paramount importance to the working class itself, namely, the fact that the changes in the relations of the trade union movement with the political power are directly connected and conditioned by the development and the nature of that political power.

No wonder that the movers of this resolution have defined the mission of the trade unions in such a way that the definition leaves out the basic function of the trade union movement, namely, its participation in the fight against the social order which is based on the exploitation of man by man, and its participation in establishing and consolidating a society in which such exploitation is abolished.

For the Czechoslovak trade union movement, which has played such an important role in defeating the reactionary forces in my country

and which now plays a no less important role in building up the social society in which the power rests in the hands of the working people themselves, this resolution is of no significance. For the working class in the capitalist, colonial and dependent territories, the adoption of this resolution might even be harmful. The trade unions in those countries might experience what the implications are of the disregard which this resolution shows towards the real and fundamental needs and demands of the workers at a time when the attacks of the exploiting class gain impetus. It is the note of class appeasement which spells treachery to those needs and demands, and this note will make the workers suspicious about the sincerity of some high-sounding and noble phrases in this resolution if they read it.

What is behind the whole concept of this resolution is the policy of the International Confederation of (so-called) Free Trade Unions. Commenting on the conference of this body which took place in Milan last year, the *American Business Week* of 2 July 1951 wrote: “Though disguised . . . the U.S. influence on non-communist unions abroad was almost unchallenged at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Convention that ended its session in Milan this week. It was because of the three American union delegates who came from A.F. of L., C.I.O. and independent unions. The U.S. State Department might not want to sponsor all the positions taken by the I.C.F.T.U., but it would not seriously quarrel with any of the resolutions passed. The cold war has made the work of the big U.S. unions abroad virtually a State Department enterprise. In actual fact, they can be much more effective than any official government agency in an area that really counts—the foreign unions.”

The resolution keeps in line with this role of its movers. When in 1948 Convention No. 87 concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organise was discussed at the International Labour Conference, the Office, together with some Governments, suggested that Article 10 of that Convention should read: “In this Convention, the term ‘organisation’ means any organisation of workers or of employers defending the social and economic interests of workers and employers.” At that time, the whole Workers’ group opposed the words “social and economic” in that Article, arguing that it would mean the restriction of the genuine and legitimate activities of the trade unions. Now the movers of this resolution, by inserting those qualifying words “social and economic” in the text of paragraph 2 of the resolution, have resorted to that position which they were trying to defeat at that time and which they were opposing at that time. Why? What is the reason for this change? Because they now want to fight the other trade unions—maybe even with the help of such a resolution. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation cannot feel any sympathy for this resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. JOUHAUX (*Workers’ delegate, France*)—One would certainly be inclined to treat the argument which has just been put before us as a joke because it is

impossible to understand how those who consider that, outside of complete conformity, there is no freedom of speech or of thought, can contest the value of the resolution we have submitted.

I do not want to enter into polemics with you. I am not interested in doing so because I know that your position here is merely for propaganda purposes and that if you can find an opportunity of inserting your protests in a public document you would refuse to put them in your own publications, so that your workers should know nothing about them. That is what you call freedom. It is not what we call freedom. That is what you call independence, that is to say, servitude to a political principle which must be accepted in its entirety and which cannot be analysed. Our conception of independence is quite different. We have our independence, and we want to keep our independence in respect of all Governments, whatever they may be. You will not find in all the debates and all the international conferences a single discussion in which any one of our people—not to speak of myself—failed to oppose his Government delegate if that Government took an attitude which was contrary to the interests of the workers and to their freedom. Is that true of you? No! It is impossible that it should be so. You come here to make statements, to read declarations—by order. And that's that.

Let us examine our resolution as it ought to be examined. What do we ask? We ask that trade union freedom should be respected in all countries. We ask that Governments should not have the right to intervene in trade union life. We ask that the claims of the workers should be freely expressed. We ask that, if it should be necessary, the workers may have recourse to strikes—to general strikes—for we have frequently declared general strikes in our own history and it remains to be seen whether you are capable of having them. Well, if it is necessary to strike, we strike, and we do not intend that right to be disputed. In 1908, my good friend, we established in France the right of public servants—of *public servants*, mark you—not only to organise but to strike. Does that exist in your legislation, which you claim is better than that of the capitalist countries? I do not think it does. In any case I have never heard of it. So that when we invoke freedom, we do so purely from the point of view of the defence of the workers' interests and against all Governments, against all reactionaries and against all those who claim to have the right to interfere in the life of trade unions and to claim to have the right to deny the workers the right of organisation and of defending themselves.

We know quite well that we live under a capitalist régime. That is no news to us. We have known it for a long time and for a long time also we have been fighting to abolish the exploitation of man by man.

But we are trying to abolish the exploitation of man by man, not to replace it by the exploitation of man by political supremacy at the expense of freedom itself. What we claim is freedom, and when we speak of the abolition of exploitation we imply emancipa-

tion and the application of the fullest possible freedom—freedom of spirit and mind as well as in regard to material things. That is where we differ. In that respect, in fact, we differ from not a few of the members of this Conference.

Without going further into polemical arguments I should simply like to say to those who claim today—as it is claimed in certain Employers' amendments particularly—that it is not necessary to talk about freedom of association and the right of association, not necessary to regard them as essential principles, because there are regions where there are no trade unions and yet where there are still good relations between employers and workers. Yes, it is true: there are still parts of the world in which trade union organisation does not exist. But can it really be proved here that that is a good thing? Can it really be claimed that because it does not exist it is not necessary to bring it about? That is an illogicality about which we would do well to think for a moment. Either freedom is a necessity—which we proclaim throughout the world—or else it is merely a sentimental expression which people are prepared to violate whenever personal interests are at stake. That cannot be the position in an organisation like ours. We must respect liberty.

I should like to remind some of the Employers' members of this Conference that when in 1919 Part XIII of the Peace Treaty was drafted—that Part on which the International Labour Organisation was built—it proclaimed that without freedom of association there could be no true progress.

All Governments stated that they supported that declaration when it was incorporated in the Peace Treaty itself. Is it possible now for some of them to claim the right to say that it no longer exists, or to interpret it in their own terms?

It is a treaty, and so long as the treaty has not been amended the nations must remain faithful to their obligations under it. And the commitments of the nations do not affect the Governments only. They affect the nationals of those countries. Legally we are bound to one another by the commitments we entered into in 1919—commitments which were never in any way contested but which have been consolidated and strengthened by the decisions of the International Labour Conference.

Those commitments state that at the basis of all evolution, all progress, lies freedom of association. And it is true. It is true because without freedom of association there must be insecurity which leads to unrest in the minds of the workers and creates the conditions in which adventurers are able to draw after them part of the working class and to establish régimes against which we have fought. Because we fought against them we do not intend to have them re-established.

Therefore a Conference such as this must state that it remains firmly attached to the principles on which the Organisation was founded and which provide the possibility for the development of welfare and for the increase of liberty.

A Conference like ours must also declare that liberty is absolutely essential. There is

no true movement, there is no true and effective action, without free determination. Whenever men make a gesture under constraint, a gesture which they do not understand, it turns against themselves. This is a historical truth, which Marxists may read in the whole of history and thus appreciate the necessity of the principle we have laid down.

No social action—for we, too, favour social action, and not simply strictly corporative action—is conceivable without freedom of spirit, freedom of determination, because it is that freedom which creates responsibility and the acceptance of responsibility. There are no examples in history of robots who have acted in a fashion which advanced the progress of humanity. It has always been in the full determination of the liberty of men or of mankind that changes have been made and consolidated for the good of humanity.

We are still following this historical line and we want trade unionism to play its part in social progress and in establishing higher culture. We think that it is in freedom and independence that trade unions should act and we claim for trade unions that independence and that freedom.

That is why you will always find us ready to protest against every violation of freedom of association.

You agree. But in that case, when we raise the question of the I.L.O. carrying out an enquiry when a violation of freedom has been brought to its notice, you must allow the I.L.O. to carry out that enquiry, on your national territory, so that it may ascertain the truth or the falsity of the complaints.

Why do you refuse therefore to allow the I.L.O. to carry out an enquiry when it concerns the internal economy or politics of your countries?

For our part, we accept that principle and we insist that our capitalist Governments accept the intervention of the I.L.O., and when we do so it is because we know that if the I.L.O. cannot establish the facts it cannot intervene and is consequently unable to defend freedom of association.

That is why we have submitted our resolution. It is not for the purpose of vague propaganda.

You say that the workers are abandoning us, that there are 80 million workers in your international organisation. Why don't you say 100 million? What difference does it make since we cannot check the figures? If workers leave our organisations, if we no longer have any influence on the workers in our own countries, we can at least say one thing: that the movements which are outside our own and which obey political watchwords are doomed to failure. The last strike movement was a deplorable failure. Even when the C.G.T.—the old C.G.T., the real one, ours—had only 150,000 to 200,000 members, the general strikes which we declared affected at least a million workers. Look at the results. You will see where the difference lies. When you note these facts, you cannot honestly say that our influence on the workers is diminishing. On the contrary, the working class is coming to a more exact, a saner, view of the revolutionary value of action so long as it is carried out in freedom.

That is why we urge this Conference to adopt—not unanimously, for that is impossible—but at least by a large majority, the resolution we have tabled.

Mr. NIELSEN (*Workers' delegate, Denmark*)—In the report before you the Resolutions Committee recommends the adoption by the Conference of a resolution, submitted by a number of Workers' delegates, concerning the independence of the trade union movement.

I come from a country where the questions contained in the resolution cannot be said to be of current interest. We have a free and independent trade union movement and, as in all the Scandinavian countries, we have for a number of years, in co-operation with the existing political labour party, been able to take part in political work. For this reason, no obstacles have been put in the way of the trade union organisations, nor has any serious attempt been made to restrict their activities.

Hence, conditions in my country do not actually require the adoption of a resolution like the one in question, but the activities of the International Labour Organisation, and the conditions we have heard about through the Workers' representatives from various parts of the world, have made it clear to us that it is of the greatest importance to establish principles to secure the freedom and independence of the trade union movement which are laid down in the resolution.

It is because of our earnest desire to see strong, free and independent trade unions throughout the world, which can function without interference from Governments, or from political parties, that I wish warmly to recommend the Conference to adopt this resolution.

Mr. BERGENSTRÖM (*Employers' delegate, Sweden*)—The hour is late and I shall be very brief. I should like to take this opportunity of making three observations.

The first decision now to be taken by the Conference refers to the adoption of the report. This means the adoption of the report as a true record of the proceedings of the Committee. The approval of the text of the resolution embodied in the report is, therefore, not at issue at the moment.

My second point refers to the attitude of the Employers' members of the Committee. You will see from paragraph 5 of the report that the Employers expressed themselves in favour of the principle of the freedom and independence of the trade union movement, but at the same time they considered that the proposed resolution contained certain elements not directly related to the general idea of the independence of the trade union movement. The Employers then indicated the points which would have to be modified in order to make general agreement possible. In my capacity as spokesman for the Employers on this Committee, I do regret the purely negative reaction on the Workers' side towards the Employers' suggestion. As you have seen from paragraph 6 of the report, the Workers objected firmly to

all the points raised by the Employers. Consequently, there was no possibility of narrowing the gap between the groups. This is—and I repeat it—regrettable because the resolution deals with a subject where there is in principle a large measure of agreement between the Workers and the Employers. I was anxious to make this observation not in order to criticise my friends in the Workers' group but in order to avoid any misunderstanding regarding the position taken up by the Employers' members of the Committee, who were unanimously in favour of the principle of the freedom and independence of the trade union movement.

My third observation deals with the substance of the resolution. Having already stated the Employers' position at the Committee, I can now confine myself to saying that the Employers' group is not in a position to declare itself in favour of the resolution, for the reasons indicated in the report.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—The general discussion is now finished and I call upon Mr. Hauck, the Chairman of the Committee, to reply.

Interpretation: Mr. HAUCK (*Government delegate, France; Chairman of the Resolutions Committee*)—I would not have spoken again if I had not been obliged to do so by one of the remarks made by the Polish Government delegate. He complained of the drafting of the report. I should like to tell the Conference that, with the most scrupulous care for impartiality, the text was submitted to the Employers' Vice-Chairman, the Workers' Vice-Chairman and Mr. Le Léap so that each of them might express his opinion and make any necessary suggestions as to the drafting of the report. If full justice has not been done—as is maintained by the Polish Government delegate—to Mr. Le Léap's observations, I would ask him to complain to Mr. Le Léap himself, who accepted the report in the form in which it has been submitted to you.

While I am speaking, I should like to add, as it is my duty to do as Chairman of the Committee, that the Resolutions Committee hopes that the greatest possible majority will vote for the resolution which it has submitted to the Conference.

Mr. Bergenström has just told us that, while the Employers made reservations on certain points in the resolution, they were nevertheless in favour of its general principles. I should like to remind the Conference that this is neither an international labour Convention nor a Recommendation, and in the light of the debate that has just taken place I think that most of the members of this Conference will feel that it is their duty to vote in favour of this resolution.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I take it that the First Report of the Resolutions Committee is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now proceed to vote on the resolution submitted in the report of the Resolutions Committee.

Is it necessary to take it paragraph by paragraph? The resolution is a short one and you have all seen the text so, if I may, I would like to save time by taking your sense on it as a whole.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 112 votes to nil, with 37 abstentions.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I would like to thank Mr. Hauck for the trouble he has taken and for the valuable work done by him and his Committee.

THIRD REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES²

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now consider the Third Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives and I would ask Mr. Patrick Shaw, Chairman and Reporter of that Committee, to present his report.

Mr. SHAW (*Government delegate, Australia; Chairman and Reporter of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives*)—I have the honour to present the Third Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives which has been circulated to you. The Conference will note that in paragraph 16 of the report the Finance Committee has recommended, under Article 27 of the Financial Regulations, that the Conference should pass the audited accounts for 1951.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—There are no speakers on this report and if there are no objections I shall take it the report is adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I would like to thank Mr. Shaw and the Committee for the work they have done.

SIXTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE³

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—We shall now consider the Sixth Report of the Credentials Committee, which Mr. Kaufmann, the Chairman of that Committee, will present to the Conference.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix IV.

² See Third Part, Appendix V.

³ See Third Part, Appendix I.

Interpretation : Mr. KAUFMANN (*Government delegate, Switzerland; Chairman of the Credentials Committee*)—I have pleasure in submitting to the Conference the Sixth Report of the Credentials Committee, the text of which has been circulated.

In submitting to you this last report of the Committee of which I had the honour of being Chairman, I wish to thank and pay tribute to my colleagues, Mr. Fennema and Mr. Sölvén, whose efforts enabled the Committee to carry out its difficult duties at the present session. By means of conscientious hard work and, I think, in a sincere spirit of complete impartiality, the Committee has been able, with their help, to carry out a good piece of teamwork, and I take this opportunity of thanking all its members very cordially. I gratefully acknowledge also the valuable assistance we received from the representative of the Secretary-General and his assistants.

As I have said on previous occasions, the Committee has been sitting for several hours a day ever since the beginning of the Conference, because it was determined to weigh all the arguments submitted on each side and to examine all the aspects of the questions before it in as great detail as possible. The Conference will therefore appreciate that we were only able to sign this final report the day before yesterday. This report, like the five other reports which I have had the honour to submit to you previously, was adopted unanimously by the members of the Committee. Consequently I ask the Conference to be good enough to take note of it.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—If there are no comments, the Conference will take note of the report.

Mr. WIJENAIKE (*Government delegate, Ceylon*)—It is not my intention to comment on the merits of the report of the Credentials Committee. I would merely restrict myself to a rather important point of clarification.

The Sixth Report of the Credentials Committee contains the following sentence :

"As Mr. Wijenaike himself admits, most of these persons were, prior to the attainment of independence by Ceylon, on a footing of equality with the indigenous population in the matter of citizenship by virtue of the fact that they were all British subjects."

In my letter of 14 June 1952 addressed to the Secretary of the Credentials Committee, I stated : "Prior to the attainment of independence by Ceylon, Indian plantation workers were citizens *only* by virtue of the fact that they were British subjects."

This statement has apparently been misconstrued to mean that the rights of British subjects born outside Ceylon were equal with those of British subjects of Ceylonese origin. This was by no means the case as, before the attainment of independence by Ceylon, in a number of matters the rights of British subjects born outside Ceylon were not equal with the rights of British subjects of Ceylonese origin.

Interpretation : Mrs. ANDRZEJEWSKA (*Workers' adviser, Poland*)—I know that we are all in a hurry and wish to finish as quickly as possible. I shall be very brief.

I wish to make a statement on the question of the Ceylon delegation. The appointment of the Workers' delegate from Ceylon raises a series of questions of principle which are highly important for the respect of the Constitution of the I.L.O., for the guarantee of trade union rights, for the autonomy of trade unions and freedom of association, and for the fight against every kind of discrimination from which the workers suffer on account of their race or colour.

What are the facts ? The Government of Ceylon has appointed Mr. Wijemanne as Workers' delegate to the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.

Mr. Wijemanne represents the All-Ceylon Trades Union Congress which, according to official statistics that have been duly verified, has 24,151 members.

In Ceylon there are three other trade union organisations of which the most important, the Ceylon Workers' Congress, has 134,271 members and should therefore be considered as the most representative trade union organisation. The two other trade union organisations, the Ceylon Trade Union Federation and the Ceylon Federation of Labour, have respectively 17,306 and 15,204 members. It therefore appears clear that the Ceylon Workers' Congress includes approximately 80 per cent. of the organised workers of Ceylon. Furthermore—and this is extremely important—the membership of this organisation is made up of all the racial groups of the island, whereas the other organisations, with the exception of one, refuse to accept as members workers of Indian origin.

Thus in appointing Mr. Wijemanne the Ceylon Government has given evidence once again of its policy of racial discrimination which we reject emphatically on behalf of all the workers. The appointment of Mr. Wijemanne can be all the more easily explained by the fact that the present Minister of Labour is the founder and the most prominent leader of the organisation which this Workers' delegate claims to represent. The connection between the trade union leaders of the All-Ceylon Trades Union Congress and the Government is thus clearly proven. The Report of the Credentials Committee recognises most of these facts. It admits that any trade union worthy of that name should admit to membership any worker, irrespective of race, colour, nationality, political, religious or philosophical opinion. However, the Committee refuses to sanction this principle by proving once again that it is not concerned with the effective defence—about which so much has been said from this rostrum—of the very bases of trade union rights.

We therefore formally request that the report of the Credentials Committee should be rejected, that the credentials of Mr. Wijemanne be invalidated and that the Conference should recommend to the Government of Ceylon that it respect scrupulously the commitments it has undertaken as a Member of the I.L.O. and proceed immediately with the appointment of another Workers' delegate belonging to the most representative trade union.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—There are no more speakers in connection with the report of the Credentials Committee. Under Article 26, paragraph 5 (b), of the Standing Orders of the Conference, when a decision of the Credentials Committee is unanimous, it is final. Since that is the case here, the Conference will take note of the report. I should like to thank Mr. Kaufmann and his colleagues on the Committee for their work.

(The Conference takes note of the Sixth Report of the Credentials Committee.)

MESSAGE FROM Mr. RUBATTEL,
FEDERAL COUNCILLOR, HEAD OF THE FEDERAL
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ECONOMY
OF SWITZERLAND

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—With your permission, the Clerk of the Conference will read a letter received from Mr. Rubattel, Federal Councillor and Head of the Federal Department of Public Economy of Switzerland.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—I have a letter addressed to the President of the Conference by Mr. Rubattel, Federal Councillor and Head of the Federal Department of Public Economy. It reads as follows:

“ Mr. President,

“ I should have had the greatest pleasure in presenting to you and to the delegates to the International Labour Conference the greetings and best wishes of the Federal Council, and I should have liked to meet you, Mr. President, who are presiding over the deliberations this year with an authority which all recognise and appreciate.

“ I had, at the last moment, to give up my intention of going to Geneva, on account of duties which, during the sitting of Parliament, I could not possibly abandon. I much regret having been unable to attend.

“ The Swiss Government follows the proceedings of the Conference and of the International Labour Organisation with constant interest. It values the results of their work and hopes that they will have a happy outcome for the strengthening of social peace and for the greatest good of mankind. I hope that next year nothing will prevent me from attending at least one sitting of the Conference. ”

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I am sure I am speaking for you all in thanking Mr. Rubattel for his message and in saying that we appreciate his difficulty and that we fully understand his position. We are very grateful for the good wishes he has expressed and which we reciprocate.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I now come to the last item on today's agenda, the Report of the Committee on the Application

of Conventions and Recommendations. The Committee was presided over by Mr. Troclet and the Reporter was Mr. Walker. I call on them both to come to the platform, and I shall request Mr. Walker to present the report, which has been circulated to you. First, however, Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans has asked to speak on a point of order.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—My point of order merely relates to procedure. I should be glad if you would say whether it is really considered necessary to take this item tonight or whether we could not postpone it until tomorrow. It is now very late. This is an important report and although I hope it will not give rise to much discussion, I think we would be in a better position to participate in the discussion tomorrow when we are less tired than we are tonight.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I would really be most pleased myself to accept Sir Guildhaume's suggestion, I assure him. There is, however, one difficulty, and I place it before the delegates, and particularly Sir Guildhaume. It is that Mr. Troclet is proposing to leave tonight. That being the case, he will not be here to answer any points or make any comments. I think, however, that we can find a solution by requesting Mr. Troclet to present his own views on the report now and leaving the rest of the discussion over until tomorrow. If that meets with your approval, I will request Mr. Troclet to make his statement.

Interpretation: Mr. TROCLET (*Government delegate, Belgium ; Chairman of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations*)—I thank you for your courteous gesture and I will try to show my appreciation by keeping you as short a time as possible.

First of all, I think it is my duty to thank all the members of the Committee and all the officials of the International Labour Office, and particularly Mr. Ahmad, for the excellent work done by the Committee. There was an excellent atmosphere in that Committee this year, which has not always been the case, and I think it is my duty as Chairman to express my thanks to all the Government representatives for their co-operative attitude when asked to come to the Committee and give all necessary information. That applies as much to the question of the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities as to that of reports on non-ratified and ratified Conventions. I think that generally speaking one might say that all Government representatives have understood very well that in accepting membership of the International Labour Organisation Governments have undertaken commitments and that they owed it to the other Members of the Organisation to justify their position and their actions. Therefore, it was in a true spirit of international co-operation that the discussions took place without the slightest difficulty or incident.

As I have promised to be brief, I will just express our satisfaction, which has also been stated in the report, over the fact that the number of reports has increased so substantially

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VI.

over last year, and that we have received nearly 84 per cent. of reports. This is a very considerable figure, because we must not forget that some countries which have ratified Conventions are no longer Members of the Organisation, but their obligation to report remains. That applies in the case of Nicaragua. Another country which has ratified a great many Conventions has not submitted any reports. This country which has ratified many Conventions but sends no reports naturally has a very adverse effect on the percentage of reports received as against the number due. These, however, are conspicuous exceptions. The fact remains that the figure of 83.9 per cent. of reports received is a very creditable one. I think the I.L.O. may be proud to have achieved this degree of success.

I think I am right in saying that no official international organisation can hope at the present time to achieve such good results. It shows how much the I.L.O. has become accepted and what a strong structure it has in the international framework of peace. I think we can conclude from our examination of this subject that the I.L.O. has fulfilled its functions to a very great extent. Let us

hope that the few failures to fulfil their obligations on the part of certain States will soon be made good and that the I.L.O. will be able completely to fulfil its objectives as far as they are achieved through Conventions and Recommendations. This would make a very important contribution to social progress throughout the world.

Those are a few general impressions on the work of the Committee which, as has already been said but cannot too often be stressed, is a Committee which is not by any means spectacular, a Committee of jurists and students, but an extremely important Committee. It is not enough to adopt Conventions and Recommendations: they must be ratified and applied, and that is why this Committee has rightly been called "the conscience of the International Labour Organisation". I am the spokesman of that conscience, and I bring you a consoling and encouraging report.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DRAVID)—I thank Mr. Troclet on behalf of the Conference.

(The Conference adjourned at 7.15 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Vondras (substitute for Mr. Kolský)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. McCarthy (substitute for Mr. Maguire) Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien Mr. Crawford (substitute for Mr. Doyle)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Lescure			<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. McKenzie (substitute for Mr. Sharp) Mr. Shaw Mr. Burne Mr. Hegney (substitute for Mr. Thom)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Fragozo Fernandes (substitute for Mr. Gon- çaves)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Hammerl) Mr. Rudolph Mr. Schneider (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Moik (substitute for Mr. Boehm)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Boccardi (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Storti (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Thorsson (substitute for Mr. Björck) Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Bergenström Mrs. Ekendahl (substitute for Mr. Sölvén)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Troclet Mr. Verschueren (substi- tute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Ebisuka (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Lüdi (substitute for Mr. Kuntschen) Mr. Möri
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. Lopes Sussekind (sub- stitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. King	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. de Hulster (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi Mr. Carter	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Watkinson (substitute for Mr. Goulet) Mr. Ross (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substi- tute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Bührig	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (sub- stitute for Mr. Biever) Mrs. Krier-Becker (substi- tute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substi- tute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin- Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Chapman (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Bartlett (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stenberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Borstlap	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser Miss Perkins (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. McGrath (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. Ólafsson Mr. Ástmarsson	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substi- tute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Pérez (substitute for Mr. Cofiño)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Menon Mr. Rohatgi (substitute for Mr. Tata) Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Shaheed (substitute for Mr. Alamgir) Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau
	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana Mr. Sumarno	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan		
	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi Mr. Ibrahim Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed		

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization.*)

TWENTY-FIFTH SITTING

Friday, 27 June 1952, 10 a.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNING BODY

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I call upon the Clerk of the Conference to make an announcement.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The President has been informed by the Chairman of the Employers' group that the Employers' electoral college met yesterday and elected Mr. Charles E. Shaw, of the United States, as a regular member of the Governing Body to fill the seat rendered vacant by the resignation of Mr. McCormick.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS¹ (*cont.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now discuss the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. I call upon Mr. Walker, the Reporter of the Committee.

Mr. WALKER (*Government adviser, United Kingdom; Reporter of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations*)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Unfortunately, the Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Troclet, is unable to be with us. However, as the Conference knows, he was able yesterday to give us in his own vivid way the impressions which he as Chairman derived from the work of the Committee over which he so ably presided. To me, however, falls the more mundane task of trying to detail the more important points which emerged from the Committee's work.

The first matter to which I want to refer is the application of ratified Conventions.

This, as in previous years, was the Committee's major preoccupation.

This question has two aspects. First, there is the question of the degree of conformity between the Conventions which have been ratified by the Governments and the law and practice in their countries, and, secondly, the supply of annual reports. Scrupulous observance of the obligation to make effective the provisions of ratified Conventions is of fundamental importance. It is, however, equally important that Governments should submit annual reports on ratified Conventions within the time limits specified and containing all the information requested by the Governing Body. Unless this, which is also a constitutional obligation, is done, the Conference cannot perform the vital function of supervising the extent to which the ratified Conventions have really been applied.

The Committee was glad to learn from some of the reports received and from some of the statements made before it by Government representatives that in a number of cases steps had been or were being taken to remedy defects to which the attention of the Governments concerned had been drawn. It was also pleased to see that a higher proportion of the annual reports due had been received than was the case last year.

While, however, the Committee derived much encouragement from these welcome improvements, it clearly could not be satisfied with anything less than full compliance with these twin obligations to give effect to the provisions of ratified Conventions and to render annual reports at the prescribed time and in the prescribed form. The present position falls considerably short of that.

The Committee is obliged to draw attention to a number of cases where there is a divergence between national law and practice on the one hand and ratified Conventions on the other. Some of these cases are of long standing. The observations which the Committee felt called upon to make will be found in Appendix I to the report. The Committee urges the

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VI.

Governments concerned to take early and effective action to bring their law and practice into complete conformity with the Conventions which they have ratified.

As to the supply of annual reports, although there is an improvement this year as compared with last year, the Committee feels that there are still too many reports outstanding. Appendix II contains a table showing the reports received and those still due from each country. It will be seen from the table that a number of Governments have sent no reports at all. In some cases this deficiency has persisted for several years. Other Governments have only partially fulfilled their obligation to submit reports. The Committee, therefore, strongly urges the Governments concerned to submit in October this year and in succeeding years complete and detailed reports.

With regard to the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to competent authorities, the Committee was concerned at the fact that many States do not yet appear to have submitted to these authorities any of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the 31st, 32nd and 33rd Sessions of the Conference. In other cases some, but not all, of the instruments have been submitted.

It appeared to the Committee that it was possible that, in some instances at least, the failure to take the action required by the Constitution might have been due to a misunderstanding. The report therefore points out that all Conventions (not only those which a Government deems capable of ratification) and all Recommendations must be submitted to the competent authorities within a maximum period of 18 months from the end of the session of the Conference which adopted them. The report goes on to urge all Governments whose practice is not yet in conformity with this specific constitutional obligation to take the necessary corrective action at the earliest possible stage.

Another difficulty with which the Committee was faced was that in many cases the information supplied by the Governments did not contain the details required by the Constitution. The Committee considers it most necessary that all Governments should, as required by Article 19 of the Constitution, furnish to the Director-General particulars of the authority or authorities regarded as competent and of the action taken by them. Unless this information is available to it, the Committee is severely hampered in carrying out this part of its work. It therefore appeals to all Governments to supply this information in future.

It was also part of the Committee's work to examine the report on unratified Conventions and Recommendations which had been called for by the Governing Body under Article 19 of the Constitution. The Committee was seriously disturbed by the fact that even up to the time when it came to consider the question less than half the reports due had been received. The Committee did not understand why there had been so serious and widespread a failure to comply with a perfectly clear and definite constitutional obligation. It therefore draws attention to this obligation and impresses upon Governments the need for them to comply with it in future.

Since some of the reports which were received did not contain adequate information, the Committee hopes also that in future all the reports will contain all the information for which Governments are asked. The Committee observed, however, that on the basis of the reports which were received the Committee of Experts had been able to reach certain conclusions, which are set out in pages 41 to 64 of Report III (Part IV): *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of the Conventions and Recommendations (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution)*. The Committee examined these conclusions and found itself in general agreement with them.

Although other points are raised in the report of the Committee, I felt that the Committee would wish me to concentrate on this system of constitutional obligations, for I think it was the general sense of the Committee that it is upon the extent to which these obligations are honoured by the States Members that the credit of this Organisation and the continued efficacy of the legislative work of the Conference largely depend.

Interpretation: Mr. GONZÁLEZ (*Government delegate, Colombia*)—I would like to apologise to the Conference for asking it to consider a point which concerns only the Colombian delegation.

Since we did not belong to the Committee and did not take part in the final sitting, it was obviously impossible to submit in time certain amendments to the interpretation of my words at that Committee.

I would therefore like to propose that the text should be modified slightly, in form not in substance, as follows:

In Part A of Appendix I to the report of the Committee, sixth paragraph of the section relating to Colombia, substitute for the first sentence the following: "A Government representative stated that his Government apologised for having submitted the reports at the extreme limit of the time allotted, and said that this delay was due to difficulties of various kinds." Two paragraphs further on, after the words "to ensure that his Government" replace the remainder of the sentence by the following: "reported more fully on the way in which the Conventions are implemented." The rest should remain as it stands. I will submit the text of these modifications to the secretariat of the Committee.

Mr. BELLINGHAM-SMITH (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—Although I shall vote for the adoption of this report, I should not like my vote to be interpreted as a complete acceptance of or agreement with the situation which it reveals regarding the application of Conventions. It seems to me that a dangerous tendency has arisen in this Organisation to belittle the obligations which arise out of the adoption and ratification of Conventions, so much so that there is now a positive eagerness on the part of many to find excuses for those Governments which are not living up to their obligations.

Under the Constitution, the Convention is the basic instrument at the disposal of the

I.L.O. in the legislative field. It is drawn in the form of an international treaty and as such carries with it certain fundamental obligations. The first of these obligations is that all Members of the I.L.O. must submit to their competent authorities, within at most 18 months after the close of the Conference, each of the Conventions adopted at the Conference, for the enactment of legislation or other action. Surely there can be no excuse for not complying with this obligation, and yet we find that as at 1 March 1952, in respect of the 12 Conventions adopted at the 1948, 1949 and 1950 Sessions of the Conference, only one third of the Members of the I.L.O. had, in fact, submitted all these Conventions to their competent authorities, one third had submitted only some of them, and the remaining one third had not submitted any of these decisions to their competent authorities.

The second obligation is that if a Government decides to ratify a Convention it undertakes to take such action as may be necessary to make effective the terms of the Convention, and to submit each year a report, by the date requested and in the form prescribed, on the application of the Convention.

This year we find that by the date requested only 288 reports out of the 907 called for had been received. It is true that a substantially higher number of reports were received by the time the Committee of Experts met, although not all of them contained sufficient information to enable the extent of the application to be adequately assessed. It should always be remembered that those countries which do not submit reports place themselves by their very default in an undoubtedly privileged position, as they escape the detailed scrutiny to which countries fulfilling their reporting obligations submit themselves.

It was encouraging this year to find from these reports cases in certain countries where discrepancies between the national legislation and the terms of the Conventions now no longer exist. Nevertheless, there remain cases where, many years after ratification—sometimes 20 years after—the national legislation is still not in accordance with the Conventions the country has ratified.

What are the reasons for this disregard of these obligations? The root of the trouble lies, I submit, in the lighthearted attitude adopted by many Governments in voting for Conventions. I recognise that there is no constitutional obligation on Governments to ratify Conventions for which they have voted, and there may be exceptional circumstances, such as a change of Government or a change in the economic situation, which make this impossible. But surely such cases should be the exception and not the rule, as was clearly revealed in the tables which are appended to the report of the Committee. Yet it is these very votes which are not followed by ratification which secure for Conventions their necessary two-thirds majority vote.

Let me say at this stage that the author of these tables has always recognised that no absolute conclusions can be drawn from them, and that they contain certain limitations. Moreover, he has always been anxious to receive and incorporate effective constructive

suggestions for their improvement, but no such suggestions have been forthcoming. Instead, there seems to be growing up a general antipathy towards them, not only on the part of certain Governments but also, suprisingly enough, on the part of the Workers' representatives who it would seem, are now more concerned with the shadow than with the substance of social progress.

The sincere efforts of the Employers' members to instil a greater sense of reality and responsibility into the voting for Conventions seem, unfortunately, to be considered by the Workers' group as attempts to prevent the adoption of further Conventions. In our attempts to secure greater compliance with the obligations arising from the adoption and ratification of Conventions we are accused of trying to decrease the authority of Conventions. I can only repeat what has been said previously from this rostrum at each of the last three sessions of the Conference: we are not against Conventions as such; what we are against is their misuse as an international instrument. Instead of trying to decrease their authority, we are, on the contrary, trying to increase it and to restore the international standing which the authors of the Constitution intended they should have.

As I said before, a Government which votes for a Convention is not under any obligation to ratify it, but if Governments make a practice of voting for Conventions which they do not subsequently ratify and give no explanation of what has happened to prevent their doing so, and if the present tendency to water down their obligations under the Constitution continues, we are endangering the status of the very instrument which brings us here, and thereby the good name of our Organisation.

Interpretation: Mr. LICKI (*Government delegate, Poland*)—For several years now the Government delegates from Poland have time and again insisted on the fact that the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, instead of limiting itself as usual to the study of the formal concordance between national legislation and the Conventions which have been ratified by a country, should devote its attention, first and foremost, to a detailed study of the practical application of the legislation adopted with regard to non-metropolitan territories.

What is the situation at present?

The report of the Committee of Experts which has been submitted to us contains a great number of practical examples proving, on the one hand, that the ratification of Conventions by various States Members has not been followed even through a formal concordance between national legislation and the provisions of the adopted Convention, and, on the other hand, that this formal concordance does not correspond at all to reality and to the daily practice of these countries.

The Committee of Experts, which has carried out detailed studies on the application of Conventions and Recommendations, emphasised that the States Members do not often submit reports on the application of Conventions, especially as regards the reports on the Conventions which are of particular interest to

the non-metropolitan territories, that is to say, Conventions Nos. 29, 50 and 64 concerning forced labour, recruitment of indigenous labour and contracts of employment for indigenous workers.

The Committee also found that if the application of ratified Conventions has been the subject of legislative texts no practical measure has been taken for putting into practice the provisions of these laws and, in certain cases, many years have elapsed since the adoption of the legislation without anything having been done to enable the Conventions to be put into effect.

In quoting several examples of such policy towards non-metropolitan territories, the Committee has even found a particular term for it; they call it "legislation without practical effect".

Furthermore, the Committee recommended to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. that it suggest to all the Governments concerned that they reconsider the position on the subjects covered by the Conventions of the I.L.O. with reference to territories under their jurisdiction, to ascertain whether new progress in law and in practice could be achieved, whether new ratifications could not be obtained, and whether the previous reservations could not be removed.

The Committee has many a time also emphasised that several reasons given by the Governments which were trying to justify their lack of implementation of these Conventions were vague and not very convincing, that the Governments too often limited themselves to general declarations, simply stating that it was not possible to implement the Conventions and failing to give any reason in support of this thesis, and, finally, that the Governments have avoided undertaking a continuous and careful study of the changes that have occurred in the situation of their territories in order to adapt the legislation to the development of local conditions and to apply, at least partly, the Conventions which so far have been considered as inapplicable.

If this language of international courtesy is translated into current language we reach the conclusion that the situation as regards the level of social progress in the non-metropolitan territories is not at all satisfactory and that the system of Conventions and Recommendations of the I.L.O. has proved completely ineffective in this field.

We would expect that such an opinion concerning non-metropolitan territories coming from such a serious Organisation would arouse particular interest within the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and that it would bring about special efforts in order to reach constructive solutions during the course of this Conference.

It seems to me that it is not an exaggeration to state that the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations cannot congratulate itself on the results obtained. Of the Committee's 14 sittings, only one dealt with the metropolitan question; that was on the morning of 19 June. For two hours and 40 minutes, using consecutive interpretation in three languages, the Com-

mittee heard and discussed the statements of five countries—Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Italy, which are the greatest colonial powers under whose jurisdiction tens of millions of human beings live, suffer and struggle.

We only have to read No. 10 of the minutes in order to reach the unshakable conviction that the statements made before the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations by the representatives of these Governments have not been able to weaken in the least the observations of the members of the Committee of Experts.

What has been said in reply to the very precise and well-supported accusations?

We have learned that according to a new constitution, the metropolis does not have the power of compelling certain territories to send it reports on the applications of Conventions, and that, under the terms of another "new constitution", certain territories which are shown in the report of the Committee of Experts among the non-metropolitan territories are no longer to be classed under that heading.

One had the impression that we have been meeting here only to deal with the juridical classification of territories and not at all with knowing under which juridical régime and practice concerning social problems the men in these territories live.

We have also found excuses such as the transfer of competence of social legislation from the metropolitan Governments to the local Governments, and it has been claimed that the metropolitan Government will soon have only a consultative function.

It was proposed to us that we should deal with real constitutional puzzles: who is to carry out the provisions of the Conventions and Recommendations? We also heard many promises and obligations for the future. This is a very cheap method which has for a long time been practised successfully by the colonialist countries.

It seems to me that one aim has been achieved—the problem of social injustice and oppression and misery in the non-metropolitan territories has been drowned in a sea of secondary questions. In fact the Conference was debarred more than ever from discussing what really happens in these territories.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that, according to the information before us, another suggestion of the Committee of Experts concerning the communication of reports to the representative organisations of employers and workers is not put into practice.

It is obvious that the Governments concerned do not intend taking seriously the sense given by the Constitution of the I.L.O. to the term "central and representative organisations". The Governments either do not communicate these reports to the appropriate organisations when they consider that this is not convenient, or they send them to organisations of their own choice.

These methods by which many States violate their obligations do not surprise us in the least. They constitute one of the many brutal and cynical violations of trade union rights which we observe in the capitalist countries. But

when the ruling classes trample even their own equality, the workers learn that their rights can only be guaranteed and their demands granted by struggling against the exploiters and not by legal texts, by Conventions and Recommendations.

All these facts prove indisputably that under the conditions of an armaments race, while the overseas territories are by force transformed into bases of aggression, there is no possibility of achieving even the most modest progress in the non-metropolitan territories. On the contrary, their social and national oppression only become more and more serious. Let us remember that for some years we have been faced with a well-elaborated system of American methods which tries to empty the new Conventions of their essential content under the pretext of ensuring them, through flexibility, the greatest possible number of ratifications. It is clear therefore that the crisis of the system of Conventions and Recommendations of the I.L.O. includes every link of that system—from the procedure of the adoption of international instruments, through the elaboration of appropriate national legislation, up to the practical application of this legislation.

Interpretation: Mr. BULTYNCK (Employers' adviser, Belgium)—First, I must, as in former years, express my regret at seeing this important document, the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, come up for discussion in the plenary sitting once again at a very late moment and at a time when we can perhaps no longer examine it with all the attention that it should be given. I believe that it is extremely desirable that before this Conference adopts any new Conventions or Recommendations it should be empowered to examine and to see where we stand regarding the decisions taken so far. I still hope that some day we shall abandon this tradition, which is an unfortunate one and certainly contributes nothing to our development.

While from year to year other committees in this Conference work with a view to extending, revising, improving and adopting international legislation which is already very extensive, this Committee looks at the past and undertakes a collective examination of conscience. It enquires into what the numerous decisions adopted by this Conference have become in reality, the sequence which States Members have given to them, the influence which they may have had on the development of internal social legislation and on the improvement of living and working conditions. The Committee is in a way the guardian of the legislative work of the I.L.O. Through the international tripartite control which it is called upon to exercise—a system of protection which is unique in the life of international organisations—it is empowered to diagnose social progress and if necessary, to point out the shortcomings, the lacunae and the difficulties which could weaken the scope of action of this institution and affect its authority. The work of this Committee is therefore a source of valuable information, not only for each State Member but also for the functioning and orientation of the work of the Organisation.

You will find in the excellent report submitted, on which I wish to congratulate the Reporter, the many notes, suggestions and observations made by the Committee. I do not doubt that every State Member can usefully profit by it.

I wish now to bring out two particular points. First of all, the unsatisfactory condition on the whole of the execution of the formal obligations of States Members regarding the decisions of the Conference, and secondly, the problem of ratifications.

When one reads the annual reports of this Committee one is struck by the difference between, on the one hand, what I would call the almost ideal situation which all of us could reasonably hope to see one day in the field of the application of Conventions and Recommendations and, on the other hand, the true situation as set forth in these documents. Certainly, we must recognise that progress has been made, that a certain number of countries do carry out conscientiously their obligations, that others bring to it a true goodwill and attempt to bring matters into line with the rules laid down. We must be grateful for that. But this does not prevent us from noting that the situation as a whole is unsatisfactory and sometimes even disappointing. This is particularly so as regards the constitutional obligations of a purely formal character imposed on States Members. It can be understood that a State is not always able within the period immediately following ratification to bring its legislation and practice entirely into concordance with the provisions of a ratified Convention, although it would seem desirable for a country to ratify a Convention only after it has brought its legislation into line with the Convention. Certain States may have difficulties in furnishing complete reports, but what is serious and unacceptable is that States do not submit reports, sometimes over a period of several years, or else send their reports so late, or draft them in such an unsatisfactory way, that they avoid the control procedure or, even worse, do not submit, as they are supposed to by the Constitution, the decisions of the Conference through the competent authorities.

Some figures will show the seriousness of this situation. Of annual reports on ratified Conventions about one-fifth are always lacking. Of the 907 reports due this year only 288 arrived at the Office by the date laid down. As concerns reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations, 213 reports in all, out of 470—not even half—were received. The situation is no better as concerns the obligation by which States have to submit to the competent authorities within 18 months at the latest the decisions taken by the Conference. Only 18 States have now submitted all decisions taken by the 31st, 32nd and 33rd Sessions; 23 States have partially discharged this obligation; 20 States seem to have taken no decision; and one case is still doubtful. Yet this is an essential formality whose aim is to lay before the competent authorities the decisions of the Conference and to place those authorities in a position to examine what effect they can give to those decisions.

It should be noted that this does not imply that a favourable decision must necessarily be taken. Experience has shown that the accomplishment of this formality may raise constitutional and legal problems of a delicate nature. There seems in fact to be some doubt as to the form of the submission, the nature of the competent authorities, and the extent of this obligation. This doubt is all the more surprising because this obligation is a constitutional one and has existed for over 30 years. We therefore hope that it will soon be dispelled, so that each State may know exactly what is required and expected of it. No group, association or society can function in a satisfactory way, develop its activities and attain its objectives unless all its members, without exception, fulfil strictly the engagements which they have freely accepted. We are no different from any other organisation in this way. If we wish sincerely to continue to travel a common road, if we wish to maintain and reinforce the reciprocal confidence which is the basis of international collaboration and the success of our work, and if we want the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations to be able to continue fruitfully its mission of control, it is fundamental and urgent that all States Members should accept this charge entirely and should submit without reticence to control and that no effort should be spared to improve the present state of affairs.

There is another obscure point in this field of the application of Conventions. It is that of ratification. No State is obliged, constitutionally, to ratify a Convention. When its representatives vote in favour of it, however, it may be expected, as a normal and logical complement of such a vote, that the Government should at least attempt to ratify that Convention. Yet without wishing to have a formal proportion between the votes cast in this Conference for the adoption of this form of international regulation, the number of ratifications at this date and the number of ratifications which might normally be possible for the whole of the Conventions adopted one may still be surprised that for the 100 Conventions adopted only 1,302 ratifications have been made. Three years ago the Director-General pointed out in his annual Report the danger of the slowing down of the rhythm of ratification, and made an urgent appeal to States to examine the possibility of undertaking more ratifications. The number of ratifications, which in 1949 was 76, rose to 80 in 1950 but fell again in 1951 to 56. In his Report this year the Director-General raises the question once more and emphasises the necessity of accelerating the rate of ratification. To appreciate this figure of 1,302 registered ratifications we must also take account of the fact that these have extremely variable value. In fact, in numerous cases, in spite of ratification, legislation and national practice are not in conformity with the terms of the Convention even though sometimes many years have gone by since ratification. Therefore, the true ratifications—which involve application in law and in fact and are the only ones which have real value—are far inferior to the number of 1,302 which is officially quoted.

This situation is serious and we must not underestimate its repercussions. The Conventions contain well-determined and imperative provisions, and their ratification lays down a certain number of obligations whose aim is to ensure their effective application and control. If they are not ratified, Conventions do not have compulsory force, contrary to their very nature. Unratified Conventions can certainly stimulate and influence the advancement of the social legislation, but they then really have only the effect of Recommendations. It thus seems clear that it would have been wise in many cases, having regard to the question dealt with and the degree of general social evolution, to adopt the more appropriate form of a Recommendation, rather than a Convention, where the difficulties of ratification or the parity of ratifications are demonstrated as time goes on. It is naturally not possible to lay down on this question a fixed rule. The two types of instrument have their purpose and their utility. But what we must do is to choose without any prejudice and with realism, taking into account the characteristics of each type of instrument and the possibilities of their being given full effect. It seems to me, nevertheless, that there is a certain danger in continuing to adopt what I would call Convention-Recommendations, or even alternative Conventions, for if we go on in this way we shall inevitably arrive at the depreciation and devaluation of the important instrument which a Convention is, and at the same time weaken the effectiveness of our decisions and the prestige of the I.L.O. Mr. Waline, in his speech during the discussion on the Director-General's Report, pointed out some of the dangers which international organisations are running. The state of ratifications constitutes an additional danger and a warning which call for a careful examination by all of us—Governments, Workers and Employers—who have the responsibility for the future of this Organisation.

Interpretation: Mr. PEREIRA JARDIM (*Government delegate, Portugal*)—My delegation took part with great interest in the work of this Committee and it considers that the approval of the report represents an act of simple justice. With reference, however, to tables A and B contained in Appendix III, which should always be considered in connection with the reservations made in paragraph 9 of the report, I should like to inform the Conference that the position of Portugal has just been modified by the ratification of four other Conventions. The relevant documents were submitted a few days ago. This morning I received information by telegraph from Lisbon that Act No. 39793, published in the Official Journal on 21 June, approved the ratification of Convention No. 91 concerning vacation holidays with pay for seafarers. The instrument of ratification will be deposited with the I.L.O. in a few days.

Furthermore, other ratifications are already in an advanced stage in the legal procedure to which they have to be submitted, and I firmly hope that at the next session of the Conference the position in regard to Portugal will be even further advanced.

I believe that this statement of confidence and interest in the work of the I.L.O. will be most satisfactory to the Conference, especially at the time when it is studying the question of the application of Conventions and Recommendations.

My presence at this rostrum, for the purpose of announcing these ratifications, is a constructive reply to the type of speech which has been made by certain delegates.

Mr. WALKER (*Government adviser, United Kingdom; Reporter of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations*)—I do not intend to reply to the substance of the discussion which has taken place and I apologise for speaking again. There is, however, one point which I think affects me as Reporter of the Committee; this concerns the amendment proposed to Appendix I by the Government delegate of Colombia. I think it is normal courtesy that speakers who make statements in committees should have their remarks recorded in the way in which they would wish to have them recorded. I would point out, however, that the remarks which he has asked to have amended were based necessarily upon the minutes of the Committee, and that no amendment to those minutes was received.

I think that the Committee would also wish me to point out, in regard to his statement, that the reports from Colombia were received at the extreme limit of the time required for them to be discussed at the Conference, that the time required for the receipt of reports was October of last year, and that the reports from Colombia were in fact received at a considerably later date.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I shall consider the report adopted. I should like to thank Mr. Walker for his report.

(The report is adopted.)

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We shall now discuss the Supplementary Report of the Committee on Social Security. I invite Mr. Doublet, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Alexander, Reporter of the Committee, to come to the platform.

Mr. ALEXANDER (*Government adviser, Norway; Reporter of the Committee on Social Security*)—When I had the honour two days ago of presenting to the Conference the report of the Committee on Social Security concerning its work on the minimum standards of social security, that is, part (a) of the relevant item on the agenda of the Conference, I informed the delegates that it had proved impossible for the Committee to discuss part (b) of the item, in regard to the provisions relating to advanced standards. On the same occasion, I announced that the Committee on Social

Security would submit to the Conference a supplementary report dealing with this matter.

When finishing its work on the provisions relating to minimum standards, the Committee discussed what further consideration might be given to part (b) of the agenda of the Committee, that is, the provisions concerning the advanced standards.

The members of the Committee agreed on the submission to the Conference of a draft resolution concerning this matter, but agreement was not reached on the substance of such a resolution. Some of the members of the Committee were of the opinion that the resolution should ask the Conference to include the question of advanced standards on the agenda of its next session for a first discussion. The other members of the Committee wanted the Committee to invite the Governing Body to consider the matter further at the appropriate time in the light of experience of the working of the instrument concerning minimum standards, as adopted at this session of the Conference. The Committee agreed to the last proposal by a majority of 156 votes to 155, with no abstentions.

The proposed resolution is attached to the Supplementary Report of the Committee on Social Security, which has been circulated and which I have the honour hereby to submit to the Conference.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—Are there any speakers on the Supplementary Report? As there are none, I declare the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING OBJECTIVES AND ADVANCED STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We now pass to the proposed resolution concerning objectives and advanced standards of social security. There is an amendment proposed by the Belgian and French Government delegates, which is (1) to delete the second paragraph of the proposed resolution concerning objectives and advanced standards of social security and (2) to redraft the third paragraph as follows: "Invites the Governing Body to re-examine the question of 'Objectives and advanced standards of social security' and to choose an appropriate time for placing it on the agenda of an early session of the Conference".

Interpretation: Mr. WALLIN (*Government adviser, Belgium*)—I would like first of all to apologise for the absence of Mr. Troclet, Belgian Government delegate, who has had to return to Belgium, and who would otherwise have spoken in favour of the amendment which has just been distributed to you and which was proposed in the name of the Belgian and French Government delegations.

This amendment invites the Governing Body to re-examine the question of objectives and advanced standards of social security and to choose an appropriate time for placing

¹ See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

it on the agenda of an early session of the Conference. In our opinion, an "early session" does not necessarily have to be the next session.

In supporting this amendment we have two considerations in mind: the first relates to the scope of the resolution and the second to the activities of the I.L.O.

As far as the scope of the resolution to which we are proposing the amendment is concerned, our amendment differs from the resolution in so far as it proposes a reasonable postponement instead of the unspecified but much longer period which has been proposed in the text submitted by the Committee.

The latter limits the right of the Governing Body by providing for a postponement of the question until experience has been gained of the working of the instrument on minimum standards. This presupposes a number of years of application after the required number of ratifications has been deposited.

We feel, as do the Committee of Experts and the International Labour Office itself, that work should be continued at the same time on the minimum standards and on the advanced standards.

Therefore, we are dealing mainly with a question of order, because the work might lose its homogeneity if too long a period elapsed between the discussions.

It has been submitted that the consideration of the advanced standards will be a complicated business and may require further studies on the part of the Committee of Experts. One might feel, on the contrary, that, as the difficulties common to both standards have been resolved, future consideration of this question should be made relatively easy.

I must point out, however, that the amendment before you does not prejudge this matter. It leaves the Governing Body full liberty to decide by itself when to convene a meeting of the Committee of Experts if this should be deemed necessary in the light of available information.

It must also be stressed that the majority of one vote which resulted in the draft resolution being submitted to the Conference does not represent even the voice of one person, whether a Government member, or part of the Employer or Worker groups, by reason of the system of voting. It would have been sufficient for one more Workers' member to have been present in the Committee at the time of the voting for the minority of one vote to have been converted automatically into a majority of three votes. Moreover it seems that the absence of this one Worker was entirely fortuitous. It is obvious that the programme of work of the I.L.O. must not be allowed to depend on an accidental circumstance during the vote in a Committee and, even had such circumstance not been accidental, on a majority which represents less than one person. For the I.L.O. to be bound by such circumstances would show a lack of seriousness.

Moreover, the fact that a record vote was taken on the two opposing resolutions brought to light the very significant point that there were 13 Government delegates plus the Workers' group minus one absent member in favour of a reasonable postponement, as proposed

by us, and 12 Government delegates plus the entire Employers' group in favour of an excessively long postponement.

Further, the amendment which we submitted with the Government representative of France includes an important concession compared with the resolution submitted by our two countries to the Committee. Instead of asking for the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the next session of the Conference for a first discussion, our amendment leaves it to the Governing Body to decide when would be the most appropriate time. You will realise what an effort at conciliation this represents compared with the first formula which was rejected by such a narrow majority.

Our amendment is not far removed from the resolution proposed by the United Kingdom Government member which invited the Governing Body to remit the question to the Committee of Experts for further examination. It also meets the proposal of the Canadian Employers' delegate that the Governing Body should be left free to decide.

As regards our second consideration, it is true that the Conference is legally entitled to take a decision as to its future agenda. We do not contest this right, but we know that the Conference, fortunately, takes little advantage of it. The drawing-up of the agenda is in fact extremely complex. In practice, it is almost exclusively the Governing Body which carries out this function and it draws up its programme over a period of years. It would therefore be particularly wise to leave the Governing Body the greatest possible liberty, without binding it either directly or indirectly. The Governing Body is a tripartite organ composed of the three groups so that every tendency is represented. It has always acted wisely and given careful consideration to the matters before it. It will no doubt base its decision on all that has been said and choose an appropriate time. Our amendment is an expression of our confidence in the Governing Body.

Interpretation: Mr. LEGRAS (*Government adviser, France*)—The Conference has before it a proposed resolution adopted by the Committee on Social Security concerning objectives and advanced standards of social security and which invites the Governing Body to re-examine the question at the appropriate time in the light of the experience gained of the working of the Convention concerning minimum standards.

How did this come about? I would remind you that in principle the Conference was to have examined at this session the report prepared by the Office on the objectives and advanced standards of social security. However, owing to lack of time, it has not been possible for the Committee on Social Security to conduct a useful discussion on this report.

Having regard to this situation, the Government delegations of Belgium and France submitted to the Committee a proposed resolution inviting the Governing Body to place the question of advanced standards on the agenda of the next session of the Conference for a first discussion.

Why did we ask that this question should be dealt with next year? We showed in the

Committee that originally, in the minds of the members of the Committee of Experts, the two standards—the minimum and the advanced—were part and parcel of a single system of workers' protection in the field of social security. Not only had the standard to be achieved by insufficiently developed States to be defined, but standards had also to be devised which might reasonably be implemented in socially developed States. The objective was to ensure maximum progress in the social security schemes and systems of all countries, laying down several standards or, if you wish, several stages which the various States might reach successively in so far as their social and economic situations allowed.

The first report prepared by the Office was concerned with minimum as well as advanced standards. Last year the Conference decided to divide this question into two parts and to examine the minimum standard and the advanced standard separately. It did not, however, ask that one of the two parts should be completely abandoned and that its consideration should be postponed indefinitely.

That is why the Belgian and French Government delegates considered it logical to carry over to the next session of the Conference the discussion of advanced standards, which could not be dealt with at this session owing to lack of time, and we consider it perfectly normal that the Governing Body should be invited to place this item on the agenda of the next session.

I quite agree that, formally speaking, our proposed resolution might have been interpreted as not leaving the Governing Body full freedom of action, but I wish to point out here—as I have already done in the Committee—that in submitting this text we were not guided by feelings of doubt regarding the Governing Body. We merely thought it was quite natural to discuss next year a question which has already been the subject of an Office report. This report, which has been distributed to delegates, would serve as a basis for a first discussion.

The United Kingdom Government delegate submitted an amendment to our proposed resolution, which was itself subamended by the United Kingdom Employers' delegate. I would remind you that both the amendment and the subamendment aim at inviting the Governing Body to reconsider the question of advanced standards at the appropriate time and in the light of experience gained in respect of the application of the Minimum Standards Convention.

The United Kingdom Government delegation pointed out in respect of its amendment that the problem was a difficult and thorny one and one which went beyond the present work of the Committee of Experts. In its opinion the Committee of Experts should meet again before the matter was brought before the Conference.

The United Kingdom Employers' delegation, in supporting the amendment, made it quite clear that the Governing Body should be free to decide whether or not it wished to refer the matter to the Committee of Experts and that it should be fully trusted in this respect. The United Kingdom Employers'

delegation nevertheless, submitted a subamendment which you have before you since the Committee, as Mr. Wallin reminded you, adopted by one vote (156 to 155) the United Kingdom Government amendment, subamended by the Employers' delegation of the same country.

We continue to think that the proposed resolution which is before us and which, as I have already said, was adopted by the Committee by one vote, is unsatisfactory.

If our draft would seem to limit the freedom of the Governing Body, permit me to point out that the Committee's draft places an even more severe limitation upon it, since it confers a freedom which the latter is not in a position to exercise. The resolution begins by asking the Governing Body to resume consideration of the advanced standards at an appropriate time. This reflects the intention of its sponsors, and particularly the Employers' delegate of the United States, who insist that the Conference should place its trust in the Governing Body and allow it to take the appropriate decision.

But if you continue to read the resolution, you realise that the decision is itself subordinated to such results as may be achieved by the application of the Convention concerning minimum standards. You are not unaware of the fact that the ratification of an international Convention invariably takes a considerable time, sometimes several years, so that it will not be for five or even ten years that we shall have an idea of the experience resulting from the application of the Minimum Standards Convention. It will be only then that the Governing Body will be free to take a decision. This it seems to me is a very limited freedom, or if you prefer it, a freedom which will only take effect after a long period.

I wish to say quite frankly and respectfully to the authors of the draft: your resolution contains a veritable contradiction. You say: the Governing Body is free to take a decision when it sees fit, and then in the same breath you impose upon it such conditions that it is no longer free to act. What you give with one hand you take away with the other. Legally your formula comes to nothing. It is quite negative according to a well-known legal principle, which says you cannot both give and withhold.

To this purely negative formula the Belgian and French Government delegates now offer a constructive formula based on trust in the Governing Body.

These two delegations have submitted an amendment to the proposed resolution.

This amendment would substitute for the two last paragraphs of the text of the resolution a provision inviting the Governing Body to reconsider the minimum standard and to re-examine the question of advanced standards and to choose an appropriate time for placing it on the agenda of an early session of the Conference.

I think that this formula, which seems to be a sort of compromise between the two theses put before the Committee and which, I recall, received practically the same number of votes, is likely to be favoured by the majority of the delegates.

The Belgian and French Government delegates, in placing before the Committee the first proposed resolution, had not—I repeat—the slightest intention of restricting the freedom of the Governing Body, in which they have full confidence. They merely felt that since the problem was a technical one which had been perfectly well stated by the Office, the discussion should normally take place next year.

Nevertheless, we felt that the Governing Body should be the sole judge. If the Governing Body deemed it necessary to have further studies carried out before placing the subject of advanced standards before the Conference, then we have confidence that it will reconsider the question at such time as it deems it desirable. We do not wish to restrict its freedom of decision and it is to prove its entire confidence in the Governing Body that the French and Belgian Government delegates have placed this amendment before you.

We think that all those who attach some importance to preserving the freedom of the Governing Body will accept our proposal, for which we urge your support.

Mr. TAYLOR (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I do not propose to occupy the time of this Conference by going into great detail, but I come up to this rostrum to indicate that the British Employers will vote against this resolution.

In particular, there are two points which we consider very insincere. In the first place, the amendment suggests the deletion of the second paragraph of the proposed resolution. That, to my mind, is a deletion of a factual statement based on the experience gleaned from the discussions which took place in Committee on the objectives of minimum standards. I think it is a great pity that the Belgian and French Governments are unwilling to admit that, in the discussions in Committee on minimum standards, problems and perplexities did arise.

Those who were privileged to take part in the discussions in Committee know how, in many instances, the Governments indicated that the standards set out in the minimum standards were such that their country would be unable to ratify the Convention unless they secured certain amendments. The result has been that we now have minimum standards which I think in many cases are now maximum standards. To suggest, therefore, that we invite the Governing Body to consider immediately advanced standards is a matter on which we could not agree because as yet we do not know the level the Governments are prepared to implement as minimum standards.

So far as the invitation of the Governing Body is concerned, we have every confidence in them. We appreciate that social security is an important subject. But there are also other important subjects, and it is our submission that, when the Governing Body are invited to consider this matter further, they should be permitted to do so without being fettered in any way by any resolution of this Conference. It is a fact that in their consideration we trust they will have regard to the experience gained of the working of the instrument

adopted at the present session of this Conference.

Mr. STARK (*Workers' adviser, Austria*)—As you have heard, the vote in the Committee was a very close one—156 votes were in favour of and 155 votes were against the resolution before you.

On behalf of the Workers' group, I have to say that the amendment as submitted by the Belgian and French Government delegates seems to us to be a very wise compromise, not prejudicing the Governing Body, not giving any instructions that are binding, but leaving it to the Governing Body to choose the appropriate time for considering the subject of advanced standards. That is why the Workers' group will vote in favour of this amendment.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—I think the Conference has already expressed its appreciation of the magnificent job of work done by the Committee which drew up the proposed Convention on social security. Everybody, certainly the United Kingdom Government delegates, would join in that appreciation. I am afraid I cannot say the same for the amendment put forward by the Government delegates of Belgium and France. This seems to me to be throwing back into controversy a matter which had been decided a few days ago in the Committee of the Conference.

I have, and I am sure other delegates will have, a great sympathy with the motive behind this amendment. The idea is to keep this subject alive so that at an appropriate moment it can be put on the agenda of the Conference again; but how do they proceed in order to effect this desirable objective? First of all, it is proposed to delete the second paragraph of the resolution submitted by the Committee. Now, what is that second paragraph? It says: "Considering that the preparation of an instrument dealing with the objectives of advanced standards of social security is likely to involve problems of even greater complexity...". Is not that so? Is not that merely a statement of fact or are the authors of this amendment so convinced that they know everything there is to be known about social security that even the preparation and the examination of the question of advanced standards is a matter of the most complete simplicity to them? I think it would be tragic if that paragraph were dropped from this particular resolution.

Then they come again to the third paragraph, and they redraft that, but the effect of redrafting it in the form which they have suggested is this: that it leaves out the extremely important words "in the light of the experience gained of the working of the instrument adopted at the present session of the Conference". Now it may be that the authors of this amendment do not need any further experience before they can deal with this matter again, but I doubt very much whether any other members of the Governing Body would claim that they do not need any further experience before they wish to deal with this question at a future session of the Conference.

Surely this is just common caution, to say: we have got to such and such a point, let us pause, let us see exactly what has happened in regard to the instrument we have adopted before we proceed to ask the Conference to adopt another instrument.

Then we come to the words "an early session of the Conference". Now it has been pointed out that does not mean the next session of the Conference, and, of course, that is true because if the next session of the Conference were designated that would require a two-thirds majority at this session of the Conference, but those of us who have to sit on the Governing Body and have the duty of deciding what are the subjects which must go on the agenda of any Conference know very well that there is a long list of subjects all crowding on each other to be put on the agenda of the Conference which cannot find a place on the agenda of the Conference because there is no room. The Conference can only deal with a limited number of subjects at any time, and if indeed one subject is put on in any particular year it normally means that another subject must give way. There are many subjects which have been waiting for many years to get on the Conference agenda. That is the reason why, for the time being, it has been decided that we shall suspend our consideration of the question of industrial relations, not because there are no more questions in the industrial relations field which this Conference need consider but just because there are other questions which need consideration now more urgently. That is exactly the position in regard to this subject.

I started by saying that one must have sympathy with the object which the authors of this amendment have in mind, but I do suggest that without binding the Governing Body to deal with this in the very near future, as they ask to do—they say, of course, that they have not in fact put any obligation on the Governing Body as regards timing, but "early" does mean that the Governing Body must deal with it to the exclusion of other subjects in the very near future—they could do this in another way. I would like to suggest to them that we could in fact obtain probably the unanimous agreement of the Conference if they would be willing to withdraw their own amendment and to agree to adding to the text of the resolution as submitted by the Committee, these words: "with a view to placing the subject on the agenda of a future session of the Conference". If they would be willing to accept that as a substitute for the proposal which they have put forward I think it might get pretty general support in this Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. RAMADIER (*Government delegate, France*)—At the present stage of the debate we are all keenly aware of the undesirability of taking leave of one another after having taken decisions by a majority of one—especially if that decision was due to abstention on the part of some members or to purely fortuitous absences from the meeting. We believe that in the course of the discussion we have had we have come pretty close to agreeing on a certain number

of fundamental points and that it is altogether possible that full agreement may be achieved, provided there is a certain amount of mutual co-operation.

What we are saying actually is that the Governing Body should be the final judge concerning the time at which the subjects should be brought before the Conference. This is what we all want, and if our text conveys in any manner whatever a contrary impression, then we are fully prepared to do away with any such clause. We have asked for the deletion of the second paragraph of the resolution sent forward by the Committee. This indeed, I think, is an extremely minor problem and one which has nothing to do with the fundamental issues involved in the present debate. It is obvious that the difficulties of an important Convention laying down advanced standards and the objectives to be achieved are far too considerable to allow of solution within the few hours left at our disposal at the present session. For this reason I, personally, have no objection at all to maintaining this second paragraph. I would point out that we are making a rather outstanding sacrifice in regard to brevity, particularly if you compare the text as it will be after the deletion of this paragraph with what the proponents of the original text put before us.

But if we look at the merits of the question, and if we confront the various arguments, let us say quite frankly that we are all speaking on the basis of the various trends which we represent. There is no need to gloss over this fact. Some of us are in a greater hurry than others to have the problem considered—of that there is no doubt—and on the basis of the respective experience which we may have of analysing texts, we are trying to have our various viewpoints imposed in this text. When Sir Guildhaume points out that when we put the word "early" in the text we are betraying our haste, we reply that when they refer to "the light of experience" required the Committee, too, are betraying their innermost thoughts and their desire to delay consideration for two, three or even four years, until such time as the Convention has been ratified and has come into force, and thereafter at least until such time as the reports are laid before a later session of the Conference, a decision has been taken at such session and the matter considered on the basis of such reports. This may take 15 years. This, of course, is not put down in black and white in the text, but I think it is what may be assumed.

The compromise which I would propose would be to take neither course but to leave the decision to the Governing Body. I would take the text as we received it from the Committee and I would stop at the words "appropriate time". The decision would be "to invite the Governing Body to consider the matter further at the appropriate time", and that is all. We are no longer speaking of "the light of experience" nor are we speaking of "an early meeting", but we are merely leaving the Governing Body to judge and free to take the proper action in the light of the circumstances.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—I would just like to express my gratitude to Mr. Ramadier for the concession which he has just made, and to say that for my part I am willing to accept that concession and to vote for his resolution in the terms which he now suggests.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—As previously announced, we shall now vote on the amendment paragraph by paragraph. The point on which we vote now is the following: redrafting of the third paragraph of the resolution as follows :

“Invites the Governing Body to re-examine the question of ‘Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security’, and to choose the appropriate time for placing it on the agenda of the Conference.”

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 108 votes to 2, with 24 abstentions.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now put the resolution, as amended, to the vote. The Clerk of the Conference will read the amended resolution.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The resolution as amended reads as follows :

“The Conference,

Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to examine the fifth item on its agenda; and

Considering that the preparation of an instrument dealing with the objectives and

advanced standards of social security is likely to involve problems of even greater complexity,

Invites the Governing Body to re-examine the question of objectives and advanced standards of social security and to choose an appropriate time for placing it on the agenda of the Conference.”

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution as amended is adopted by 132 votes to 1, with 29 abstentions.*)

DISCUSSION (*cont.*) AND ADOPTION OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS IN UNDERGROUND WORK IN COAL MINES ¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will explain the next vote.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Conference is now asked to vote upon the amendment to paragraph 23 (relating to night work) of the proposed resolution, submitted by the Committee on Employment in Mines, concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines. This was put to the vote yesterday but there was no quorum. The President has therefore decided to call a record vote.

¹ See above, p. 367, and Third Part, Appendix XII.

Record Vote on the Amendment proposed by the Employers' group to paragraph 23 of the Proposed Resolution concerning the Regulation of the Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Coal Mines

For (45)

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi (G)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Rise (E)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Diederich (E)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Bergenström (E)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Burne (E)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Ballester (W)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stenberg (G) Mr. Fennema (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen (E) Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Weinberger (E)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Karikoski (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Elias (E)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van der Rest (E)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Waline (E)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Östberg (E)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Brooke (E)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu (E) Mr. Win (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Winkler (E)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik (G) Mr. Alamgir (G) Mr. Ali (E)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G) Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Tata (E)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Magalona (G)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Pons (E)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Rutnam (E)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tedjasukmana (E)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Benítez (E)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Chau (E)	

Against (81)

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G)	<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Afchar (G) Mr. Kafai (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Doyle (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. King (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak (G)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. George (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Hormazabal (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Dahlberg (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira (G) Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitinho (W)
	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)
		<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Fernandez (W)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh (G) Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac (G)
			<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows: 45 for, 81 against and 47 abstentions. The amendment to the resolution is therefore rejected. We are about to vote on paragraph 23 in its

original form of the resolution concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines. The Clerk of the Conference will explain the circumstances.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The Conference is being asked to vote on the adoption of paragraph 23 of the first draft resolution which appears at the end of the report of the Committee on Employment in Mines. An amendment to this paragraph has just been rejected by the Conference. Paragraph 23 is therefore being put to the vote in its original form.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. Paragraph 23 is adopted by 97 votes to 20, with 32 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now vote on the resolution as a whole.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution as a whole is adopted by 104 votes to 13, with 24 abstentions.)

SECOND REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We now come to the Second Report of the Resolutions Committee.

Interpretation : Mr. HAUCK (*Government delegate, France; Chairman and Reporter of the Resolutions Committee*)—I will reserve my right to speak in reply to the debate later.

Interpretation : Mr. PETROVIĆ (*Government delegate, Yugoslavia*)—These past years the problem of underdeveloped countries has been on the agenda of the United Nations and the other international organisations who are fighting for peace and the extension of peaceful co-operation between peoples. It is a fact that this question has already taken a primary place among international problems and will be the main feature of international co-operation in general and particularly of economic international co-operation. This is obvious from the discussions of professors of economics, and a solution is the subject of the studies of economic experts of the United Nations; everyone is looking for a settlement of this burning problem.

This question has been examined by economic international organisations particularly, and by the specialised agencies of the United Nations the principal task of which is to deal with economic problems. I feel, however, that this question should be considered by all the specialised agencies and particularly by the International Labour Conference at this session.

I do not think that we can properly solve any social question unless we have radically solved the question of the rapid future development of underdeveloped countries. For this reason and having regard to the importance of the problem from the standpoint of general social development and peace in the

world, the Yugoslav Government delegation has submitted to this year's session of the International Labour Conference a draft resolution concerning assistance to underdeveloped countries, in the conviction that in this way it is expressing the desires of all the Members of the I.L.O.

The Report of the Director-General, the views expressed during the general discussion by many delegates, and the final words spoken by the Director-General himself at the close of the discussion of his Report, have confirmed that we were on the right lines.

I wish to emphasise, however, that the Yugoslav delegation is not satisfied with the text adopted by the Resolutions Committee and which has now been submitted to the Conference for adoption. I think that this text could be much better and that the original text, without the amendments adopted, was preferable. The amendments have damaged it and made it less precise, less effective and less clear.

The original text contained a number of definite considerations; it supported the United Nations in its efforts to solve this question and was intended to make a real contribution to a prompt solution of the question. I think that the present text is far from satisfying the speakers who have paid such attention to this question in the general discussion. To judge by the speeches of the delegates, particularly those of Mr. Jouhaux, of the head of the Indian delegation, of the Minister of Labour of Greece, of the leader of the Pakistan delegation, of the leader of the Ceylonese delegation and other speakers—and of Mr. Morse himself—who asked the Conference to pay special attention to this problem and to try to contribute as much as possible to its solution; to judge also by the general state of mind shown in this Conference by a large number of Government representatives, I think that we could have gone further in drafting this text. We might simply have emphasised more explicitly the agreement of the Conference with what was accepted by our Government at the 6th General Assembly of the United Nations and we might have expressed our satisfaction that these decisions had been taken and the hope that they would be put into effect.

On the contrary, the Resolutions Committee adopted a number of amendments which have considerably changed the original text, and it now states—somewhat coldly—that some decisions were taken at the 6th General Assembly of the United Nations, but there is no separate mention of the decisions of the Assembly, for instance the decision on the creation of a fund for the assistance of underdeveloped countries. The Committee even avoided the term “technical assistance”, although we regard technical assistance as one of the I.L.O.'s greatest successes.

As I have just said, the new text does not include the passage expressing a hope that the decisions taken by the United Nations would be put into effect. This happened solely because most of the members of the Resolutions Committee asked for that change in the original text, but I am sure that the great majority of members of the Conference as a whole would wish to have the original text.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix IV.

That was the majority view of the United Nations.

The question is still very grave and is perhaps decisive for peace. The speeches which have dealt with the solution of this problem in the Conference and the fact that three-quarters of the human race are calling for a solution of this question prove that it is urgent.

Although the text of the resolution submitted by the Committee does not satisfy us fully, because of the amendments, and does not satisfy the desires that have been expressed here, I consider that it still meets its fundamental purpose and I propose that the Conference should adopt it. The Yugoslav Government is prepared to make its contribution to all action for the solution of this problem, as it has done hitherto.

The United Nations and its specialised agencies can count on the full support of the Yugoslav Government in all efforts to solve this question.

Faithful to this attitude, the Yugoslav Government will vote for the resolution and recommends all the delegates present to vote for it as well.

Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*) speaks in Polish.

Interpretation: Mr. CHAJN (*Government delegate, Poland*)—You have learned from the Second Report of the Resolutions Committee, submitted to the Conference, that the proposed resolution submitted by the Polish Government delegation was rejected. Similarly, the proposed resolution submitted by the Czechoslovak delegation was rejected.

I should like to mention that the Polish resolution was rejected without any previous discussion on its merits and it is, therefore, necessary to explain the intentions which the Polish delegation had in mind when it submitted the resolution.

Our delegation has already had the opportunity of stating from this rostrum its views concerning the work and the position taken by the I.L.O. in regard to the most vital problems, on which hundreds of millions of citizens of all countries, greatly concerned about what humanity treasures most, focus their attention.

During the Conference, we have often heard the word "peace". We have heard this word spoken by the representatives of various countries which take part in the Conference. The cause of maintaining peace is vitally important to all peoples of the world. A prominent representative of the United States has also spoken about peace and it would seem that we could attain true understanding on this vital matter, but it is not so. There is a basic difference in regard to understanding what peace is. When we say "peace" we mean the ever-increasing number of schools, sanatoria, museums, nurseries, dwellings and factories which produce for peaceful ends. When the representative of the United States speaks about peace, we can hear the crash of bombs

falling on the peaceful population of Korea, the population which only desires to live in freedom, to develop peacefully and to maintain its sovereignty.

When we speak of social progress, we mean the complete liquidation of illiteracy, which before the war in Poland stood at 23 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. We also mean that the number of persons who have free access to medical services has trebled, as also the number of young people who are studying at colleges and universities. Even as they speak of social progress, American planes in Korea are dropping bombs containing insects bearing plague, cholera, typhus, and other deadly germs, and American generals are carrying out mass massacres of prisoners of war on Koje island. When we speak of peace we fully support the aspiration of the German nation to build a united, democratic and peace-loving German State. But when they speak of peace, they let the nazi war criminals free, they rebuild German nazism, they support the vengeful tendencies of the Prussian junkers, they help to support those who not so long ago oppressed the peoples of France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other European nations. When we speak of the peaceful co-operation of nations, regardless of their political systems or of the development of international trade relations, we do not erect any barriers, we actively support and we put into practice the principles of the United Nations Charter concerning international economic and social co-operation, and we endeavour to extend trade and culture exchanges between east and west. Even as they speak of the peaceful development of international relations, they carry out an economic blockade against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the Peoples' Democracies. They militarise the economy, they disorganise international trade and they hamper the development of the underdeveloped countries.

The Polish Government delegation believes that the International Labour Organisation, which is based on the principles of a universal lasting peace and social progress, cannot remain indifferent when faced by the numerous violations of these principles by Members of this Organisation.

Having these considerations in mind, we have thought that this international Conference, in which so many countries take part, is a proper forum to condemn both the war preparations of the so-called Atlantic bloc countries and their results: increased poverty of the working masses and the people with small incomes, price increases, decreased purchasing power, the restriction of social services, social insurance and mother and child care, increased unemployment and a frontal attack on the rights of trade unions and of democratic organisations.

Our conviction has been strengthened by statements made by certain speakers who wanted the I.L.O. to work out a programme for increasing the wealth of capitalist monopolies, to be carried out in three stages—the stage of war preparation, the stage of war proper and the post-war period. This war programme of the capitalists was outlined here

¹ For the text of this resolution, see Third Part, Appendix IV.

by Mr. Tata and the International Labour Conference did not rebuke him as it should have done. Are we taking part in an International Labour Conference or not—and I emphasise the word "Labour"? We have to ask ourselves what and whose are the interests the I.L.O. is going to defend.

I have to confess that while the work of our Conference has been progressing we have been losing our illusions. One does not need to be particularly sharp-witted or intelligent to appreciate the fact that the American hold on the I.L.O. is getting tighter. We had, in addition, a practical lesson during the debates of the Resolutions Committee when, by means of an artificial majority, the ideas which should be followed by the I.L.O. were trampled upon. We know, however, that these ideas are neither foreign nor a matter of indifference to the whole of progressive mankind, the forces of which grow every day and will be able to stop the organisers of aggression and misery, of bacteriological warfare and of attacks against democratic rights and freedoms.

As I said at the beginning of my speech, the Resolutions Committee also rejected the proposed resolution submitted by the Czechoslovak delegation. This resolution was also concerned with the problem of maintaining peace, of developing world economy, of increasing employment and raising the standard of living of the working masses. It called for immediate steps to be taken in order to eliminate the artificial barriers which make it impossible to develop normal economic and trade relations between all countries.

In regard to the proposed resolution concerning assistance to underdeveloped countries, we take the position that we are unable to support it because we consider that technical assistance, when conditions necessary for a real economic development are not fulfilled and when the necessary social reforms are not carried out, amounts to no more than the plundering of colonial raw materials in the interests of American monopolies and the American war economy. A solution of the problem of economic development cannot be based on the increase of foreign capital investment. This solution must be found elsewhere, namely, in the mobilisation and the most rational utilisation of all the riches of the economically underdeveloped countries for the benefit of their national economies and for the benefit of their working masses. The resolution on assistance to underdeveloped countries is one-sided in treating the problems of economic development, and it thus creates a false and harmful illusion that the mere expansion of technical assistance within the framework of an international organisation can influence the development of the underdeveloped countries.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Polish Government delegation cannot approve the second report of the Resolutions Committee.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Vondras (substitute for Mr. Kolský)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. Doyle	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente Mr. Lescure Mr. Solari Mr. Massaccesi (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes Mr. Dreyer Mr. Rise (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. Nielsen	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Fragozo Fernandes (substitute for Mr. Gonçalves)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. McKenzic (substitute for Mr. Sharp) Mr. Rowe (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Hegney (substitute for Mr. Thom)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Guerrero Mr. Ballester	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Boccardi (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Storti (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Bergenström Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hempel (substitute for Mr. Hammerl) Mr. Rudolph Mr. Schneider (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Ebisuka (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Schuler (substitute for Mr. Möri)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Wallin (substitute for Mr. Troclet) Mr. Verschueren (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Tolbert Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias Mr. Cachecho
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Pires Mr. Sanches Duran (substitute for Mr. Baeta Neves)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. de Hulster (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn Mr. Dobbernack (substitute for Mr. Eckert) Mr. Winkler Mr. Lübke (substitute for Mr. Bührig)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen Mr. Dündar
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean Mr. Goulet Mr. Brass (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Myburgh Mr. Drummond (substitute for Mr. Brooke) Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Alders (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Bellingham-Smith (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Bartlett (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Barnett (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Mr. Persons (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson Mr. de Ferron (substitute for Mr. Ólafsson) Mr. Thors	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Heldal (substitute for Mrs. Seweriin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Parekh (substitute for Mr. Tata) Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini Mr. Ochoa
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chau
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Fernandez	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Portč Mr. Petrovič Mr. Lučovník Mr. Veber

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Weber, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mrs. Jarvis (*World Health Organization*), Mr. Boson (*International Co-operative Alliance*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

TWENTY-SIXTH SITTING

Friday, 27 June 1952, 3.30 p.m.

President : Mr. de Segadas Vianna

SECOND REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE¹ (*concl.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall continue the discussion on the Second Report of the Resolutions Committee.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—The Director-General, in his reply to the discussion on his Report, stated that the I.L.O. should put its full weight behind the effort to ensure peace and to combat the danger of a new war. All the more disquieting it must be that after such a statement by the Director-General the Resolutions Committee of this Conference has turned down the only resolutions which corresponded to the Director-General's appeal—the resolutions submitted by the Polish and Czechoslovak delegations.

It seems to us that it is not enough for this Organisation to repeat that it has already, in its Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia, stated that peace, social justice and co-operation between nations are the objectives and principles of the I.L.O. What is obviously needed, and what the peoples who have sent us here expect from this Conference, is that in our deliberations and decisions we should relate those principles to the concrete situation in which humanity finds itself at the present juncture of its history.

Let us remind ourselves of some of the features of this concrete situation.

It has two sides. On one side the danger of a new war is growing as the world is being pushed step by step into a position where the imperialistic promoters of war-like tendencies, plotting against peace in the Atlantic and related Councils, could declare that war is the only way out. At the other end of the world, in the Far East, there is an armed conflict which ravages in Korea as a result of American aggressive policy, a conflict which is being kept in existence in such a way that there is an

imminent possibility that it could be transformed into a general war by accident just as well as by a deliberate move.

I do not know whether the delegates have noted that, during the time this Conference has been sitting, grave news has been appearing in the press day by day. For example, the Washington correspondent of the *Sunday Times* wrote that he had it from reliable official sources that United States atom bomb technicians had arrived in Korea. Why?

We do not indulge here in debating the arguments about the truce talks in Korea. I merely wish to remind you that it was the American magazine *Time* which printed the following comment in its issue of 4 February 1952: "The State Department, still urging patience, was nevertheless acutely aware of the other mood. It set up a 'task force' of policy planners to prepare answers to the three questions: (1) is it worth talking peace with the communists any longer; (2) if not, on what issue shall we break off—airfields or prisoners of war; (3) if we break off, what shall we do next?"

I hope the Conference will excuse me if I quote once again from an article which has already been quoted here. After all, Mr. Dulles has now been instructed to shape the electoral platform for one or other of the possible future Presidents of the United States, and, during the time that this Conference has been in progress, he has made the following remark in his "Policy of Boldness": "Surely there is a vast range of possible China policies, between an extreme of liquidating the loyal representatives of Free China on Formosa and the other extreme of now escorting them to the military reconquest of the mainland . . .".

I urge you to ask yourselves what it means when the possibility of military reconquest of Chinese territory is repeatedly restated as one of the alternatives of United States policy.

At the same time we hear pronouncements from one of the responsible Cabinet Ministers of another Western Power that the Korean war is a kind of large-scale rehearsal for the

¹ See Third Part, Appendix IV.

forces of the imperialist powers. A rehearsal for what?

At the same time we read remarks like that in the *Washington Outlook* of 3 May: "Lethargy in defence shows up more and more. And it will grow as the months pass, unless some new foreign crisis revives the urgency . . ."

Whatever our personal appreciation of statements of this kind may be—and I have selected only an infinitesimal fraction of them—is it not disturbing for this Conference that the implications of all of them are the possibility of an extension of war, which would consequently bring the whole world to an abyss?

If we turn from the Far East to the European scene we see a picture which in one of its aspects is no less disquieting.

The plans for rearming Western Germany with the help of ex-nazi generals are being pushed forward. It is not my intention to start a controversy about policy on Germany. We only wish to remind the Conference of one statement, that made by Mr. Adenauer in the Bonn Parliament during its debate on Western German arming, when he said: "We shall only be able to regain the German East" (that is the formula used by Mr. Adenauer and his friends for the territories which are part of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union)—"We shall only be able to regain the German East through membership in the European Defence Community and the Atlantic Pact."

The Czechoslovak Parliament addressed a week ago, on 20 June 1952, a letter to the Parliaments of some of the Western European countries concerning the dangerous consequences of the German policy of the Western Powers. It wrote in that letter: "It has happened once already that the representatives of Great Britain and France hurried to the representative of German militarism and imperialism to conclude an agreement which led to an aggressive war. In that critical year, 1938, they concluded with Hitler the shameful agreement of which Czechoslovakia became the victim. Under the slogan of 'fight against communism', under the pretext of defending western civilisation, and in an effort to divert German aggression to the east against the Soviet Union, the Munich agreement was concluded, the consequences of which were catastrophic for the whole of Europe. The declarations about saving the peace, with which Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier came back from Munich, were silenced by the thunder of guns." Is it not disturbing for this Conference that the road which is now being opened by plans for rearming Western Germany opens a perspective of the same situation in which Europe found itself immediately before and immediately after Munich?

That is one side of the picture of the concrete situation to which our deliberations should be related.

There is, of course, also another side: the growing force of the camp of peace and progress, the growing realisation of the imminent danger, and the growing resistance of the vast masses of the people to this dangerous policy. I refer not only to the hundreds of millions of signatures collected on petitions for the banning of the atom bomb and the con-

clusion of a five-power peace pact by the World Peace Council. I do not only refer to the revulsion of nations against bacteriological warfare. I refer also to the growing insistence of the trade unions at their conferences in the western countries that the rearmament race should be stopped, that plans for arming Western Germany should be cancelled, that a four-power conference on Germany should be convened and that a truce in Korea should be concluded without delay. I also refer to such statements as that on German policy accepted by the National Executive of the British Labour Party after their representative had learned on the spot in Germany from one of the most representative leaders of the German Social Democratic Party that even that party would demand, after Western Germany gets its armed forces, the eastern territory, with part of Czechoslovakia included, which was given to Hitler by the Munich agreement.

I also refer to statements like that made by Mr. Morrison a few days ago when he said that nobody in Britain believes that the Soviet Union has aggressive intentions or is preparing for launching a war. I also refer to statements like that of Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois in his recent speech at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, as reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on 7 May: "If we do not have war, we must have co-existence on some basis . . . for a long time to come. We have had little discussions of the conditions necessary for co-existence and will probably get less during the (presidential) campaign."

It is precisely this state of affairs, in which hopes and fears, reason and obsession, chances of agreement and danger of deterioration of the situation are so closely clinched, to which the Czechoslovak and Polish resolutions referred in an attempt to give this Conference an opportunity to pronounce itself in favour of a concrete proposal as to how to help peace and co-operation between nations.

Speaking for the Czechoslovak delegation, I only wish to state that the Resolutions Committee decided to replace the Czechoslovak resolution by a completely new text, which does not leave a single word of our text except the initial "whereas". As the Conference will see in the report of the Resolutions Committee, the Committee itself has finally recognised that the text which it substituted for our draft has nothing in common with our resolution, as the Committee itself gave to the text a title completely different from that under which our resolution was tabled. It may be that this way of killing a proposed resolution is in accordance with the customary interpretation of the letter of the Standing Orders, but this is surely contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. The Committee has thus deprived the plenary sitting of an opportunity of discussing the facts laid down in our draft, facts which nobody was able to deny. Who could deny that it is true that a number of States have increased their armaments expenditure? Who can deny that they have transferred their production for civilian purposes to war production? Who can deny that the living standard of the people has thereby deteriorated? Who can deny that the exchange of goods between individual countries is being

artificially curtailed when there are possibilities for an increase in the volume of international trade and an expansion of geographical area?

What we wanted was simply that the Conference should remind the I.L.O. and the States Members that they have to fulfil a particular obligation accepted in the Declaration of Philadelphia, in Part II, paragraph (d), which reads "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". What we wanted was the action proposed by our resolution, which was in conformity with Article 55 of Chapter IX of the United Nations Charter, which regulates the I.L.O.'s relationship with the United Nations. What we wanted was in accordance with Part IV of the Declaration of Philadelphia when it states that the I.L.O. should support "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". Instead of that, the Conference has now been forced to deal with a resolution which is completely different—and I might say of an irrelevant character—a resolution which was not put forward because the movers of it felt it to be necessary in itself but because they just needed a text by which they would be able to remove the Czechoslovak draft from the agenda. This resolution, in its rather obscurely worded text, even contains an idea contrary to the spirit of the Declaration of Philadelphia and the Constitution of the I.L.O.—namely, that of putting armaments on an equal footing with production for civilian purposes. Such tricks might work at this Conference, but however cunning you may be you cannot trick the realities of life.

Each of us is in a service: we on our side serve the interests of working people, and we are proud of it. The others—and this Conference, while listening to a particular peroration winding up the discussion of the First Report of the Resolutions Committee yesterday witnessed the darkness of soul to which they have become victims—those others serve the interests of the enemies of the working class, and they are not ashamed of it. That is the whole difference. You are faced with the same choice in the question of peace and war, and you gain nothing by avoiding realities and by postponing the choice.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—If nobody else wishes to speak we will proceed to the adoption of the report, but before doing so I call upon the Chairman and Reporter of the Resolutions Committee.

Interpretation: Mr. HAUCK (*Government delegate, France; Chairman and Reporter of the Resolutions Committee*)—First of all I would like to make a preliminary remark concerning in particular the English text of the report. There is a mistake in the text of the last resolution

which is submitted for the approval of the Conference. The penultimate paragraph reads as follows: "Whereas the available resources of many countries are severely extended by the claims of economic development...". The word "extended" should be replaced by the word "strained".

I have nothing to add to the discussion which has already taken place, but none the less I feel it my duty, as Chairman of the Committee, to reply briefly and with all possible courtesy to the representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia who have spoken from this rostrum.

The representative of Poland complained this morning that his proposed resolution was not fully discussed in the Committee. I would assure the Conference—and the members of the Committee will bear me out—that the Polish delegate had every opportunity to put forward the arguments for his resolution in the Resolutions Committee, and, as you all know, he also had an opportunity to do so this morning in the plenary sitting.

I heard the Polish delegate ask us this morning whether we are really taking part in a session of the International Labour Conference. Frankly, I asked myself the same question when I heard the Polish and Czechoslovak delegates speak one after the other about bacteriological warfare, American imperialism, Dr. Adenauer, nazi generals in Western Germany—but nobody mentioned the nazis in Eastern Germany—German rearmament, Munich, the Five-Power Pact, the peace petition, the Labour Party Executive in Britain and Governor Stevenson.

We have heard speeches on subjects which have little or no connection with the pre-occupations, functions and duties of a conference such as this one.

Speaking in the name of the immense majority of the Resolutions Committee, I wish to state that it was precisely for these reasons that the Resolutions Committee considered it its duty to make fundamental changes in the resolution submitted by the Czechoslovak Government delegation and to reject the Polish resolution.

I therefore ask you to adopt the Second Report of the Resolutions Committee and the resolutions as submitted to you in that report.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—If there is no opposition, I will consider this report adopted—the report, but not the resolutions.

Mr. ROHÁČ (*Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*)—We ask for a vote on the report as well as on the resolutions.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will first vote on the report by show of hands.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The report is adopted by 124 votes to 7, with 3 abstentions.*)

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION CONCERNING ASSISTANCE TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES¹

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—We will now deal with the resolutions. Mr. Tennant wishes to speak on a point of order.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix IV.

Mr. TENNANT (*Government adviser, United Kingdom*)—I understood that when replying to the debate the Reporter of the Committee put to the Conference the proposal that in the second paragraph of the last resolution in the report the word "extended" should be replaced by the word "strained". In fact, this resolution—and this particular paragraph of the resolution—results from an amendment which I originally presented in the Resolutions Committee and which was accepted by the Resolutions Committee in English, and in which the word "extended", which was the intended word, appeared.

I would submit that the resolution should be accepted by the Conference in the form accepted by the Resolutions Committee and presented to the Conference.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—Mr. Tennant's point of order will be dealt with at a later stage. We are now going to vote on the resolution concerning assistance to under-developed countries.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 123 votes to nil, with 7 abstentions.*)

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE EFFECTIVE PROSECUTION IN ALL COUNTRIES OF THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE I.L.O. IN CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM AND SECURITY ¹

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now vote on the resolution concerning the effective prosecution in all countries of the aims and objectives of the I.L.O. in conditions of freedom and security.

Interpretation : Mr. BERGENSTRÖM (*Employers' delegate, Sweden*)—On which text are we going to vote ?

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—As regards the English text, on the text as presented by Mr. Tennant.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 118 votes to 7, with 1 abstention.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The resolution is adopted. I thank Mr. Hauck for having submitted the report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STANDING ORDERS ²

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take the report of the Committee on Standing Orders. I call upon Mr. Lanting, Chairman and Reporter, to present that report.

Mr. LANTING (*Government delegate, Philippines; Chairman and Reporter of the Committee on Standing Orders*)—I have the honour to present to the Conference the report of the Committee on Standing Orders, the text of which has been circulated to you.

The first part of the report deals with the question of the simplification of the procedure of the Conference, with particular reference to the setting up of committees and the discussion of the Director-General's Report. The recommendations of the report in this connection, which I need not repeat here, are all calculated to facilitate and speed up the work of the Conference. The rest of the report deals with the two proposals made by the Guatemalan Government delegates.

The first of these proposals simply seeks to amend the Spanish text of Article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference in order to make that text conform exactly with the English and French texts. You will find, I am sure, as the Committee found, that that amendment is really necessary.

The other proposal of the Guatemalan Government delegates is that the pertinent provisions of the Standing Orders be amended so as to have the Spanish language declared as an official language of the Conference. This may seem to be simple and easy, but in reality, it is quite complicated. The most that the Committee could do was to recommend to the Conference that the matter be referred to the Governing Body for careful examination.

To this brief explanation I just want to add that the recommendations embodied in the report before you were adopted in the Committee without any dissenting vote. I therefore propose that the report be adopted by the Conference.

Interpretation : Mr. MONZÓN (*Government delegate, Guatemala*)—The Guatemalan Government delegation has submitted for the consideration of this session of the Conference two proposals for the amendment of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The first proposal was intended to bring the Spanish text of the Standing Orders into line with the English and French texts. The Committee agreed to this proposal and the Guatemalan delegation would like to express its thanks to the Committee for its co-operation in this matter.

However, the basic purpose of our proposal was to draw attention to the absolute necessity of making Spanish an official language of the Conference.

We are among the first to recognise that the International Labour Office has offered great facilities to the Spanish-speaking countries. However, for us it is not enough that Spanish should be considered as a working language. It is also necessary that, once and for all, Spanish should be included in the discussions of the Conference, and in the Standing Orders of the Conference, as an official language.

Practically the whole Spanish-speaking continent is represented at this Conference; practically a third of the nations whose representatives are present are Spanish-speaking; and yet there is this unfortunate—and inexplicable—anomaly, that English and French are the only official languages.

As Spanish is a working language I do not think there is any logical, economic, or political reason why Spanish should not become an official language.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix IV.

² See Third Part, Appendix III.

In the Committee on Standing Orders we had occasion to listen to the absolutely inadequate arguments of the United Kingdom Government delegate as to why Spanish should not be included in the official languages of the Conference. The arguments—if they can be considered as such—of that delegate, were based on two main points. First he maintained that if Spanish were introduced as an official language new international disputes would arise in connection with the application of Conventions.

For my part, I am sure that when a nation is prepared to ratify a Convention, or to enter into any international commitment, it does so in good faith and does not try to find linguistic complications in order to avoid fulfilling its obligations.

I believe that all the Spanish-speaking countries which have come to this Conference have applied the Conventions that they have ratified, convinced that the Spanish version is faithful to the English and French texts. For just this reason, I think it is essential that Spanish should become an official language of the Conference.

The United Kingdom Government delegate put forward another argument on this subject. He said that we would run the risk of the Arab League also claiming that Arabic should become an official language.

Where then is the universality of the International Labour Conference? Why when we come here do we not give everyone the opportunity of speaking in his own language? As I said before, the majority of countries represented here are Spanish-speaking countries, and there is no reason why they should not express themselves in their mother tongue. All the delegates who come to this Conference should have this advantage.

In the Committee we asked the United Kingdom Government delegate what would be his opinion if his Government did not receive an authentic text of the Conventions it proposed to ratify.

As I said before, when a country wishes to apply a Convention it does so in a spirit of good faith; but the fact must also be borne in mind that if a country is prepared to apply a Convention this is precisely because it wishes to comply with its provisions, and for that reason it should be convinced that the text of the Convention concerned has actually been drawn up in its own language and is not just a more or less accurate translation.

My argument is borne out by the fact that in the case of the Standing Orders themselves—which are among the most important documents of the Conference—the Spanish text does not agree with the English and French texts. If this has happened in the case of the Standing Orders I ask you what will happen in the case of texts of Conventions, which are often prepared in much greater haste? What

will happen with the Conventions which we ratify if we do not know whether or not the Spanish text is in agreement with the English and French texts?

It is for these reasons that I had requested that Spanish should become an official language.

Moreover this request has been made many times. As far back as 1944, at the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference, a resolution was approved which proposed that Spanish should become an official language, and now, eight years afterwards, nothing has been done about it. I wish to request you to approve the report of the Committee, which recommends the Governing Body to give the Spanish language the recognition due to it at the earliest opportunity, because otherwise, in view of the rapid political changes that take place in the present-day world, we shall find, when we discuss this matter in another eight years, that the official language of our country will probably be English.

Mr. BURTON (*Employers' adviser, United Kingdom*)—I should not have come to this rostrum but that I wish to clear up any slight misunderstanding that may have arisen in the minds of members of this Conference from what has just been said by the representative of the Guatemalan Government. I want to make it quite clear that the remarks to which he referred, made in the Committee, were not made by the United Kingdom Government representative. So far as those remarks were made by a United Kingdom representative, they were made by myself, in my capacity as the Employers' Vice-Chairman of that Committee, speaking on behalf of my group in that Committee.

I am sure that all the considerations which the representative of the Guatemalan Government has brought before both the Committee and this Conference will be considered carefully by the Governing Body; and I should like in conclusion merely to say that, in common with other members of the Committee, I support the adoption of the report.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I shall consider the report adopted.

Interpretation: Mr. PONS (*Employers' delegate, Uruguay*)—I should like my abstention to be noted, because I do not agree on the question of the Spanish language.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—Note will be taken of Mr. Pons' statement.

(*The report is adopted.*)

(*The Conference adjourned at 4.30 p.m.*)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. H. Nielsen (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. E. Nielsen	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Cahill (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Crawford (substitute for Mr. Doyle)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajin Mr. Licki Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Roncarolo (substitute for Mr. Puente)			<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Fragozo Fernandes (substitute for Mr. Gonçalves)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. McKenzie (substitute for Mr. Sharp) Mr. Shaw Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado Mr. Ballester	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Schneider (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Gamalero (substitute for Mr. Campanella) Mr. Storti (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Heinrici (substitute for Mr. Björck) Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Giesecke (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Nordenskiöld (substitute for Mr. Sölvén)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fafchamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Bultynck (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Ebisuka (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Schuler (substitute for Mr. Möri)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. de Hulster (substitute for Mr. Waline) Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Cachecho
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Classen (substitute for Mr. Sauerborn) Mr. Eckert Mr. Winkler Mr. Lübke (substitute for Mr. Bührig)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Goulet Mr. Ross (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. George
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Alders (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans Mr. Buckland Mr. Burton (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson) Mr. Bartlett (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez		<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Persons (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Mr. Mullikin (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. Shaw (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Ross (substitute for Mr. Delaney)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Ling Mr. Liang	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Alexander (substitute for Mr. Öksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerini) Mr. Henriksen (substitute for Mr. Östberg) Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Nogueira Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Rohatgi (substitute for Mr. Tata) Mr. Tripathi (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Shaheed (substitute for Mr. Malik) Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ismail (substitute for Mr. Ali)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya Mr. Graterol
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. del Pino (substitute for Mr. Cowley)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Fernandez	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Petrović Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Veber
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Vondras (substitute for Mr. Kolský)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Taha Mr. Mohamed		

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Martin, Mr. Vaders (*Saar*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.*)

TWENTY-SEVENTH SITTING

Saturday, 28 June 1952, 10.15 a.m.

Presidents : Mr. Delaney and Mr. de Segadas Vianna

FOURTEENTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—I call upon Mr. Malik, the Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Fourteenth Report of that Committee.

Mr. MALIK (*Government delegate, Pakistan; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—This report, which has been circulated to you, is merely a clarification of the Third Report of the Selection Committee²; it reads as follows:

“The Third Report of the Selection Committee, unanimously adopted by the Conference, while providing that the Conference shall not carry over beyond the 35th Session its consideration of questions relating to industrial relations, including co-operation, is not to be regarded as limiting the right of the Governing Body, in accordance with normal practice, to determine if and when these

questions shall again be placed on the agenda of a future session of the Conference.”

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—If there are no objections, the report is adopted. I should like to thank Mr. Malik for his services as Chairman of the Selection Committee during this Conference.

(The report is adopted.)

RECORD VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PLACING ON THE AGENDA OF THE NEXT GENERAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE QUESTION OF PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF WORKERS IN PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—We shall now take a record vote on the resolution concerning the placing on the agenda of the next general session of the question of protection of the health of workers in places of employment.

¹ See Third Part, Appendix II.

² See above, p. 25, and Appendix II.

Record Vote on the Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Next General Session of the Conference of the Question of Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment

For (118)

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G) Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire (G) Mr. Murray (G)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Fernandez (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Bar-Niv (G) Mr. Barkatt (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajm (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Mazhar (G) Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G) Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsuke (G)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard (G) Mr. Kaufmann (G) Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung (G) Mr. Myint (G)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi (G)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Swerdlow (G)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Myburgh (G)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G) Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Smith (G) Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Kafai (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Dahlberg (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Graterol (G)
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Pachachi (G) Mr. Ibrahim (G) Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik (G) Mr. Alamgir (G) Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučović (E) Mr. Veber (W)
		<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G)	

Against (0)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. DELANEY)—The result of the vote is as follows: 118 for, 0 against, and 30 abstentions. The resolution is adopted.

(Mr. de Segadas Vianna takes the chair.)

RECORD VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION
CONCERNING THE PLACING ON THE AGENDA
OF THE NEXT GENERAL SESSION
OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE QUESTION OF
THE MINIMUM AGE OF ADMISSION TO WORK
UNDERGROUND IN COAL MINES

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take a record vote on the resolution concerning the placing on the agenda of the

next general session of the Conference of the question of the minimum age of admission to work underground in coal mines.

Mr. Logelain has asked to speak on this resolution before we vote.

Interpretation : Mr. LOGELAIN (*Government adviser, Belgium*)—In the resolution concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines, which was adopted yesterday, it was stated in particular that young persons under 16 years of age should not be employed on underground work in coal mines. This is nothing more than a hope. The draft resolution upon which the Conference will be called upon to take a decision within a few minutes recom-

mends that this question of raising the age limit for admission to coal mines to 16 years should be placed on the agenda of the next session of the Conference for second discussion, with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation. The present resolution, therefore, is less platonic and seeks to ensure that countries shall not compel young persons under 16 years of age to work in the pits.

Miners throughout the world are paying close attention to the proceedings of this assembly and they would certainly be at a loss to understand your attitude if you did not unanimously

adopt this resolution. I am sure that in your hearts you know that the time has come to take a step forward towards raising the upper age limit for admission to underground work in coal mines.

That is why the Government delegation of Belgium, without hesitation and without reservation, will support the draft resolution which is now before us.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—If there are no further speakers, we will now take the record vote on the resolution.

Record Vote on the Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the next General Session of the Conference of the Question of the Minimum Age of Admission to Work Underground in Coal Mines

For (121)

<i>Argentina</i> :	<i>Denmark</i> :	<i>Iraq</i> :	<i>Peru</i> :
Mr. Puente (G)	Mr. Bramsnaes (G)	Mr. Pachachi (G)	Mr. García (G)
Mr. Lescure (G)	Mr. Dreyer (G)	Mr. Ibrahim (G)	Mr. Leguía (G)
Mr. Espejo (W)	Mr. Nielsen (W)	Mr. Mohamed (W)	
<i>Australia</i> :	<i>Egypt</i> :	<i>Israel</i> :	<i>Philippines</i> :
Mr. Sharp (G)	Mr. Kamel (W)	Mr. Berinson (G)	Mr. Lanting (G)
Mr. Shaw (G)		Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	Mr. Fernandez (W)
Mr. Thom (W)		Mr. Barkatt (W)	
<i>Austria</i> :	<i>Finland</i> :	<i>Italy</i> :	<i>Poland</i> :
Mr. Hammerl (G)	Mr. Wuori (G)	Mr. Del Bo (G)	Mr. Chajm (G)
Mr. Rudolph (G)	Mr. Jylhä (G)	Mr. Purpura (G)	Mr. Licki (G)
Mr. Boehm (W)	Mr. Sumu (W)	Mr. Pastore (W)	Mr. Farnik (E)
			Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Belgium</i> :	<i>France</i> :	<i>Japan</i> :	<i>Portugal</i> :
Mr. van den Daele (G)	Mr. Ramadier (G)	Mr. Teramoto (G)	Mr. Pereira Jardim (G)
Mr. Troclet (G)	Mr. Hauck (G)	Mr. Tatsuke (G)	Mr. Antunes Varela (G)
Mr. de Bock (W)	Mr. Jouhaux (W)		Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Brazil</i> :	<i>Federal Republic of Germany</i> :	<i>Liberia</i> :	<i>Sweden</i> :
Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G)	Mr. Sauerborn (G)	Mr. Tamba (G)	Mr. Björck (G)
Mr. da Rocha Leão (G)	Mr. Eckert (G)	Mr. King (W)	Mr. Eckerberg (G)
Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	Mr. Bührig (W)		Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Burma</i> :	<i>Greece</i> :	<i>Libya</i> :	<i>Switzerland</i> :
Mr. Maung (G)	Mr. Pavlakis (G)	Mr. el Gerbi (G)	Mr. Rappard (G)
Mr. Myint (G)	Mr. Macris (W)		Mr. Kaufmann (G)
		<i>Luxembourg</i> :	Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Canada</i> :	<i>Guatemala</i> :	Mr. Biever (G)	
Mr. Maclean (G)	Mr. Peralta (G)	Mr. Wilwertz (G)	<i>Turkey</i> :
Mr. Goulet (G)		Mr. Krier (W)	Mr. Saymen (G)
Mr. Swerdlow (W)			Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Chile</i> :	<i>Haiti</i> :	<i>Mexico</i> :	<i>Union of South Africa</i> :
Mr. Benítez (E)	Mr. Junelle (G)	Mr. Aguilar (G)	Mr. Myburgh (G)
Mr. Hormazábal (W)		Mr. Desentis (G)	Mr. George (W)
	<i>Iceland</i> :	<i>Netherlands</i> :	<i>United Kingdom</i> :
<i>China</i> :	Mr. Gudmundsson (G)	Fr. Stokman (G)	Mr. Roberts (W)
Mr. Yü (G)	Mr. Ólafsson (G)	Miss Stenberg (G)	
Mr. Tuan (G)		Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United States</i> :
Mr. Liang (W)	<i>India</i> :		Mr. Kaiser (G)
<i>Costa Rica</i> :	Mr. Dravid (G)	<i>New Zealand</i> :	Mr. Murray (G)
Mr. Donnadiou (G)	Mr. Menon (G)	Mr. Bockett (G)	Mr. Delaney (W)
	Mr. Shastri (W)	Mr. Smith (G)	
<i>Cuba</i> :		Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>Uruguay</i> :
Mr. de Sandoval (G)	<i>Indonesia</i> :		Mr. Perotti (G)
Mr. Cofiño (W)	Mr. Samjono (G)	<i>Norway</i> :	Mr. Troitiño (W)
	Mr. Tobing (G)	Mr. Kringlebotten (G)	
<i>Czechoslovakia</i> :		Mr. Ulsaker (G)	<i>Viet-Nam</i> :
Mr. Roháč (G)	<i>Iran</i> :	Mr. Dahlberg (W)	Mr. Buu-Kinh (G)
Mr. Plešek (G)	Mr. Kafaï (G)		
Mr. Gref (E)	Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Pakistan</i> :	<i>Yugoslavia</i> :
Mr. Kolský (W)		Mr. Malik (G)	Mr. Potrč (G)
		Mr. Alamgir (G)	Mr. Petrović (G)
		Mr. Ahmad (W)	Mr. Lučovník (E)
			Mr. Veber (W)

Against (31)

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Burne (E)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Karikoski (E)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Campanella (E)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Bergenström (E)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Weinberger (E)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Waline (E)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen (E)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van der Rest (E)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Winkler (E)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Diederich (E)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Brooke (E)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu (E)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Tata (E)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Fennema (E)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tedjasukmana (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. McCormick (E)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Rutnam (E)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Taha (E)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Östberg (E)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Pons (E)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Ling (E)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. O'Brien (E)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ali (E)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Rise (E)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Moriel (E)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)	

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 121 for, 31 against and 13 abstentions. The resolution is therefore adopted.

FINAL VOTE ON THE CONVENTION
CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL
SECURITY

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We will now take the final vote on the Convention concerning minimum standards of social security.

First, there are two amendments proposed to Article 2. Mr. Kringlebotten, Government adviser, Norway, wishes to make a statement on the amendment proposed by his delegation.

Mr. KRINGLEBOTTEN (*Government adviser, Norway*)—I would like to say a few words on the amendment which has been submitted by the Norwegian Government delegates, to substitute for Article 2 (a) (ii) of the Convention the following text : “at least three of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X.”

As you will remember, we discussed this Article a few days ago and there was some confusion as to the voting and the understanding of the vote. The result was that the Article was voted for as it stands now, with the wording “four of Parts . . .”.

An amendment has been submitted to the Conference by Mr. Menon, the Indian Government delegate, who proposes that the word “four” should be replaced by the word “three”; also there is before you an amendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegates, which has the same wording as the subamendment which I submitted to the Conference when we last discussed this problem, that is, that there should be included, if we have the wording “three of Parts . . .”, the words

“at least three of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X”.

This proposal in the document which is now before the Conference is not exactly what I had in mind. I was of the opinion that when Mr. Menon had submitted his amendment I should have the right to submit a subamendment if Mr. Menon's amendment was adopted. Under Article 40, paragraph 7, of the Standing Orders, after the Conference has voted on a Convention, and it has been drafted by the Drafting Committee of the Conference and afterwards submitted to the Conference, no amendment shall be allowed to this text. “But” says this paragraph, “notwithstanding this provision the President, after consultation with the three Vice-Presidents, may submit to the Conference amendments which have been handed to the Secretariat the day after the circulation of the text as revised by the Drafting Committee.”

It is under this clause that Mr. Menon has submitted his amendment, and I thought it quite natural that I also should be entitled to submit a subamendment to Mr. Menon's amendment if the President agreed that his amendment should be placed before the Conference. I cannot find anything in the Standing Orders which excludes me from submitting such a subamendment. That means that if Mr. Menon's amendment was accepted, my subamendment was an amendment to an adopted clause of the Convention, and I had no doubt that, if the President would agree to lay before the Conference the amendment submitted by Mr. Menon, he would as a consequence agree that my subamendment also should go before the Conference.

I had been informed that there would be some legal obstacles to this procedure. Personally, I cannot understand that and I cannot accept such an explanation. I myself have done some legal work in my time and I cannot

see any objection at all to my being allowed to submit such a subamendment to the Conference.

In any case, I think that the President has a strong moral obligation to accept such a procedure. Well, it is not accepted and, therefore, the subamendment has been redrafted in this way, as it is now before you. I have been in some doubt as to whether or not I should withdraw this amendment to get a clear case here, but after very careful consideration I came to the conclusion that I would ask for a vote on it.

I should like to draw the attention of the Governing Body to this clause in the Standing Orders—Article 40, paragraph 7—and ask them to consider if it should not be made quite clear whether there is a possibility of having such a procedure as I have just mentioned, especially in a case where there is the closest connection between the amendment put forward and the subamendment.

Anyhow, as the matter stands, I am naturally voting against the amendment put forward by the Indian Government delegate, as there will be no opportunity of voting on the Norwegian amendment if the Indian amendment is adopted. Therefore, I recommend that the delegates should vote against the Indian amendment so that the Norwegian Government amendment can be adopted.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now discuss the amendment submitted by Mr. Menon, Government delegate, India. The Clerk of the Conference will read the text.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The amendment proposed by Mr. Menon is as follows: in Article 2, paragraph (a) (ii)—replace “four” by “three”.

Mr. MENON (*Government delegate, India*)—This amendment which I have the honour to move is of the utmost importance to my country and perhaps to other underdeveloped countries as well. Both the Committee on Social Security and the Conference at a previous sitting appreciated the difficulties facing underdeveloped countries and voted for a flexible text, which is now before you. I deeply appreciate the understanding shown by the Workers' group as a whole and by several Government delegates in respect of the difficulties facing countries like mine. I am convinced, however, that if the present amendment is not accepted a substantial degree of difficulty will still remain unsolved. This will be disappointing to me and also, I am sure, to those who helped so greatly in trying to solve these difficulties.

Why is this amendment of such importance for some countries? Each item out of the nine parts will itself involve considerable financial and administrative arrangements taking into account the large coverage intended. This applies particularly to underdeveloped countries, which also happen to be the most highly populated. The Conference has decided that the present Convention should relate only to minimum standards. It would be more appropriate, therefore, to keep the minima reason-

ably easy so as to make implementation possible for a large number of countries. Much higher standards can be laid down for advanced countries when dealing with advanced standards of social security. Unless this distinction is made, the real advantage in adopting these standards may lose its value. I am satisfied that it will take a very long time to cover a substantial percentage of the population in underdeveloped countries even under three parts of the Convention. It may even prove impossible to do so if four parts are to be included.

At this stage, I might explain the present position in my country. We have legislation providing for factory workers in respect of four parts and that legislation is still in the process of gradual implementation. If we were to restrict social security to factory workers alone for all time to come, we might not have much to complain of, but that is not our objective.

The Norwegian Government amendment will be discussed after the present one has been disposed of, but I would like to explain its implications now so that delegates may appreciate why I prefer my own amendment. Under my amendment, to give an example, a country could adopt the parts relating to medical care, sickness cash benefits and maternity benefits which also include cash benefits. Under the Norwegian amendment, the three parts must include at least one of the parts relating to unemployment benefit, old-age benefit, invalidity benefit and survivors' benefit. Of these, all except employment injury benefits are yet matters of the remote future so far as my country is concerned. If my aim were merely to have the satisfaction of ratifying a Convention, I assure you that the Norwegian amendment might have been even easier, as employment injury benefit is easier to provide for than maternity cash benefits in a country where the bulk of the population is agricultural and little liable to employment injuries. But we wish to do what is better suited to the requirements of the population as a whole, and I am satisfied that the Norwegian amendment will not be in the best interests of the workers of India.

The text has already recognised that countries may adopt some parts in preference to others based on their own assessment of priorities. I submit that there is no need to fetter this discretion in the manner suggested in the Norwegian amendment.

Let me assure you that the Indian delegation has attached the greatest importance to the discussions on this important subject of social security. If I have raised points both in the Committee and in the plenary sitting, and even today at the last stage of the discussions, it is entirely in view of our sincere desire to do something which may prove practicable for the largest number of countries. I have the privilege of having in our delegation as my leader one who is not merely a Minister but who has been closely associated with trade unionism for many years, and I have therefore had the benefit of his views also from what I might call the trade union aspect. I am happy to say that he is in full agreement with me when I say that the amendment which I have

proposed will be in the best interests of workers, at least so far as my own country is concerned. I concede that it is unusual to move an amendment at this stage, but I am sure you appreciate that there are exceptional circumstances justifying this. I would be the last to suggest any infringement of the Standing Orders, but paragraph 7 of Article 40 of the Standing Orders provides for consideration of an amendment at this stage, and I am very happy indeed that an opportunity has been given to me to invoke this provision.

I have made it quite clear that I attach the greatest importance to this amendment which is in the best interests of the workers in my country. I do hope that the amendment will be considered objectively. I have explained what my difficulties are in the way of accepting the Norwegian amendment, and will now leave it at that with just this point added. If by chance the Conference decides eventually to retain "four" instead of "three", that is, the text as it stands, I will, with regret, have to abstain from voting for the Convention.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take a vote on Mr. Menon's amendment.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 65 votes to 70, with 43 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—This amendment having been rejected, we shall now vote on the amendment submitted by the Norwegian Government delegation. The Clerk of the Conference will now read the amendment.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The amendment reads as follows : "Substitute for Article 2 (a) (ii) the following text : 'at least three of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X ;'".

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now vote on this amendment by show of hands.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 99 votes to 16, with 40 abstentions.)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take a final vote on the Convention as amended.

*Final Vote on the Convention concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security**For (123)*

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G)	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Kafai (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp (G) Mr. Shaw (G) Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Bramsnaes (G) Mr. Dreyer (G) Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson (G) Mr. Bar-Niv (G) Mr. Barkatt (W)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard (G) Mr. Kaufmann (G) Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. da Rocha Leão (G) Mr. Pires (E) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsuke (G)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung (G) Mr. Myint (G)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G) Mr. King (W)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. George (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans (G) Mr. Buckland (G) Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Sternberg (G) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Benítez (E) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett (G) Mr. Smith (G) Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Dahlberg (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh (G)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Magalona (G)	

Against (32)

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Burne (E)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Rise (E)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen (E)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Weinberger (E)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Karikoski (E)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Diederich (E)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Elias (E)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van der Rest (E)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Waline (E)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Fennema (E)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Brooke (E)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu (E)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Winkler (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Tata (E)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Östberg (E)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. McCormick (E)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Rutnam (E)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Taha (E)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ali (E)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Pons (E)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Ling (E)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. O'Brien (E)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Cowley (E)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Campanella (E)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Bergenström (E)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Chau (E)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows: 123 for, 32

against and 22 abstentions. The Convention is therefore adopted.

FINAL VOTE ON THE CONVENTION CONCERNING
MATERNITY PROTECTION (REVISED), 1952

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—An amendment to Article 5, paragraph 2, of the Convention concerning Maternity Protection has been proposed by the Government members of Sweden and Norway. I call upon Mr. Eckerberg, Government delegate of Sweden.

Mr. ECKERBERG (*Government delegate, (Sweden)*)—I should like to say a few words with reference to the amendment proposed by the Government members of Sweden and Norway which is now before the Conference. I shall be very brief and shall only stress what was said the other day by my colleague from the Swedish Government delegation when speaking for the amendment submitted to delete paragraph 2 of Article 5. It was then declared that the Swedish Government, in principle, does not intervene in questions of wage fixing, but leaves them to be settled entirely by collective bargaining between employers and workers. Hence, it is clear that the Swedish Government is not in a position to prescribe that breaks during which a woman is allowed to nurse her child should be treated and paid for as working hours. It is not possible for us to impose such regulations on employers and workers and consequently the Swedish Government, and I think many other Governments, will be prevented from ratifying the Convention concerning maternity protection on this particular point.

Since the amendment to delete paragraph 2 of Article 5 was rejected by the Conference, the amendment now before the Conference contains a redrafting of paragraph 2 of Article 5 which, if accepted, would make it possible for countries where wage questions are left

to be settled by collective bargaining to ratify the Convention.

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall vote by show of hands on the amendment proposed by the Government members of Sweden and Norway. I ask the Clerk of the Conference to read the amendment.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—Article 5, paragraph 2 reads as follows in the text submitted by the Drafting Committee: "Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly." The text of the amendment submitted by the Government members of Sweden and Norway is as follows:

"Article 5, paragraph 2, should read as follows: 'Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly in cases in which the matter is governed by or in accordance with laws and regulations; in cases in which the matter is governed by collective agreement, the position shall be as determined by the relevant agreement.'"

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I now put to the vote the amendment proposed by the Government members of Sweden and Norway.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 87 votes to 42, with 22 abstentions.*)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take the final vote on the Convention concerning maternity protection (revised 1952), as amended.

*Final Vote on the Convention concerning Maternity Protection (Revised) 1952**For (114)*

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G) Mr. Espejo (W)	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Kafaï (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Magalona (G) Mr. Fernandez (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Taha (E) Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Lieki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson (G) Mr. Bar-Niv (G) Mr. Barkatt (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Antunes Varela (G) Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troclet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. Baeta Neves (W)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsuke (G)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar (G) Mr. Sioufi (G) Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak (G) Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Kirim (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Benítez (E) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Hadji Vassiliou (G) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar (G) Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadiou (G)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	

Against (36)

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Burne (E)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Karikoski (E)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen (E)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Weinberger (E)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Waline (E)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Diederich (E)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Elias (E)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van der Rest (E)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Winkler (E)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Fennema (E)	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Brooke (E)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu (E)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Tsatsos (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid (G) Mr. Menon (G) Mr. Tata (E)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Østberg (E)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. McCormick (E)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike (G) Mr. Abeywira (G) Mr. Rutnam (E)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tedjasukmana (E)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ali (E)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Pons (E)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Ling (E)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. O'Brien (E)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Rise (E)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Campanella (E)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Bergenström (E)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Chau (E)

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 114 for, 36

against and 25 abstentions. The Convention, as amended, is therefore adopted.

FINAL VOTE
ON THE RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING
MATERNITY PROTECTION

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—We shall now take the final vote on the Recommendation concerning maternity protection.

Final Vote on the Recommendation concerning Maternity Protection

For (112)

<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Puente (G) Mr. Lescure (G) Mr. Espejo (W)	<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Cofiño (W)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono (G) Mr. Tobing (G)	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting (G) Mr. Magalona (G) Mr. Hernandez (W)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Thom (W)	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč (G) Mr. Plešek (G) Mr. Gref (E) Mr. Kolský (W)	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Kafai (G) Mr. Keyvan (W)	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn (G) Mr. Licki (G) Mr. Farnik (E) Mr. Wandas (W)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl (G) Mr. Rudolph (G) Mr. Boehm (W)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Nielsen (W)	<i>Iraq :</i> Mr. Mohamed (W)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim (G) Mr. Varela (G) Mr. Gonçalves (W)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van den Daele (G) Mr. Troolet (G) Mr. de Bock (W)	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso (G) Mr. Peynado (G)	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson (G) Mr. Bar-Niv (G)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Björck (G) Mr. Eckerberg (G) Mr. Sölvén (W)
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. Pires (E)	<i>Egypt :</i> Mr. Kamel (W)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Del Bo (G) Mr. Purpura (G) Mr. Pastore (W)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Möri (W)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Maung (G) Mr. Myint (G)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori (G) Mr. Jylhä (G) Mr. Sumu (W)	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba (G) Mr. King (W)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar (G) Mr. Sioufi (G) Mr. Cachecho (W)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Maclean (G) Mr. Goulet (G) Mr. Swerdlow (W)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier (G) Mr. Hauck (G) Mr. Jouhaux (W)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. Biever (G) Mr. Wilwertz (G) Mr. Krier (W)	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Saymen (G) Mr. Kırım (W)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijemanne (W)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Sauerborn (G) Mr. Eckert (G) Mr. Bührig (W)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Desentis (G)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Roberts (W)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres (G) Mr. Cisternas (G) Mr. Benítez (E) Mr. Hormazábal (W)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis (G) Mr. Macris (W)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman (G) Miss Stemberg (G) Mr. Borstlap (W)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Kaiser (G) Mr. Murray (G) Mr. Delaney (W)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü (G) Mr. Tuan (G) Mr. Liang (W)	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta (G) Mr. Monzón (G)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Velvin (W)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Perotti (G) Mr. Troitiño (W)
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Barros (G) Mr. Gómez (G)	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Jumelle (G)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (G) Mr. Ulsaker (G) Mr. Dahlberg (W)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Montoya (G) Mr. Graterol (G)
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadieu (G)	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gudmundsson (G) Mr. Ólafsson (G)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ahmad (W)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč (G) Mr. Petrović (G) Mr. Lučovnik (E) Mr. Veber (W)
	<i>India :</i> Mr. Shastri (W)	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García (G) Mr. Leguía (G)	

Against (31)

<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Burne (E)	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Karikoski (E)	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Teramoto (G) Mr. Tatsuke (G) Mr. Adachi (E)	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Kuntschen (E)
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Weinberger (E)	<i>France :</i> Mr. Waline (E)	<i>Netherlands :</i> Mr. Fennema (E)	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Elias (E)
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. van der Rest (E)	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Winkler (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Anderson (E)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
<i>Burma :</i> Mr. Thu (E)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Tsatsos (E)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Östberg (E)	<i>United States :</i> Mr. McCormick (E)
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Taylor (E)	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Tedjasukmana (E)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Ali (E)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Pons (E)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Rutnam (E)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. O'Brien (E)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Calheiros Lopes (E)	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Velutini (E)
<i>China :</i> Mr. Ling (E)	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Campanella (E)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Bergenström (E)	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Chau (E)
<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Rise (E)			

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote is as follows : 112 for, 31 against and 29 abstentions. The Recommendation is therefore adopted.

RATIFICATION OF CONVENTION BY PORTUGAL

Interpretation : The PRESIDENT—I call on the Clerk of the Conference to make an announcement.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The President of the Conference has just been informed from Lisbon of the publication in the Official Journal of 25 June of Act No. 38,800 concerning the ratification of the Accommodation of Crews Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 92). With the four ratifications recently deposited and the publication of this Act, as well as of Act No. 38,793, which was announced yesterday, the number of Conventions ratified by Portugal during the present session of the Conference amounts to six.

CLOSING SPEECHES

Mr. DRAVID (*Government delegate, India; Vice-President of the Conference*)—This is a pleasant opportunity for me to say a few words at the close of this Conference. The form of these words is more or less usual but the feeling with which one says them, of course, depends. It ranges from mere formalities to an enthusiastic warmth. For my part I wish to assure you that I cannot and do not want to be in the least formal, and though I may not have the eloquence to put all my feeling into words, still I wish to assure you that I am indeed very sincere in what I say.

I came here to attend this Conference for the first time. Naturally I observed everything with an open mind and tried to assess to the best of my ability the significance of whatever issues were placed before us, and, apart from that, what actually transpired in and around this whole Conference. When I look back I feel that all of us here have spent nearly a month in close discussions—many a time there have been two plenary sittings of the Conference, or if not, there have been the Committee meetings—and I dare say each one of us has been kept pretty busy. All of you are busy and important persons, each one with his preoccupations. It is not unnatural at this stage to look back and think for a moment of what we have achieved during the last month. That also depends upon how you look at it. If you look at it as a businessman in terms of immediate dividends, then I think you would reach a conclusion which would not be very entertaining—but that is not the proper way of looking at it, at least in my opinion. If you take a long-range view of the business accomplished and make an assessment of the labours of this Conference in the larger context, I think it has really been a most significant and valuable activity. The very fact, for example, that we meet here, representatives of all countries and representatives of the three main groups in the social and economic life of each

country, that very fact, together with the fact that we meet in an atmosphere of strained world politics, is in itself immensely valuable. From this rostrum different persons with different views have expressed how they feel. The very fact that such a thing is possible, that people can speak of the way in which they think either this way or the other, from the same rostrum in a common gathering, that I think is today to be valued immensely. Now and again we find, especially these days, that there is a sort of isolation, a sort of exclusion of one kind of thinking from the other, and day by day we find that the different sections or groups are getting farther and farther away from each other, or the views of those who are actually at the head of such ideologies and groups; the feeling of the rank and file, I am sure, is not at all comfortable about this. The people feel that after all, if you think this way or the other, well, you are quite free to do so; if you wish to follow a particular line, well, you are quite free to do so; but that should not lead to the state of affairs which we find in the world today. From the point of view of the rank and file, from the point of view of the masses whom we all represent in our respective capacities, I think that this Conference has great value. That is one thing.

Then, we all meet here coming from various countries, each representing his particular interest. That personal contact is immensely valuable. Whatever you do as the business of the Conference, that has, of course, its own value in its own place, but apart from that, I think the indirect benefits should not be undervalued.

And lastly, of course, there is the business of the Conference itself. Although I mention it last, I am sure no one will misunderstand on the score of the sequence. All in all, we have been doing our best to do something valuable from the point of view of the working masses, which indirectly also is of great value to industry and to each respective nation and in the sphere of international relations.

It is something like a platitude to say that the labour issue is, as it were, the point where modern forces are at their maximum and that probably the ultimate destiny of mankind will be decided not merely in the political field but ultimately in the solutions which are found to the various issues that arise in this field of labour. From that point of view our labours are of high value and significance.

The points which we have taken for consideration were important. I would be the last to say that this particular session was in any way more important than its previous counterparts. Of course, from the point of view of time, whatever is at present before us is most important to us, but all the activities of the I.L.O. are significant, and what we have done up to the last moment is something. I personally can say so with confidence.

Our President has steered the proceedings of the Conference with dignity and common-sense and with a handling of every point which can be considered to be ideal.

Then there are the respective Committees and their officers. If we read the reports we see that they represent really valuable work.

And all of you also—I think even with some inconvenience to yourselves, to your usual

work and activities have been here doing valuable work, working both shifts (if I may use the workers' term) of the day. All this has contributed to the valuable work that this Conference has been able to do. It would be quite modest, I think, to say that we can take some satisfaction, and pride also, in all we have done.

This Organisation, as I said, is important, as all of us realise, and those outside look to it with great hope and expectation.

I cannot properly close my few words without expressing the hope that each year—and not only each year, but day by day—we shall add to the usefulness and the prestige of this institution. We all return to our respective countries, but the Director-General and the staff have to continue the work, to present to us the useful information on the basis of which we carry on our work. Each one of us, from the President down to the delegates, from the Director-General to each member of the staff (I would even mention those persons whose names or designations are not very important) is engaged in a collective, co-operative effort. I express my great admiration for all of them and pay my tribute to each of them, particularly to the Director-General, because this is in fact a very responsible position.

Therefore I, personally and on behalf of my delegation, as well as in my capacity as Vice-President of this Conference, thank all concerned for their contribution to the success and the fruitful conclusion of this Conference.

Interpretation : Mr. PONS (*Employers' delegate, Uruguay; Vice-President of the Conference*)—Once again, from the rostrum of the international labour parliament, I should like to make a few remarks on my personal position in the Conference and the experience I have acquired from seven years' uninterrupted relationship with the International Labour Organisation.

I speak today with particular emotion as the Employers' Vice-President, and I would like to thank the Employers most warmly for the great honour they have conferred on me, although I know that they desired to pay a tribute through me to that privileged region known as Latin America, and particularly to the employers of Uruguay, who have always given their full support to the functioning of the I.L.O.

I would therefore first of all like to refer to our Employers' group, that energetic group of free men representing commercial and industrial activity throughout the world, who have succeeded throughout the history of the I.L.O. in making their contribution to the slow but steady movement towards social justice.

The first tribute to the Employers' group should go to their freedom of expression, of action and of opinion; the sole purpose of our private meetings is to exchange ideas in an attempt to combine them for the common good, and at no time is any one of us required to act against his opinion or conscience.

In its internal affairs the group is independent and has never tolerated domination from inside or outside. We work on a basis of friendship and mutual respect, the only

basis acceptable to those who consider themselves men in the true sense of the word and one which excludes any kind of suppression of freedom of speech, restriction, arbitrariness or oppression.

Some people have misunderstood the action of the Employers in the I.L.O., and mistakenly interpret our attitudes as mere obstruction to the general progress of the I.L.O., whereas in fact we are exercising what we believe to be our rights and our duties in a practical and realistic manner and avoiding extremism, demagoguery and excessive idealism.

For instance, we often prefer Recommendations to Conventions, because in our experience it is necessary to lay down broad and flexible standards for the different countries and not rigid theoretical tenets which cannot be applied to the same degree in all countries on account of fundamental differences in education, climate and economic development.

On the other hand, we have observed that many Governments vote for Conventions without sufficient consideration and without fully realising their international responsibility; such Conventions have now become dead letters in the legislation and labour policy of those countries. I have heard it said that one must be tolerant in judging the application of Conventions and Recommendations in the different countries. While admitting that tolerance is one of the highest of all human virtues, I consider that we should beware of such tolerance turning into mere weakness or insincerity.

I consider that if we do not work indefatigably for the application of the I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations we shall deprive the Organisation of all its purpose. If these international instruments are lightheartedly voted on and then not ratified and, if ratified, not applied, then we are writing on water and all the time, money and energy we have spent will have been wasted to no purpose and the workers will have been chasing the shadow and missing the substance of social progress.

I should therefore like to mention here the tables originally prepared by Sir John Forbes Watson, the Chairman of our Employers' group, detailing the votes of the Governments and their subsequent actions which have so often taken the form of inaction; this document eloquently justifies and gives strength to the position which the Employers' group has defended from the very beginning in the interests of real as against theoretical progress.

Another fundamental question I would like to refer to is the question of the finances of this Organisation; in this matter the Governments alone have the final decision. I consider this unfair, for while it is true that the Governments actually make the financial contributions to the Organisation, it is equally true that in fact the costs of international organisations are borne indirectly by economic activity and the people of the different countries by the payment of taxes.

I therefore consider that both Employers and Workers at this Conference should have a greater influence on the finances of the I.L.O. No decisions should be taken without their being represented as members of the Finance Committee of the Conference. It might

perhaps be useful to follow the procedure applied in commercial or limited companies and to ask the auditors outside the Office to attend the Conference and make comments and answer questions by all three groups regarding decisions relating to financial questions.

I am speaking solely of financial matters, because in political matters I have had the honour of signing documents known to all of you and which are to be found in the Office archives.

A nation is not only a group of human beings living inside particular geographical frontiers. If this group is really to constitute a nation it must be possible for the Government, private enterprise and the workers, existing side by side in freedom, to combine their efforts to produce goods and wealth of use to the community as a whole, governed by a just balance of legal standards drawn up by free discussion and which can at any time be altered in the interests of the community.

But in countries in which one of these classes dominates and where the voice of any class has been stifled the true concept of nationhood is decaying and giving way to feudalism, oligarchy and dictatorship, under which the power of some men over others is an insult to the dignity of mankind.

We are therefore pleased with the wisely chosen tripartite structure of the I.L.O., which has enabled it to survive so many troubles. Governments, free employers and free workers must continue the struggle for a better world. On the day on which this structure is changed the I.L.O. would be doomed to perish.

Experience has shown us that this structure must be maintained. Up to a few years ago we observed an ever-increasing tendency on the part of Governments to take over activities which by their nature belonged to private enterprise. Increasing production costs, decreasing productivity and unemployment have been the real consequences of this dangerous experiment, which it is to be hoped has been a warning. Free men, whether employers or workers, work better and produce more. I have heard many Ministers of Labour from the States Members of the I.L.O. state in this assembly that there would be no fruitful economy without employers and workers and that in their countries the idea that economic freedom is one of the greatest civil liberties is becoming ever more firmly established.

I come from a small country in a continent which is usually called Latin America and which has only recently taken its place in international life after a long and complex social, political and economic process. It is a continent full of promise and in which all humanity has placed its most cherished hopes. Therefore, Latin America which is still at grips with tremendous problems, is working hard to educate its people, to produce more, to increase the standard of living of its people. The I.L.O. has done a great deal for Latin America and can do still more. In Latin America can be seen the excellent results obtained by the Committee on Indigenous Labour and by technical assistance. These bodies have done a great deal, and I should like to offer my

sincere congratulations to the officials who have worked in them. But it will be necessary for them to acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the particular features of each region and not to attempt to apply inflexible rules or rigid procedures in all countries.

I expect a great deal from the I.L.O.'s work in Latin America. It will help us to know and thus to understand one another better, so that the whole world may realise that we are prepared to work with them for universal happiness and that we have at our disposal potential forces and abilities similar to those of any of the old cultural traditions of the past.

Having mentioned Latin America, I must say a word about my own country, Uruguay, which is a true nation in the full sense of the word.

I have never felt any embarrassment in criticising my country, as I consider that criticism when constructive is a right and often a duty. However, I am accustomed to praising my country more frequently than I criticise it, but here, outside my own frontiers, I would feel embarrassed if I sang the praises of my own country, because the implication would be obvious and my remarks would lose all their force.

Therefore, I prefer to make use of the evidence of a foreigner. I am referring to a small but witty book published by the Royal Society of International Affairs, which has just been printed by the Oxford University Press and which bears the extremely significant title: *Uruguay, The First Welfare State in South America*. The author is George Pendle, a clever and well-read writer with a profound knowledge of the problems he is dealing with.

Mr. Pendle says: "The Uruguayans are a fine, educated people; the sense of freedom and democracy is inherent in every citizen, and each of them shows this sense freely, not only through the free press and free choice of religion, but also when he has to cast his vote to decide the destiny of the nation. Censorship is considered as unusual, and is closely supervised, as is the person who wishes to exercise it. The functioning of its governmental organs particularly since the constitutional reform, which abolished the office of President of the Republic and transformed the executive authority into a National Government Council of nine members in which both the majority and the minorities are represented, the respect of life, liberty and the patrimony of its inhabitants, the extremely advanced nature of its social legislation and the co-existence of free enterprise and all other activities make this country worthy to be taken as a model democracy".

I can only thank George Pendle for having understood Uruguay and having told the truth so accurately.

The 35th Session of the International Labour Conference has come to the end of its work. It is now time to stop so that we can go on with our work in the cause of justice and common welfare.

I would like to thank the President of the Conference and my two colleagues in the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Dravid from India and Mr. Delaney from the United States, for the affection with which they have treated me and

for the consideration with which they have always dealt with the problems before us.

I would like to thank Switzerland, that admirable example of wise co-existence, for the traditional hospitality she has extended to us, and I pray that the International Labour Organisation may continue with its great mission for the benefit of all mankind in an atmosphere of freedom and understanding for many years to come.

Mr. DELANEY (*Workers' delegate, United States; Vice-President of the Conference*)—Looking from this rostrum before the delegates present at this session, it seems to me that you have just about arrived at the saturation point as far as speeches are concerned. Therefore, it is not my intention to take up much of your time.

I should just like to express to the President, on behalf of the Workers' members of the Conference, our extreme gratitude to him for the way in which he has presided over this Conference. He has indicated as no other President before to the Workers' group his sincere and deep affection for the problems of the workers. For that we are sincerely grateful.

I might just add that we have completed this Conference. As a result of your deliberations and decisions, we have contributed greatly to the future improvement and social progress of society as a whole, but we really have not completed our task if we simply have set on paper some decisions arrived at after three weeks of strenuous effort on the part of you delegates. It is the duty of Governments, Employers and Workers to return now to their countries and to exercise all their interest in seeing to it that the results of our Conference are put into practice. Otherwise, the work of social progress cannot go forward. I wish also to express on behalf of the Workers' group our sincere appreciation to the Government Vice-President and my friend, Mr. Pons, the Employers' Vice-President, and to the members of the staff who have exercised a degree of co-operation and efficiency which is certainly a tribute to the Administration itself.

I conclude by wishing each of you a safe voyage home and expressing the hope that I may see you here again next year.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—I would just like to say a few words in closing.

I think I must confess that before this Conference started I, as Secretary-General of the Conference, was honestly concerned about whether or not the 35th Conference would be a success. There had been a great deal of bombardment laid down prior to the battle, and the rumbles of this bombardment pre-occupied me as Secretary-General very much. But the good sense of this Organisation asserted itself through freedom of speech and through conciliation of the delegates who have come here to work in a common cause. This good sense asserted itself under the generalship of the Chairmen of the various Committees elected at the Conference, assisted by the Vice-Chairmen and the Reporters; and it is to these gentlemen that I would now like to pay my respects and offer my congratulations.

At the same time, I must say that on one issue more than any other I would like to congratulate, if I may, the Vice-Presidents of this Conference, Mr. Dravid, the Minister for Labour of India, Mr. Pons, the representative of the Employers, and Mr. Delaney, the representative of the Workers, who, on more than one occasion, though this was in discussions behind the scenes, sanctified the principle of freedom of speech so that this Conference could proceed in a proper way to deal with its business.

There have been a number of Conventions agreed upon during the course of this Conference. I would like to inform the Conference that during the last six months there have been more Conventions ratified and registered with me than for the whole year of 1951, so that there must be no mistake in the minds of those of you who are leaving with respect to the importance which Governments and peoples attach to the work of this Organisation in the legislative field.

At the same time, I would like to say that it is a source of great encouragement and inspiration both to me and to the staff of this Organisation and my colleagues in this Organisation to know that we have your overriding support for the work that has been undertaken in the operational field, which I insist, and you insist, represents the other side of the coin. This message from you, which has gone through your debates, has made a great impression upon us and will be, of course, our guidance for the work which must be done in the future.

I would like also, if I may, to offer a word of appreciation to the Deputy Secretary-General of the International Labour Conference, Mr. Rens, who serves for the first time in this capacity as Deputy Secretary-General, and to my colleagues the Assistant Secretaries-General and all the members of the staff who have laboured day in and day out and all through the night to ensure that papers would be with you for the following day to assist you in your deliberations and to be the basis of your deliberations, and so that the work of this Conference should proceed to timetable so that we could finish on the day that we all indicated we would want to finish. This example of competence is simply a further demonstration of what I conceive to be the efficiency of the staff of this Organisation and the devotion of the staff to the objectives of this Organisation.

Finally, Mr. President, I would like to congratulate you on the manner in which the Conference has proceeded. I submit respectfully, if I may, that your conduct as President of this Conference has been in the best tradition of the many illustrious gentlemen who have preceded you; that you have added further lustre to the International Labour Conference and to the high office of presidency of the International Labour Conference. It has been a great pleasure and it has been a privilege as Secretary-General to have worked with you and to have served you. If I may say so, in this capacity you have brought great credit not only to your great and democratic country but also to the great region from which you come and—if I may

reiterate—added again to the noble tradition of the International Labour Conference.

I think I can say no more, Mr. President, except that this sincere expression on my part is not only spoken on my own behalf but comes to you, through me, from the entire staff of this Organisation.

The PRESIDENT *speaks in Portuguese.*

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT—It is a tradition that the President of the Conference should make the closing speech. I am honoured to carry on this tradition. It is with deep feeling that I do so, for the world has its eyes fixed on the International Labour Organisation in its study of the social problems which lie ever at the root of our troubles and insecurities, and we therefore bear a heavy obligation.

I would like to repeat the thanks I have already rendered for the distinction which you have conferred on my country by choosing its Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce as President of this international conference. There is great satisfaction in feeling that I have been able to do my duty with the very precious aid of my colleagues, the Vice-Presidents, our eminent Director-General, who has been such an able Secretary-General of the Conference, and of the other officials of the I.L.O. from the Deputy Director-General to those of lowest rank, a body of highly qualified men and women fully conscious of their mission and nobly dedicated to it.

At this final stage of the 35th Session of the Conference, I should not fail to mention the responsibility of this Organisation at the present time of ideological renaissance. Established at a critical moment in world history after the first great war, it resisted the pressure of events which brought so many other organisations to the ground, and its prestige has grown steadily greater as a result. More than ever it deserves the world's respect today, for in 1952, as in 1919, "conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled".

Conscious of this huge responsibility, the Organisation has understood that it must extend the scope of its activities because, in the well-chosen words of Mr. Morse himself—a profound sociologist as well as an able Director-General—"Peace must not only be defended in the military field but actively promoted by the positive and creative solution of mankind's problems".

Today the I.L.O. is not merely a remarkable institution with a proud record of labour legislation for the world for over 30 years; it has exceeded its objective, and the aid it is now giving to our respective countries is helping them to reap very real and valuable advantages. Its ranks are constantly being increased by other nations anxious to share in its work, and so the 35th Session of the Conference is honoured to admit the United Kingdom of Libya to membership of our great international family. More than ever this activity and this tendency oblige us to aim at raising the standard of living of the masses, at giving labour greater dignity, and therefore to seek the legal forms

most appropriate for putting into effect in each country and at the international level the measures which the International Labour Conference, at its recurrent sessions, thinks fit to recommend.

We must, above all, pay due attention to the great masses of rural workers, particularly because almost everywhere they are unorganised and therefore require, at this stage in their development, that their rights be protected by Governments and by the more advanced and better organised urban proletariat. With our experience of the past it would be wrong to delay action on the pretext that these rural workers have not themselves agitated for certain concessions, and to wait until they demand with violence recognition of the rights which ought to have been granted to them many years ago. In my country this is the Government's greatest preoccupation and only recently, at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., our eminent President, Getulio Vargas, described the main lines of an agrarian reform which will bring about the social, economic and political liberation of our agricultural workers.

The greater dignity which this reform brings to rural labour will also lead to a higher standard of living, and will therefore strengthen the democracy which we hold so dear. The man who works in the field is just as much entitled as his comrade in the factory to due protection for his labour and to security for his family and himself.

Nor may we neglect the problems of the indigenous populations to whom all that is best and most useful in our civilisation must be extended. The work now being started by the I.L.O. in the Andean countries should, I feel, be extended to other regions. Furthermore, the promised study on the forest populations of America and Asia is awaited with great interest in my country, and we are ourselves making every effort to solve the great problem of the indigenous races and to bring to forest dwellers the benefits of Western civilisation.

As regards the protection of the urban worker, we cannot restrict ourselves to action regarding contracts of employment and conditions of work. These workers must be so placed that access to social advance in all sectors of public life is open to them, and their education and training must, therefore, never be neglected.

May I call the attention of delegates in this regard to the work being done in my country with great success by the National Industrial Apprenticeship Service, the National Commercial Apprenticeship Service, and the Industrial and Commercial Welfare Services.

A Bill to establish a rural welfare service is now going through its final stage. All this comprehensive work exceeds the geographical boundaries of nations and requires a conjugation of effort such as that made by the I.L.O. in its new agreement with our National Industrial Apprenticeship Service for Vocational Training in South America (S.E.N.A.I.) and in another field through the recent seminar on the administration of social insurance in our continent.

The problems of labour and the workers must depend for their solution on that given to the economic difficulties in which many

nations are now placed, and this in turn will depend on international co-operation, as Mr. Morse so well points out on page 2 of his remarkable Report: "Where a country is unable by its own efforts to achieve full employment, other countries should seek ways to help to bring its unemployed resources into production, through either temporary or permanent migration, through the placing of orders abroad, or through the provision of materials, capital equipment and technical assistance. The full use of such resources is the easiest and least painful way of meeting increased demands."

I believe that it will be necessary to stress more clearly the obligation of countries which have capital available to invest it in countries where capital is required, and that the investing State should not thereby aim at a rate of profit higher than could be obtained in its own region, or promote any economic subjection to the interests of powerful financial groups. It should be clear also that this co-operation should never be planned in terms of mere transitional compensation for the moral and material aid received at a time when the highest ideals are at stake—ideals which cannot be measured in figures or in gold.

I would like to refer here with satisfaction and emphasis to the remarks made by Mr. de Rego Monteiro, the distinguished Government delegate of my country, in his speech on the Director-General's Report: "One conclusion cannot be escaped. It is that the end of inequality of countries must come. The concept that some nations can be regarded as inferior to others has been swept away by events and by the triumph of democratic ideals; all must go forward together on the path of social progress."

This will be possible only in a brotherly spirit of international co-operation on the widest basis.

Such a spirit has indeed been at the heart of the policy of my Government under the leadership of that eminent statesman, President Getulio Vargas. Those who come from other countries to lead an active life in Brazil receive the warmest welcome, and only recently, when laying the foundation stone of the new Mannesmann Works, the President said: "My Government has always lent, and will continue to lend, its decisive support to these establishments and others which aim at similar objectives. We wish all success and prosperity to the factory which will spring up on this spot. May it be an inspiring example of intelligent and fruitful co-operation between foreign capital and home resources."

That this co-operation may spread, may include every nation desirous of development, is the hope of all those who wish to see the world freed from poverty and from the domination of any powers or groups, either in the political or in the economic field.

In our effort to reach this stage of civilisation, involving the economic liberation of the masses and equality of rights between the nations, much can be contributed by the workers everywhere, organised in unions deserving the respect of Governments, running their affairs

in full independence and defending in freedom the interests of those they represent. If the trade union movement is to perform its historic function it must not be diverted from its proper spirit and objective, for if unions are transformed into partisan political groups the divergencies and passions of politics will be carried into the heart of the working class and will endanger the cohesion which sound trade union activity itself requires. This is, I am sure, the belief of the great trade union leaders of the free world. They know how precious it is to protect their associations from excessive Government interference, from domination by political parties and from dictatorship of any sort or kind really aimed in every case at subjecting the working class to interests other than those of a genuine trade union movement. If the unions continue to act as representatives of worker opinion in their respective countries and of the free labour movement in the world, they will enable us in all continents to have greater faith in the future of democracy, which we must preserve because under it men may hold up their heads and live in dignity.

Before closing the proceedings of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference, I should like to refer to a problem which deserves meditation. The I.L.O. no longer needs to concern itself excessively with precedent and tradition. Its mission is essentially creative and, if it is not to lose its prestige with the great masses of the world, it should not merely record tendencies which are out of date and should not be timid in acting on suggestions made.

A new age is approaching for mankind, an age in which no racial, class or caste prejudice will exist, in which all men and women, without distinction, may reach the objectives which are common to us all.

The International Labour Organisation will accomplish the splendid mission of promoting this achievement if there is maintained an atmosphere of comprehension, respect and esteem between the two forces whose synthesis makes production possible, namely, capital and labour.

The agenda of the 35th Session of the Conference contained several questions of the greatest interest. We have approved resolutions on the protection of the health of workers, on underground work in coal mines, a Recommendation and a Convention concerning holidays with pay in agriculture and minimum standards of social security, as well as the revision of the Convention concerning maternity protection.

We have completed our work and may return home with a clear conscience and a feeling of duty done. With your thoughts on God and mankind, may you face your future tasks with all the energy, intelligence and devotion which they require. The workers, employers and Governments of today, in all countries, will applaud as they deserve your achievements for them and for future generations.

I declare the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference closed.

(The Conference adjourned sine die at 1 p.m.)

Delegates present at the Sitting

<i>Afghanistan :</i> Mr. Latifi	<i>Czechoslovakia :</i> Mr. Roháč Mr. Plešek Mr. Gref Mr. Vondras (substitute for Mr. Kolský)	<i>Ireland :</i> Mr. Maguire Mr. Murray Mr. O'Brien	<i>Poland :</i> Mr. Chajn Mrs. Kalinowska (substitute for Mr. Licki) Mr. Farnik Mr. Wandas
<i>Argentina :</i> Mr. Souza (substitute for Mr. Puente) Mr. Lescure Mr. Valerga (substitute for Mr. Espejo)	<i>Denmark :</i> Mr. Haarlöv (substitute for Mr. Bramsnaes) Mr. Dreyer Mr. H. Nielsen (substitute for Mr. Larsen) Mr. E. Nielsen	<i>Israel :</i> Mr. Berinson Mr. Bar-Niv Mr. Moriel Mr. Kanev (substitute for Mr. Barkatt)	<i>Portugal :</i> Mr. Pereira Jardim Mr. Santos (substitute for Mr. Antunes Varela) Mr. Calheiros Lopes Mr. Fragoso Fernandes (substitute for Mr. Gonçalves)
<i>Australia :</i> Mr. Sharp Mr. Johnston (substitute for Mr. Shaw) Mr. Burne Mr. Thom	<i>Dominican Republic :</i> Mr. Troncoso Mr. Peynado	<i>Italy :</i> Mr. Carloni (substitute for Mr. Del Bo) Mr. Purpura Mr. Campanella Mr. Storli (substitute for Mr. Pastore)	<i>Sweden :</i> Mr. Heinrici (substitute for Mr. Björck) Mr. Eckerberg Mr. Giesecke (substitute for Mr. Bergenström) Mr. Sölvén
<i>Austria :</i> Mr. Hammerl Mr. Rudolph Mr. Schneider (substitute for Mr. Weinberger) Mr. Boehm	<i>Egypt :</i> Ismail Bey Mr. Mazhar Mr. Kamel	<i>Japan :</i> Mr. Tatsuke (substitute for Mr. Kanno) Mr. Teramoto Mr. Adachi Mr. Oka	<i>Switzerland :</i> Mr. Rappard Mr. Kaufmann Mr. Kuntschen Mr. Möri
<i>Belgium :</i> Mr. Fachamps (substitute for Mr. van den Daele) Mr. Wallin (substitute for Mr. Troclet) Mr. Bultynck (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) Mr. de Bock	<i>Finland :</i> Mr. Wuori Mr. Jylhä Mr. Sjöberg (substitute for Mr. Karikoski) Mr. Sumu	<i>Liberia :</i> Mr. Tamba Mr. Wilson Mr. King	<i>Syria :</i> Mr. Joukhadar Mr. Sioufi Mr. Elias Mr. Cachecho
<i>Brazil :</i> Mr. da Rocha Leão (substitute for Mr. de Segadas Vianna) Mr. de Rego Monteiro Mr. Baeta Neves	<i>France :</i> Mr. Ramadier Mr. Hauck Mr. Waline Mr. Jouhaux	<i>Libya :</i> Mr. el Gerbi	<i>Thailand :</i> Mr. Krairiksh
<i>Barma :</i> Mr. Maung Mr. Myint Mr. Thu	<i>Federal Republic of Germany :</i> Mr. Dohbarnaack (substitute for Mr. Sauerborn) Mr. Eckert Mr. Erdman (substitute for Mr. Winkler) Mr. Lübke (substitute for Mr. Bührig)	<i>Luxembourg :</i> Mr. van Werveke (substitute for Mr. Biever) Mrs. Krier-Becker (substitute for Mr. Wilwertz) Mr. Diederich Mr. Krier	<i>Turkey :</i> Mr. Azak Mr. Saymen Mr. Kirim
<i>Canada :</i> Mr. Williams (substitute for Mr. Maclean) Mr. Goulet Mr. Brass (substitute for Mr. Taylor) Mr. Swerdlow (substitute for Mr. Jodoin)	<i>Greece :</i> Mr. Pavlakis Mr. Hadji Vassiliou Mr. Bardas (substitute for Mr. Tsatsos) Mr. Kyriakopoulos (substitute for Mr. Macris)	<i>Mexico :</i> Mr. Aguilar Mr. Desentis	<i>Union of South Africa :</i> Mr. Myburgh Mr. Brooke Mr. Budd (substitute for Mr. George)
<i>Ceylon :</i> Mr. Wijenaike Mr. Abeywira Mr. Rutnam Mr. Wijemanne	<i>Guatemala :</i> Mr. Peralta Mr. Monzón Mr. Recinos	<i>Netherlands :</i> Fr. Stokman Miss Stemberg Mr. Fennema Mr. Alders (substitute for Mr. Borstlap)	<i>United Kingdom :</i> Mr. Dennys (substitute for Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans) Mr. Buckland Sir John Forbes Watson Mr. Bartlett (substitute for Mr. Roberts)
<i>Chile :</i> Mr. Torres Mr. Cisternas Mr. Benítez Mr. Hormazábal	<i>Haiti :</i> Mr. Addor (substitute for Mr. Jumelle)	<i>New Zealand :</i> Mr. Bockett Mr. Smith Mr. Anderson Mr. Velvin	<i>United States :</i> Mr. Myers (substitute for Mr. Kaiser) Mr. Barnes (substitute for Mr. Murray) Mr. McGrath (substitute for Mr. McCormick) Mr. Delaney
<i>China :</i> Mr. Yü Mr. Tuan Mr. Liug Mr. Liang	<i>Iceland :</i> Mr. Gndmundsson Mr. de Ferron (substitute for Mr. Ólafsson)	<i>Norway :</i> Mr. Kringlebotten (substitute for Mr. Øksnes) Mr. Ulsaker (substitute for Mrs. Sewerlin) Mr. Östberg Mr. Dahlberg (substitute for Mr. Mentsen)	<i>Uruguay :</i> Mr. Perotti Mr. Pons Mr. Troitiño
<i>Colombia :</i> Mr. González Mr. Gómez Mr. Espinosa	<i>India :</i> Mr. Dravid Mr. Menon Mr. Rohatgi (substitute for Mr. Tata) Mr. Seraug (substitute for Mr. Shastri)	<i>Pakistan :</i> Mr. Malik Mr. Alamgir Mr. Ali Mr. Ahmad	<i>Venezuela :</i> Mr. Arria (substitute for Mr. Montoya) Mr. Graterol Mr. Velutini
<i>Costa Rica :</i> Mr. Donnadien	<i>Indonesia :</i> Mr. Samjono Mr. Tobing Mr. Tedjasukmana	<i>Peru :</i> Mr. García Mr. Leguía	<i>Viet-Nam :</i> Mr. Buu-Kinh Mr. Truong-Vinh-Cac Mr. Chan
<i>Cuba :</i> Mr. Sandoval Mr. Soberón Mr. Cowley Mr. Cofiño	<i>Iran :</i> Mr. Kafai Mr. Keyvan	<i>Philippines :</i> Mr. Lanting Mr. Magalona Mr. Hernandez (substitute for Mr. Fernandez)	<i>Yugoslavia :</i> Mr. Potrč Mr. Dular (substitute for Mr. Petrović) Mr. Lučovnik Mr. Cvejić (substitute for Mr. Veber)

Also present at the Sitting :

Mr. Temfjord (*Council of Europe*), Mr. Eggermann (*International Federation of Christian Trade Unions*).

THIRD PART
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Credentials

(1) Brief Report by Mr. Ramadier, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, on the Credentials of Delegates and Advisers appointed to the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference, Geneva, 4 June 1952.

The Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has the honour to present the customary report on the credentials of delegates and advisers as prescribed by Article 26 of the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference. According to paragraphs 8 and 9 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation—

8. The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labour Office by the Government of each of the Members.

9. The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this Article.

The composition of each delegation and the method of appointment of delegates and advisers to the sessions of the International Labour Conference are governed by the foregoing text.

Thus, it is for the Governments to communicate to the International Labour Office the nominations made. The Conference decides, especially in the case of dispute, whether delegates and advisers have been properly nominated in accordance with Article 3 of the Constitution.

In order to facilitate the verification of credentials, the International Labour Conference has included certain provisions in Article 26 of its Standing Orders; this Article is as follows :

1. The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be deposited with the International Labour Office at least fifteen days before the date fixed for the opening of the session of the Conference.

2. A brief report upon these credentials, drawn up by the Chairman of the Governing Body, shall, with the

credentials, be open to inspection by the delegates on the day before the opening of the session of the Conference and shall be published as an appendix to the record of the first sitting.

3. The Credentials Committee appointed by the Conference in pursuance of Article 5 of the Standing Orders of the Conference shall consider any objection concerning the nomination of any delegate or adviser which may have been lodged with the Secretary-General.

4. An objection shall not be receivable in the following cases :

- (a) if the objection is not lodged with the Secretary-General within three clear days from the opening of the session of the Conference or, in the case of credentials not deposited in time for mention in the brief report referred to in paragraph 2 above, within three clear days from the date of the publication in the *Provisional Record* of the session of the name of the person to whose nomination objection is taken : Provided that the above time limits may be extended by the Credentials Committee in the case of objections to the nomination of a delegate or adviser from a distant country ;
- (b) if the authors of the objection remain anonymous ;
- (c) if the objection is based upon facts or allegations which the Conference, by a debate and a decision referring to identical facts or allegations, has already discussed and recognised to be irrelevant or devoid of substance.

5. The procedure for the determination of whether an objection is receivable shall be as follows :

- (a) the Credentials Committee shall consider in respect of each objection whether on any of the grounds set forth in paragraph 4 the objection is irreceivable ;
- (b) if the Committee reaches a unanimous conclusion concerning the receivability of the objection, its decision shall be final ;
- (c) if the Credentials Committee does not reach a unanimous conclusion concerning the receivability of the objection, it shall refer the matter to the Conference which shall, on being furnished with a record of the Committee's discussions and with a report setting forth the opinion of the majority and minority of the members, decide without further discussion whether the objection is receivable.

6. In every case in which the objection is not declared irreceivable, the Credentials Committee shall consider whether the objection is well founded and shall as a matter of urgency submit a report thereon to the Conference.

7. If the Credentials Committee or any member thereof submits a report advising that the Conference should refuse to admit any delegate or adviser, the President shall submit this proposal to the Conference for decision, and the Conference, if it deems that the delegate or adviser has not been nominated in conformity with the

requirements of the Constitution, may, in accordance with paragraph 9 of Article 3 thereof, refuse by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present to admit the delegate or adviser. Delegates who are in favour of refusing to admit the delegate or adviser shall vote "Yes"; delegates who are opposed to refusing to admit the delegate or adviser shall vote "No".

8. Pending final decision of the question of his admission, any delegate or adviser to whose nomination objection has been taken shall have the same rights as other delegates and advisers.

The following is the text of Article 5 of the Standing Orders referred to above:

1. The Conference shall, on the nomination of the Selection Committee, appoint a Credentials Committee consisting of one Government delegate, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate.

2. The Credentials Committee shall examine the credentials of delegates and their advisers, and any objection relating thereto, in accordance with the provisions of Section B of Part II.¹

The present report is submitted in compliance with the provisions quoted above. It was signed on Tuesday, 3 June 1952, at 10 a.m., in order that it might be open to inspection by the members of the delegations on that day, being the eve of the opening of the Conference.

It should be pointed out, as has been done in previous years, that the provisions of Article 26 of the Standing Orders are especially intended to facilitate the work of verifying the credentials. They do not have the binding character of the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Any credentials sent in after the closing of the present report will be communicated to the Conference by the Secretary-General and will be referred by the Conference to the Credentials Committee. This Committee will examine them, together with any objections received by the Officers of the Conference within the time limits laid down in paragraphs 4 and 5 of Article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The present report serves for fixing provisionally the quorum necessary to give validity to the votes taken. The last paragraph of Article 17 of the Constitution provides that:

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the delegates attending the Conference.

And Article 20, paragraph 2 of the Standing Orders of the Conference adds:

This number shall be provisionally fixed after the presentation of the brief report referred to in paragraph 2 of the rules of procedure concerning credentials set forth in Article 26. It shall then be determined by the Credentials Committee.

The files accompanying the present report contain the names of the delegates and advisers and the credentials with which they have been provided or the official communications transmitted to the International Labour Office. The following table shows the numerical composition of the Conference.

¹ Article 26 cited above constitutes Section B of Part II of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

Country	Government delegates	Government advisers	Employers' delegates	Employers' advisers	Workers' delegates	Workers' advisers
Afghanistan	1	3	—	—	—	—
Argentina	2	2	1	—	1	6
Australia	2	4	1	2	1	2
Austria	2	3	1	2	1	3
Belgium	2	10	1	5	1	6
Bolivia	1	—	—	—	1	—
Brazil	2	16	—	—	—	—
Burma	2	1	1	2	1	1
Canada	2	4	1	4	1	3
Ceylon	2	—	1	—	1	—
Chile	2	3	1	—	1	1
China	2	2	1	—	1	2
Colombia	2	—	—	—	1	—
Costa Rica	1	—	—	—	—	—
Cuba	2	1	1	1	1	3
Czechoslovakia	2	—	1	—	1	1
Denmark	2	3	1	3	1	2
Dominican Republic ..	2	1	1	—	1	—
Egypt	2	—	1	—	1	—
Finland	2	1	1	2	1	1
France	2	14	1	8	1	9
Federal Republic of Germany	2	6	1	8	1	7
Greece	2	—	1	1	1	3
Guatemala	2	3	—	—	1	—
Haiti	1	—	—	—	—	—
Iceland	2	2	1	—	1	—
India	2	4	1	3	1	3
Iran	2	—	1	—	—	—
Iraq	2	—	1	—	1	—
Ireland	2	3	1	1	1	1
Israel	2	1	1	—	1	1
Italy	2	8	1	5	1	5
Japan	2	3	1	2	1	2
Liberia	2	—	1	—	1	—
Luxembourg	2	4	1	2	1	4
Mexico	2	—	—	—	—	—
Netherlands	2	7	1	4	1	4
New Zealand	2	—	1	1	1	1
Norway	2	5	1	3	1	2
Pakistan	2	1	1	1	1	1
Philippines	2	2	1	2	1	5
Portugal	2	1	1	1	1	2
El Salvador	2	—	1	—	—	—
Sweden	2	3	1	3	1	3
Switzerland	2	6	1	4	1	4
Syria	2	—	1	2	1	1
Thailand	1	—	—	—	—	—
Turkey	2	0	1	1	1	1
Union of South Africa ..	2	—	1	1	1	1
United Kingdom	2	16	1	10	1	9
Uruguay	2	—	1	1	1	1
Venezuela	2	4	1	5	1	5
Viet-Nam	2	—	1	—	1	—
Yugoslavia	2	4	1	—	1	3

The following observations may be made as regards the nominations of the delegates and advisers. Up to date 54 countries have notified the nominations of the members of their delegations. Most of them have already communicated credentials (official instruments) or official letters to the International Labour Office; others have forwarded official telegrams. Although nomination by official letter or telegram is not in accordance with customary diplomatic procedure, the Conference has always considered this method of nomination as satisfactory.

It may be pointed out that six countries have so far nominated Government delegates only. Four of these countries, as well as one other country, have appointed only one Government delegate. Five countries have so far nominated either an Employers' delegate but no Workers' delegate or vice versa.

The Conference and the Credentials Committee have already emphasised on previous occasions that Article 3 of the Constitution lays an obligation on each Government to send a complete delegation to the Conference.

It should be noted that in the letters or telegrams communicating their nominations various Governments have mentioned the employers' and workers' organisations which they had consulted and with which they have come to an agreement in appointing employers' and workers' delegates in accordance with paragraph 5 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Composition of the Conference, and Quorum.

At present the Conference is composed of 103 Government delegates, 45 Employers' delegates and 46 Workers' delegates—a total of 194 delegates.

There are, besides 151 Government advisers, 90 Employers' advisers and 109 Workers' advisers—a total of 350 advisers.

In the letters communicating the nominations, some persons have been nominated both as substitute delegates and as advisers. For the purpose of the above total they have been included among the advisers.

The delegation of one country includes among its technical advisers one adviser nominated in accordance with Article 3, paragraph 3 (a) of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation to take part in the proceedings of the Conference in regard to matters within the self-governing powers of certain non-metropolitan territories.

The total number of delegates and advisers who have been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation to take part in the work of the Conference is 544.

Since five countries have nominated either an Employers' delegate but no Workers' delegate, or vice versa, five non-Government delegates are left out of account in the calculation of the quorum.

Moreover, since one of the States represented is in arrears in the payment of its contribution to the Organisation, this State, under the terms of paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution, may not at present participate in the voting in the Conference.

In conformity with Article 17 of the Constitution of the Organisation and with Article 20 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the necessary quorum to give a vote validity will provisionally be 93.

Representatives Accredited by Non-Member States.

The United Kingdom of Libya has appointed two representatives as observers to attend the Conference.

Representatives of the United Nations, Specialised Agencies, and other Official International Organisations.

In accordance with paragraph 1 of Article II—relating to reciprocal representation—of the

Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation which came into force on 14 December 1946, representatives of the United Nations are attending the Conference.

Up to date, the following official international organisations have also accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them in accordance with the decisions taken by the Governing Body :

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation ;
World Health Organization ;
Council of Europe.

Representatives of Non-Governmental International Organisations with which Consultative Relationships have been Established.

Of the non-governmental international organisations with which consultative relationships have been established, the following have already accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them in accordance with the arrangements in force between these organisations and the International Labour Organisation :

International Federation of Christian Trade Unions ;
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions ;
International Co-operative Alliance ;
International Federation of Agricultural Producers ;
International Organization of Employers ;
World Federation of Trade Unions.

Geneva, 3 June 1952.

(Signed) PAUL RAMADIER.

(2) First Report of the Credentials Committee.¹

The Credentials Committee decided at its meeting held on 6 June 1952 to submit a first report to the Conference.

Composition of the Conference, and Quorum.

Since the signature of the brief report made by the Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office the Credentials Committee has registered the following modifications in the composition of the Conference :

Austria :

One additional Government adviser has been appointed.

Brazil :

The Brazilian delegation is as follows : two Government delegates, 19 Government

¹ See Second Part, p. 60.

advisers, one Employers' delegate, 11 Employers' advisers, one Workers' delegate, and 13 Workers' advisers.

Ecuador :

One Government delegate has been appointed.

Egypt :

One Government adviser has been appointed.

Greece :

One additional Workers' adviser has been appointed.

Guatemala :

There are two Government advisers, not three as previously announced.

Haiti :

The Haitian delegation is as follows : two Government delegates, one Government adviser, one Employers' delegate, and one Workers' delegate.

Indonesia :

The Indonesian delegation is as follows : two Government delegates, one Government adviser, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate.

Iraq :

One Employers' adviser has been appointed.

Mexico :

Two Government advisers and a Workers' delegate have been appointed.

Peru :

One Government delegate has been appointed.

Poland :

The Polish delegation is as follows : two Government delegates, two Government advisers, one Employers' delegate, one Workers' delegate and one Workers' adviser.

Syria :

One Syrian Government adviser has been appointed.

United States :

The delegation of the United States is as follows : two Government delegates, 12 Government advisers, one Employers' delegate, eight Employers' advisers, one Workers' delegate and eight Workers' advisers.

A revised version of the table published in the brief report of the Chairman of the Governing Body¹ is annexed to the present report.

Taking the above appointments into account, the number of States Members of the International Labour Organisation represented at this session of the Conference is now 59. The total number of delegates is 214, including 112 Government delegates, 50 Employers' delegates, and 52 Workers' delegates.

There are besides 416 advisers, including 174 Government advisers, 110 Employers' advisers and 132 Workers' advisers.

The total number of delegates and advisers who have been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation to take part in the work of the Conference is 630.

Since six States have nominated an Employers' delegate without nominating a Workers' delegate, or vice versa, six non-Government delegates are left out of account in the calculation of the quorum.

Moreover, since one of the States represented is in arrears in the payment of its contribution to the Organisation, that State, under the terms of paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution, may not at present participate in the voting of the Conference.

The quorum required to give a vote of validity is now 102.

Credentials.

On the basis of the decisions taken at previous sessions of the Conference the Committee has accepted credentials, official letters or official telegrams from Governments as satisfactory documentary evidence of the appointment of delegates or advisers.

The Committee found that all delegates and advisers possessed the necessary documents attesting their nomination.

Objections.

The Credentials Committee has before it this year objections concerning the appointment of the Workers' delegate of Ceylon, the Workers' delegate and Workers' adviser of Chile, the Workers' delegate of France, the Workers' delegate of Italy, and the Workers' delegate and the Workers' advisers of Venezuela.

In addition, the Committee has had referred to it by the Conference the objections and observations made to the Conference by the Government delegates of Czechoslovakia and Poland concerning the appointment of the Chinese delegation.

The Credentials Committee will consider these objections and observations.

Geneva, 7 June 1952.

(Signed) KAUFMANN,
Chairman.
A. G. FENNEMA.
ARNOLD SÖLVÉN.

¹ See above, p. 121.

ANNEX

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE

Country	Government delegates	Government advisers	Employers' delegates	Employers' advisers	Workers' delegates	Workers' advisers
Afghanistan.....	1	3	—	—	—	—
Argentina.....	2	2	1	—	1	6
Australia.....	2	4	1	2	1	2
Austria.....	2	4	1	2	1	3
Belgium.....	2	10	1	5	1	6
Bolivia.....	1	—	—	—	1	—
Brazil.....	2	19	1	11	1	13
Burma.....	2	1	1	2	1	1
Canada.....	2	4	1	4	1	3
Ceylon.....	2	—	1	—	1	—
Chile.....	2	3	1	—	1	1
China.....	2	2	1	—	1	2
Colombia.....	2	—	—	—	1	—
Costa Rica.....	1	—	—	—	—	—
Cuba.....	2	1	1	1	1	3
Czechoslovakia.....	2	—	1	—	1	1
Denmark.....	2	3	1	3	1	2
Dominican Republic...	2	1	1	—	1	—
Ecuador.....	1	—	—	—	—	—
Egypt.....	2	1	1	—	1	—
Finland.....	2	1	1	2	1	1
France.....	2	14	1	8	1	9
Federal Republic of Germany.....	2	6	1	8	1	7
Greece.....	2	—	1	1	1	4
Guatemala.....	2	2	—	—	1	—
Haiti.....	2	1	1	—	1	—
Iceland.....	2	2	1	—	1	—
India.....	2	4	1	3	1	3
Indonesia.....	2	1	1	—	1	—
Iran.....	2	—	1	—	—	—
Iraq.....	2	—	1	1	1	—
Ireland.....	2	3	1	1	1	1
Israel.....	2	1	1	—	1	1
Italy.....	2	8	1	5	1	5
Japan.....	2	3	1	2	1	2
Liberia.....	2	—	1	—	1	—
Luxembourg.....	2	4	1	2	1	4
Mexico.....	2	2	—	—	1	—
Netherlands.....	2	7	1	4	1	4
New Zealand.....	2	—	1	1	1	1
Norway.....	2	5	1	3	1	2
Pakistan.....	2	1	1	1	1	1
Peru.....	1	—	—	—	—	—
Philippines.....	2	2	1	2	1	5
Poland.....	2	2	1	—	1	1
Portugal.....	2	1	1	1	1	2
El Salvador.....	2	—	1	—	—	—
Sweden.....	2	3	1	3	1	3
Switzerland.....	2	6	1	4	1	4
Syria.....	2	1	1	2	1	1
Thailand.....	1	—	—	—	—	—
Turkey.....	2	—	1	1	1	1
Union of South Africa...	2	—	1	1	1	1
United Kingdom.....	2	16	1	10	1	9
United States.....	2	12	1	8	1	8
Uruguay.....	2	—	1	1	1	1
Venezuela.....	2	4	1	5	1	5
Viet-Nam.....	2	—	1	—	1	—
Yugoslavia.....	2	4	1	—	1	3

(3) Second Report of the Credentials Committee.¹*Objections concerning the Nomination of the Chinese Delegation to the 35th Session of the Conference.*

The Credentials Committee has considered the observations which were made before the Conference by the Government delegates of Czechoslovakia and Poland concerning the nomination of the Chinese delegation and which were referred to it by the Conference.

¹ See Second Part, p. 60.

The Chinese delegation to the 35th Session of the Conference has been appointed by the Government of the Chinese Republic. Those who have submitted objections consider that China is today lawfully represented only by the Government of the People's Republic of China, with its capital in Peking.

The same situation arose at the 33rd and 34th Sessions of the Conference, and the arguments of those who have submitted objections remain, in general, the same.

In the report which it submitted to the Conference in 1950—and which it cited in 1951—the Credentials Committee unanimously formulated its conclusions in the following terms:

... The Committee finds that these credentials are in good order and have been issued by the Chinese Government which has for many years been represented at the meetings of the International Labour Organisation.

The objections presented are based on the new situation resulting from the military and political events of recent months. Two rival Governments are contending for power in China. The Government of the Chinese Republic has established itself at Formosa, and a new Government, the Government of the People's Republic of China, with its capital at Peking, exercises authority over the continental territory of China. The struggle between these two Governments is still proceeding.

The protesting Government, that of the People's Republic of China, has been recognised *de jure* by a number of Governments, including the Governments of 18 States Members of the International Labour Organisation. The 43 remaining Member States of the International Labour Organisation have not yet taken decisions on the question. Of these 43 Member States, the majority still maintain diplomatic relations with the Government of the Chinese Republic.

The same problem has arisen in other international organisations and particularly in the Security Council of the United Nations. With the exception of the Executive Committee of the Universal Postal Union, which has taken a decision based on special technical considerations¹, these organisations have not considered it appropriate, in the present state of affairs, to accept the objection made by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, on 8 March 1950, published a memorandum on the legal aspects of the problem. The conclusions contained in this memorandum are still under consideration in the United Nations, where the question is at present in suspense.

In view of these considerations the Credentials Committee unanimously proposes that the Conference should:

(a) take note of the facts mentioned above and especially of the peculiar situation existing at the present time in China, where two Governments continue to contend for authority, and of the fact that the Members of the International Labour Organisation have not adopted a uniform attitude on the subject;

(b) take note that under the circumstances the only possible solution for the difficulties which have arisen is to recognise that the Government of the Chinese Republic has validly nominated representatives of that country to the present session of the Conference; and

(c) emphasise once more the importance which the International Labour Organisation attaches to the effective participation in its work of representatives of the Governments, employers and workers of all peoples.

The Conference in 1950 took note of that report.

In 1951 the Credentials Committee recalled that the question was being examined by the United Nations, which by resolution of 19 September 1950 had established a special committee to consider the question of Chinese representation, it being understood that, pending a decision by the General Assembly on the report of this special committee, the represen-

¹ This decision has since been reversed as the result of consultation of the Governments Members of the Universal Postal Union.

tatives of the National Government of China should be seated in the General Assembly with the same rights as other representatives. The Credentials Committee also recalled that, by another resolution adopted on 14 December 1950, the General Assembly recommended that whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a Member State of the United Nations, the attitude adopted by the General Assembly or its Interim Committee concerning any such question should be taken into account in other organs of the United Nations and in the specialised agencies; that, in addition, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided on 10 March 1951 to bring that resolution, and any attitude which may be adopted by the General Assembly or its Interim Committee in such cases as may arise from time to time, to the attention of the Conference in order that they might be taken into account as recommended by the General Assembly.

Basing itself on the foregoing considerations, the Credentials Committee of the 34th Session of the Conference unanimously found that the credentials of the members of the Chinese delegation at that session were in good order and considered that the time was not an appropriate one for the Conference to examine further the observations which had been submitted to it. The Conference took note of the report of the Committee.

Since then the special committee established by the United Nations to study the problem has presented a report in which it authorised the chairman to inform the General Assembly that, in the existing circumstances, it had been unable to make any recommendation on the question of the representation of China. By resolution of 5 November 1951 the General Assembly took note of that report. A request for the inclusion of the question on the agenda of the 6th Session of the General Assembly having subsequently been made, the General Assembly decided on 13 November 1951 "to postpone consideration, for the duration of the meeting in Paris of the sixth regular session, of any further proposals to exclude representatives of the National Government of China from the Assembly or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to represent China in the Assembly".

In these circumstances, the Credentials Committee, noting that the question is still being examined by the General Assembly of the United Nations, considers that no new element has arisen since last year which would enable it to express a new view; accordingly it considers that the time is still an inappropriate one for the Conference to examine further the observations submitted to it this year. The Committee unanimously finds that the credentials of the members of the Chinese delegation at the present session of the Conference are in good order, and submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.

Geneva, 7 June 1952.

(Signed) KAUFMANN, *Chairman*.
A. G. FENNEMA.
ARNOLD SÖLVÉN.

(4) Third Report of the Credentials Committee.¹

Composition of the Conference, and Quorum.

Since the submission of the first two reports, the Credentials Committee has registered the following appointments:

Brazil:

Six new Government advisers have been appointed.

Iran:

One Workers' delegate and one Workers' adviser have been appointed.

Libya:

The delegation of Libya, in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Conference on 11 June 1952 admitting Libya to membership, is composed of two Government delegates.

Peru:

A second Government delegate has been appointed.

Taking the above appointments into account, the number of delegates has risen to 218, including 115 Government delegates, 50 Employers' delegates and 53 Workers' delegates.

The number of advisers has risen to 423, including 180 Government advisers, 110 Employers' advisers and 133 Workers' advisers.

The total number of persons who have been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation to take part in the work of the Conference is now 641.

Since five States have nominated an Employers' delegate without nominating a Workers' delegate, or vice versa, five non-Government delegates are left out of account in the calculation of the quorum. Moreover, it may be seen from the preceding reports that one of the States represented may not at present, under the terms of paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution, participate in the voting of the Conference. The quorum required to give a vote validity is accordingly at present 105.

Observers.

Following the invitation addressed to it in conformity with the decision taken on 31 May 1952 by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the Saar has appointed an observer delegation composed as follows: one Government representative, one Employers' representative, five Employers' advisers, one Workers' representative and two Workers' advisers.

Objection to the Credentials of the Workers' Delegate of Indonesia.

Since the publication of the first report the Credentials Committee has been seized, in addition to the objections mentioned previously, of an objection presented in due time and submitted by the Indonesian Workers' organisation "Sobsi"; that organisation complained that the Indonesian Government

¹ See Second Part, p. 81.

refused to appoint one of its representatives as member of the Indonesian delegation to the Conference.

This objection was contained in a telegram sent from Djakarta on 7 June 1952.

The Credentials Committee found that the telegram, which was very brief, contained nothing but a bare objection, but no allegation of fact upon which that objection could be based.

The Committee was unanimously of the opinion that since the objection was not supported by any argument it could not serve as the basis for invalidating the credentials of the Workers' delegate in question.

Objection to the Credentials of the Workers' Delegate and Workers' Adviser of Chile.

The Credentials Committee had before it six telegrams, sent between 2 and 5 June, and containing similar objections to the credentials of the Chilean Workers' delegate and Workers' adviser to the present session of the Conference.

These telegrams were signed by the following six organisations :

Subcomité Chileno de Unidad Sindical Latinoamericana, Santiago ;
Sindicato Profesional de Industrias Gráficas, Santiago ;
Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos, Valparaíso ;
Sindicato Frutera Sudamericana, Valparaíso ;
Sindicato Refinería Azúcar, Valparaíso ;
Federación Azucarera de Chile, Valparaíso.

The Credentials Committee found that the telegrams, which again were very brief, contained nothing but a bare objection, but no allegation of fact upon which that objection could be based.

The Committee was unanimously of the opinion that since the objections were not supported by any argument they could not serve as a basis for invalidating the credentials of the Workers' delegate and Workers' adviser in question.

Geneva, 11 June 1952.

(Signed) KAUFMANN,
Chairman,
A. G. FENNEMA,
ARNOLD SÖLVÉN.

(5) Fourth Report of the Credentials Committee.¹

Objection to the Credentials of the Workers' Delegate and Workers' Advisers of Venezuela.

The Credentials Committee had before it a telegram dated 4 June 1952, sent from San José (Costa Rica) in the name of the Venezuelan Workers' Confederation, and containing an objection to the credentials of the Workers' delegate and Workers' advisers of Venezuela to the present session of the Conference.

Having observed that the objection was receivable the Committee communicated it, in accordance with the usual practice, to the

Venezuelan Government delegates and Workers' delegate for their observations.

The Committee also heard an oral statement from Mr. Montoya, Venezuelan Government delegate.

On 8 May 1952 the Minister of Labour of Venezuela requested the workers' organisations, by means of an official announcement published in the press, to submit the names of trade union leaders who might form part of the Workers' delegation to the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.

In answer to that request a congress of Independent Trade Unions and a congress of the Free Trade Union Movement were held at Caracas on 16 and 17 May, with a view to the nomination of the delegation.

These two congresses are said to represent approximately 68 per cent. of Venezuelan organised workers in the different branches of the national economy.

Each congress adopted a list containing the names of leaders who might be nominated as Workers' delegate or as Workers' advisers to the International Labour Conference. One hundred and seventy-five organisations voted for the persons so chosen. The names of those elected were submitted to the Minister of Labour.

The Minister of Labour chose six of the names submitted to him, one to act as Workers' delegate and five as Workers' advisers. The persons concerned had obtained the votes either of the Independent Trade Unions, or of the Free Trade Union Movement, or of both.

It may be noted that the delegation consists largely of the same workers' leaders as those which took part, as Venezuelan Workers' representatives, at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., held at Petropolis from 17 to 29 April 1952. At that Conference the Credentials Committee had before it an objection to the credentials of the Venezuelan Workers' delegate submitted by the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But, when the Committee came to consider that objection, it was informed that, in view of the terms of a declaration made before the Workers' group of the Conference by the Venezuelan Workers' delegate, which was unanimously considered as satisfactory by the Workers' group, the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had withdrawn the objection. In these circumstances the Committee could only find that there was no longer any objection to the credentials of the Venezuelan Workers' delegation to the Petropolis Conference. The texts of the declaration made by the Venezuelan Workers' delegate, and of the communication of the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions withdrawing the objection are given as an annex to the present report for the information of the Conference.

The Credentials Committee of the present session of the Conference has taken note of the declaration made by the Venezuelan Workers' delegate at the Petropolis Conference, and finds that the development of the position of trade unions in Venezuela must be taken into account. On the other hand the Committee recalls that the question of freedom of asso-

¹ See Second Part, p. 198.

ciation in Venezuela is still being examined by the Committee on Freedom of Association.

In these circumstances the Credentials Committee, having, as stated above, heard the representative of the Venezuelan Government, and considering that that Government has not acted contrary to the constitution, unanimously finds that the objection submitted in the name of the Venezuelan Workers' Confederation is without foundation, and requests the Conference to take note of the present report.

Geneva, 18 June 1952.

(Signed) KAUFMANN,
Chairman.
A. G. FENNEMA,
ARNOLD SÖLVÉN.

Annex

I

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE WORKERS' DELEGATION OF VENEZUELA TO THE WORKERS' GROUP OF THE FIFTH CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

To the President and the members of the Workers' group.

Dear Brethren,

We take the liberty of presenting to the Workers' group of the Conference for information a statement of the manner in which we were chosen to represent the workers of Venezuela at this Conference.

Of the most representative workers' organisations of the country, namely, the Free Trade Union Movement and the Independent Trade Union Movement, interested as they are in carrying on the trade union movement in an atmosphere of full freedom, the former convened the Free Workers' Congress and the latter the National Convention of Independent Trade Unions. These meetings took place in the respective headquarters of these organisations, that is, Candilite a Castan No. 22 and Mijares a Santa Capilla No. 97. The Venezuelan press gave wide publicity to these meetings, out of which arose the following conclusions:

1. The primary objective of these meetings was to elect the candidates who would represent them at the Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O., and Frank Hernández, Alejandro Brizuela, Francisco Fernández and Humberto Ochoa were elected by a majority of votes.

2. There were 263 trade unions represented at these two meetings. We should add here for your information that in Venezuela there are two additional *bona fide* trade unions, one of which is controlled by a religious party and the other by a party well known in the international sphere; these two unions, however, do not represent more than 10 per cent. of all Venezuelan workers. We do not represent either of these trends.

3. The two organisations further decided that a joint committee should be set up to organise the celebrations for the First of May, International Labour Day, which is a great day for the working class, and we are glad to inform you that, in accordance with the press notices of the Venezuelan newspapers, our hopes were not in vain and that both proletarian organisations will sponsor, according to international tradition, the following programme: an organised parade starting from the Plaza Parque Carabobo to the Plaza del Panteón, where representatives of the various groups taking part in the parade will speak.

The delegation of Venezuelan workers present in Rio de Janeiro wish to state that in accordance with the principles and standards governing the Independent Trade Union Movement as well as the Free Trade Union Movement the aim of all our actions is directed at the following: (1) the struggle for full freedom for which a fighting force of the workers' proletariat of Venezuela, such as the one we represent, is required; (2) the Independent Trade Union Movement and the Free Trade Union Movement direct and will direct their action towards the intensive development of trade union orga-

nisations, as the only true means of defence and protection of the interests of the working class.

4. It is our duty as representatives of trade unions at this Conference to make it known that we shall fight for the liberty of the trade union leaders who are under arrest in order to secure their freedom or to have them duly tried by the courts of the Republic.

5. It is our opinion and fundamental belief as a class that we must support the desire of the trade unions and federations which actually exist in Venezuela that they be permitted to organise the Workers' Confederation as the Provisional Government of our country has already promised. We already have the plans ready for its constitution in the near future.

6. In order that the manner in which we have fulfilled these tasks may be verified, we propose to send an invitation to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to appoint a committee to take part in this Congress as fraternal representatives.

7. Since we must meet soon to appoint our delegation to the next Annual Conference of the I.L.O., which is to open in Geneva on 4 June, we intend to obtain confirmation on that occasion of all the facts stated herein by us including the invitation to be extended to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

We consider that this statement will give sufficient proof of the legality of our representation at this Conference, and we ask that the Workers' group fully accept us and grant to us all the rights belonging to Venezuelan Workers' delegates duly elected in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Standing Orders of the I.L.O.

Your fraternally,

(Signed) HUMBERTO OCHOA,
Workers' delegate.
FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ,
Adviser.
FRANK HERNÁNDEZ,
Adviser.
ALEJANDRO BRIZUELA,
Adviser.

II

DECLARATION BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

To the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

The representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at this Fifth Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O. wish to withdraw their objections to the credentials of the Workers' delegation of Venezuela which it submitted for consideration by the Credentials Committee.

We base our action on a decision taken this morning by the Workers' group of the Conference which accepted and approved the statement submitted to it by the delegation of Venezuela. A copy of this statement is attached.

The I.C.F.T.U. welcomes the statement by the Workers' delegation of Venezuela as a constructive step towards the restoration of full trade union rights in Venezuela and expresses its firm hope that the Government of that country will complement by positive action the aspirations outlined in the statement by the Venezuelan delegation, which are fully shared by the I.C.F.T.U. which we represent here.

(Signed) HERMES R. HORNE.
ARTURO JÁUREGUI.

(6) Fifth Report of the Credentials Committee.¹

Composition of the Conference, and Quorum.

Since the submission of its third report, which contained a passage on the composition of the Conference, the Credentials Committee has registered the appointment of the following new advisers:

¹ See Second Part, p. 274.

Belgium :

Three additional Employers' advisers have been appointed.

Brazil :

Two additional Government advisers and an additional Workers' adviser have been appointed.

China :

One Employers' adviser has been appointed.

France :

Two additional Workers' advisers have been appointed.

Guatemala :

An additional Government adviser has been appointed.

Iran :

One Employers' adviser has been appointed.

Luxembourg :

An additional Workers' adviser has been appointed.

Mexico :

An additional Government adviser has been appointed.

Taking these changes into account, the number of advisers has risen to 436, including 184 Government advisers, 115 Employers' advisers and 137 Workers' advisers.

Since the number of delegates is still 218, the total number of persons who have been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation to take part in the work of the Conference is now 654.

Since five States have nominated an Employers' delegate without nominating a Workers' delegate, or vice versa, five non-Government delegates are left out of account in the calculation of the quorum. Moreover, account must be taken in that calculation of the fact that China has been permitted, by a decision taken by the Conference on 20 June 1952, to vote at the Conference in conformity with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution. The quorum required to give a vote validity is accordingly at present 107.

Objections to the Credentials of the Workers' Delegates of Italy and France.

ITALY

The Credentials Committee again had before it this year an objection to the credentials of Mr. Pastore, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Secretary-General of the *Confederazione italiana Sindacati Lavoratori* (C.I.S.L.), Italian Workers' delegate to the present session of the Conference as also in 1951, signed by Mr. di Vittorio and Mr. Santi, respectively Secretary-General and Secretary of the *Confederazione generale italiana del Lavoro* (C.G.I.L.).

The objection to the appointment of Mr. Pastore is again based on the allegation that in nominating the Workers' delegate from

the C.I.S.L. the Italian Government has violated Article 3 of the Constitution in that that organisation cannot be considered as being the industrial organisation most representative of the Italian workers.

The objection of the C.G.I.L. repeats the arguments advanced last year. However, in this case also, having regard to the terms of its report on the matter at the 1951 Session, the Credentials Committee felt that it was not in a position to declare the objection irreceivable on that ground, in accordance with paragraph 4 (c) of Article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference. In its report in 1951 the Credentials Committee, in rejecting the objection, stated expressly that the decision, taking the circumstances into account, was valid only for that year.

The objection submitted to the 35th Session of the Conference having thus been declared receivable, and having been deposited within the prescribed period, the Credentials Committee communicated it to the Italian Government delegates and Workers' delegate, requesting them to furnish all relevant information, and such information has been received by the Committee.

Mr. Fernando Santi, Secretary of the C.G.I.L., gave the Committee some additional information concerning the meaning and implications of the objection submitted by the C.G.I.L.

On the other hand, Mr. Del Bo, Italian Government delegate, and Mr. Pastore, Italian Workers' delegate, made statements to the Committee setting forth the circumstances in which the Italian Workers' delegate to the Conference was appointed.

The Credentials Committee recalls, in the first instance, that there are in Italy three national trade union organisations :

Confederazione generale italiana del Lavoro (C.G.I.L.), the organisation which has lodged the objection, on the one hand ;

Confederazione italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (C.I.S.L.) and *Unione italiana del Lavoro* (U.I.L.) in agreement with which the Workers' delegate and the Workers' advisers have this year been nominated, on the other hand.

It would appear that the C.G.I.L., which claims—and claimed last year—to have more than five million members, is still numerically the largest of these three organisations. However, the Italian Government and the C.I.S.L. deny that this numerical superiority means that the C.G.I.L. alone has the right to represent the Italian workers within the meaning of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. They emphasise that a great number of Italian workers, totalling seven to eight million, do not belong to any trade union organisation, and draw attention to a new increase in the strength of the C.I.S.L.

Last year already the Italian Government endeavoured, in connection with the choice of the Workers' delegate to the 34th Session of the Conference, to bring about an agreement between the three organisations concerned, but failed.

This year the Italian Government sought to obtain the agreement of the three organisations concerned by means of protracted discussions. Since it proved impossible to obtain an agree-

ment, the Minister of Labour announced that the Workers' delegate would be the delegate proposed by the C.I.S.L. That organisation was to choose in addition, one adviser, one adviser was to be nominated by the U.I.L., and three others by the C.G.I.L.

The allotment of representation was similar to that of last year. But in 1952, as in 1951, the C.G.I.L. considered itself unable to accept this selection, which seemed to it to be contrary to constitutional provisions, inasmuch as it considered that, being numerically the strongest organisation, it was the only one representative of the Italian workers as a whole.

The problem raises many questions of fact which it would clearly be desirable for the Credentials Committee to be able to elucidate with certainty. The most controversial of these questions is that of the true strength of each organisation, and the extent to which each of them is entitled to claim to represent the Italian workpeople as a whole, as required by Article 3, paragraph 1 of the Constitution, which was confirmed by the Permanent Court of International Justice, in its Advisory Opinion No. 1 as follows: "In accordance with the terms of the first paragraph of Article 389, the Workers' delegate represents all workers belonging to a particular Member" The information obtained by the Committee on this question has never led to absolutely certain conclusions.

On the other hand, the time limit allowed by the Standing Orders and the circumstances do not permit the Committee to collect, itself and under its own authority, data which it is normally the duty of trade union organisations to give to the Committee.

The Governments themselves, with the best will in the world, are not always in a position to know the exact strength of trade unions. Such knowledge presupposes a control which is by no means generally accepted.

In view of the fact that the Italian trade union situation is seriously disturbed, and that the most representative organisations are in open opposition to each other, the conclusions of the Committee cannot be based on a knowledge of facts which might be gained by a court of justice after detailed enquiries.

Moreover, that is not, according to the Standing Orders, the function of the Committee. The Committee is called upon to consider whether an objection is "well founded", that is, to consider whether the persons who have lodged the objection have brought such proof of the violation of the Constitution that the Committee can advise the Conference to refuse to admit any delegate or adviser.

In view of the prevailing uncertainty the Committee has come to the conclusion that even if the C.G.I.L. possesses, as far as can be judged, a certain numerical superiority over the C.I.S.L. and the U.I.L., this consideration is not decisive.

The Committee considers, and its opinion is again confirmed by the Advisory Opinion No. 1 of the Permanent Court of International Justice, that the purpose of paragraph 5 of Article 3 of the Constitution is to protect the representative employers' and workers' organisations against arbitrary nominations on the part of Governments:

"The only object of the intervention of industrial organisations in connection with the selection of delegates and technical advisers is to ensure, as far as possible, that the Governments should nominate persons whose opinions are in harmony with the opinions of employers and workers respectively."

But if, according to the Court, "the aim of each Government must, of course, be an agreement with all the most representative organisations of employers and workers" it is the duty of those organisations, if they wish to exercise their right fully, to make that aim possible and seek an agreement amongst themselves.

The Court also indicated that it would not be legitimate "in opposition to the wishes of the great majority of workers for one single organisation to prevent the reaching of an agreement".

The Conference cannot blame a Government which comes up against the unwillingness of the most representative organisations to conclude an agreement. Article 3, paragraph 5 does not say that in such a case and in all circumstances whatsoever the proposals concerning the nomination made by the numerically strongest organisation must alone be followed by the Government concerned. As the Permanent Court of International Justice recalled in 1922:

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

In such a case it is the duty of the Government to nominate as delegates and advisers the persons proposed by those representative organisations which that Government, in all good faith, considers to be qualified to represent "at the Conference the views of the working classes concerned".

Article 3, paragraph 9, of the Constitution establishes a control by the Conference with respect to any arbitrary nomination, which has already been effectively exercised when it has been necessary to do so. The decisions of Governments are submitted to verification by the Conference, which may refuse by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in conformity with the terms of Article 3, paragraph 9. "Such a refusal to admit", the Court said, "may be based on any grounds, either of fact or law, which satisfy the Conference that the delegates have not been so nominated."

In the case of the Italian Workers' delegate to the present session of the Conference, the facts concerning the efforts made by the Government to bring about an agreement between the industrial organisations concerned may be summarised as follows:

(1) the most representative Italian workers' organisations were consulted by the Government;

(2) they were invited to conclude an agreement, which proved impossible;

(3) the Minister of Labour, to that end, personally called a meeting of representatives of the most representative workers' organisations;

(4) these endeavours produced no positive results ;

(5) desirous to ensure the representation of all workers of the country and taking into account the strength of the C.I.S.L., the distribution of its members in industry and agriculture and the number of workers who are not organised, the Italian Government finally nominated the candidate of that organisation as delegate, and the candidates of the other representative organisations as advisers.

On the basis of these facts, the Committee has come to the conclusion that the Italian Government has not acted in violation of Article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

It unanimously considers, therefore, that the objection raised to the credentials of the Workers' delegate of that country is without foundation and must be rejected.

FRANCE

As last year, the Credentials Committee had before it at this session an objection to the appointment of the French Workers' delegate, Mr. Léon Jouhaux, Chairman of the *Confédération Générale du Travail—Force ouvrière* (C.G.T.-F.O.) presented by the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.)

The objection to the appointment of Mr. Jouhaux is again based on the allegation that, in nominating the Workers' delegate from the C.G.T.-F.O., the French Government has violated Article 3 of the Constitution in that this organisation cannot be considered as being the industrial organisation most representative of the French workers.

The C.G.T. declares, again, that its membership comprises 80 per cent. of the workers who are organised, and that its influence extends over 70 per cent. of all workers, and that its members belong to all guilds and all salaried categories.

The Credentials Committee found that the objection repeated the arguments advanced last year. However, having regard to the terms of last year's report, the Committee felt that it was not in a position to declare the objection irreceivable on that ground, in accordance with paragraph 4 (c) of Article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference. In that report the Credentials Committee of the 34th Session of the Conference, while deciding not to recommend the Conference to invalidate the credentials of Mr. Jouhaux, did not deal with the question whether the French Government had acted in accordance with the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

The objection, having thus been declared receivable and having been deposited within the prescribed period, was communicated by the Committee to the Government delegates and to the Workers' delegate of France to the present session of the Conference.

Mr. Raynaud and Mr. Quatrepoint, respectively Secretary of the C.G.T. and Secretary of the International Department of the C.G.T., gave the Committee some additional information concerning the meaning and implications of the objection submitted by the C.G.T.

On the other hand, Mr. Ramadier, French Government delegate, and Mr. Jouhaux, made a statement to the Committee setting forth the circumstances in which the Government this year appointed the French Workers' delegate to the Conference.

The Conference will remember the considerations which the Credentials Committee took into account last year ; it found that whatever might be the exact membership figures of the C.G.T. on the one hand, and of the C.G.T.-F.O. on the other, the C.G.T. appeared to remain numerically the biggest organisation, without its being possible, however, to state that its membership exceeded that of the other organisations consulted by the French Government for the nomination of the French Workers' delegate to the Conference combined. The Committee observed further that the French Government did not appear to have taken every possible step, in connection with the nomination of the Workers' delegate, to obtain the agreement of the C.G.T., and that it allowed itself to be satisfied with the agreement of the C.G.T.-F.O. and of the French Confederation of Christian Workers. On the other hand, the Committee was aware that the appointment to which objection was made was undoubtedly carried out on the basis of uncertain data and in an extremely difficult atmosphere, and taking account of the highly important trade union functions exercised by Mr. Jouhaux in France, did not think it fit to recommend the Conference to invalidate his credentials.

The Credentials Committee has observed that the French Government has made greater efforts this year than last year, in connection with the nomination of the Workers' delegate to obtain the agreement of the C.G.T. ; it called a meeting of the representatives of the organisations concerned with the view that all the interested parties might reach an agreement. There was agreement on the nomination of Mr. Jouhaux, but only between the General Confederation of Labour—*Force ouvrière* (C.G.T.-F.O.), the French Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (C.F.T.C.) and the General Confederation of Supervisors (C.G.C.). The C.G.T. refused to support the choice so made.

Moreover the Committee found that the figures given by the C.G.T. appeared, according to the statements of the French Government, extremely questionable. As the Committee recalls above in connection with the objection to the credentials of the Italian Workers' delegate, and for the same reasons, the information on the question of the strength of organisations has never led to absolutely certain conclusions, and the Committee abides by the conclusion that in the present case also a certain numerical superiority is not a decisive consideration.

The Credentials Committee considers that the French Government cannot be held responsible for the refusal of the C.G.T.

Article 3, paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation provides that the Workers' delegates to the Conference shall be delegates representing the workpeople of each of the Members. Paragraph 5 of the same Article provides that the Members

undertake to nominate Workers' delegates and advisers "in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of . . . workpeople . . . in their respective countries". The fact that agreement with the most representative industrial organisation cannot be reached, as was the case in connection with the nomination of Mr. Léon Jouhaux, is not a ground of complaint against the Government concerned if the latter has taken every possible step to obtain the widest agreement, and to nominate a delegate who would be as representative of the workers as possible.

In its advisory opinion No. 1 of 31 July 1922 the Permanent Court of International Justice held as follows on this point:

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

The above reasoning tends to apply to more and more cases. The provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution seem to have been inspired, at the outset, by the development, which was particularly necessary at the time for the defence of industrial interests, of important representative organisations in the various Member States. Since then a new development has begun, a serious cleavage has manifested itself in several large national organisations, and it is impossible to estimate the exact strength of seceding groups owing to uncertain or divergent data, and the absence of reliable information concerning their composition. When one of these groups refuses to reach agreement with the others, in connection, for instance, with the nomination of the Workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference, the Government, provided that it acts in good faith, can only, in the absence of agreement, strive to obtain the best possible agreement between all the representative organisations.

As the Committee has already said in regard to the objection to the credentials of the Italian Workers' delegate, it is in such a case for the Government to nominate as delegates and advisers the persons proposed by those representative organisations which that Government, in all good faith, considers to be qualified to represent "at the Conference the views of the working classes concerned".

Article 3, paragraph 9, of the Constitution establishes a control by the Conference with respect to any arbitrary nomination, which has already been effectively exercised when it has been necessary to do so. The decisions of Governments are submitted to verification by the Conference, which may refuse by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in conformity with the terms of Article 3, paragraph 9. "Such a refusal to admit", the Court said, "may be based on any grounds, either of fact or law, which satisfy the Conference that the delegates have not been so nominated."

In the case of the French Workers' delegate to the present session of the Conference, the facts concerning the efforts made by the

Government to bring about an agreement between the industrial organisations concerned may, as in the case of the Italian Workers' delegate, be summarised as follows:

(1) the most representative French workers' organisations were consulted by the Government;

(2) they were invited to conclude an agreement, which proved impossible;

(3) the Ministry of Labour, to that end, called a meeting of representatives of the most representative workers' organisations;

(4) these endeavours produced no positive results;

(5) desirous to ensure the representation of all French workers and taking into account on the one hand the undeniably representative character of the organisations which agreed on the nomination of Mr. Jouhaux as Workers' delegate and on the other hand the number of workers who are not organised, the French Government nominated Mr. Jouhaux as delegate, while distributing the posts of advisers amongst the other representative organisations, and reserving three of those posts for the C.G.T.

On the basis of these facts, the Committee has come to the conclusion that the French Government has not acted in violation of Article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

It unanimously considers, therefore, that the objection raised to the credentials of the French Workers' delegate is without foundation and must be rejected.

The Credentials Committee invites the Conference to take note of the present report.

Geneva, 20 June 1952.

(Signed) KAUFMANN,
Chairman.

A. G. FENNEMA,
ARNOLD SÖLVÉN.

(7) Sixth Report of the Credentials Committee.¹

Objection to the Credentials of the Workers' Delegate of Ceylon and of the Workers' Delegate and Workers' Adviser of the Union of South Africa.

CEYLON

The Credentials Committee had before it two objections to the credentials of Mr. Wijemanne, the Workers' delegate of Ceylon.

Mr. Wijemanne belongs to the All-Ceylon Trade Union Congress. He is not accompanied by an adviser.

The first objection is submitted by the Ceylon Workers' Congress. That organisation, to which the Workers' delegate of Ceylon to the two previous sessions of the Conference belonged, protests against the nomination this year of a person belonging to another organisation which, in its view, is less representative. The

¹ See Second Part, p. 375.

Ceylon Workers' Congress considers that it is by far the most representative workers' organisation of Ceylon, and that the Workers' delegate of Ceylon can only be chosen from its members.

The second objection is lodged by the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, which supports these views as regards the post of delegate, and which adds that it claimed for itself a post of adviser which was not given to it.

The Credentials Committee found that these objections were receivable, and communicated them, in accordance with the regular practice, to the Government delegates and Workers' delegate of Ceylon for their observations.

Mr. Wijenaike, Government delegate of Ceylon, and Mr. Wijemanne, Workers' delegate, replied in writing. Since the Committee wished to obtain some complementary information, they also gave oral explanations.

Moreover, the Committee agreed, on the basis of a request to that effect by one of the two organisations which lodged objections, the Ceylon Workers' Congress, also to give representatives of that organisation, who were to come from Ceylon, an opportunity to give complementary oral explanations, but it finally proved impossible for these representatives to come to Geneva within the required time limit.

From the information so received it appears that there are in Ceylon four big workers' organisations. The administration report for 1951 of the Commissioner of Labour of Ceylon, published in May 1952, gives the following figures concerning the membership of these organisations: Ceylon Workers' Congress, 134,271 members; All-Ceylon Trade Union Congress, 24,151 members; Ceylon Trade Union Federation, 17,306 members; Ceylon Federation of Labour, 15,204 members.

These figures leave no doubt that the Ceylon Workers' Congress is numerically by far the most important organisation.

That organisation claims, moreover, to be the most representative not only because it is, as has been shown, numerically the strongest but also because its membership is spread over seven out of nine provinces in the country, over many trades, over both men and women (it comprises more women members than the other three organisations combined), and over all the racial groups which are to be found in Ceylon.

In his written reply to the request for information of the Credentials Committee, Mr. Wijenaike, Government delegate of Ceylon, points out that it is the view of his Government that the Ceylon Workers' Organisation is a non-national organisation, and that as such the Government cannot consider the appointment of a representative of this organisation as Workers' delegate.

Mr. Wijenaike adds that the Ceylon Workers' Congress is composed almost wholly of Indians who work on the plantations—mainly of tea and rubber—and who are not nationals of Ceylon. Mr. Wijenaike also points out that the Ceylon Workers' Congress has representation only on three of the 16 Wages Boards which determine such matters as wages, hours of work and holidays in the principal trades in Ceylon, while the All-Ceylon Trade Union Congress, to which the Workers' delegate whose

credentials are challenged belongs, has representation on 12 Wages Boards.

In this connection it may be remarked, however, that it appears from the administration report of the Commissioner of Labour of Ceylon, which has already been mentioned above, that out of a total of 720,797 workers in the different trades in Ceylon, 659,479 are employed on the plantations, that is, 91 per cent. of the totality of workers who are governed by the Wages Boards Ordinance in Ceylon.

In support of the decision of the Government of Ceylon not to choose the delegate from the members of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, Mr. Wijenaike refers to the reports of the Credentials Committee of the 9th, 13th and 15th Sessions of the Conference, dating respectively from 1926, 1929 and 1931, where the Committee indicated that it held that "representation at the Conference implies the representation of national elements", but that "it is for the Government concerned to decide, by virtue of its sovereign powers, the national or non-national character of any organisation of employers or workers. It is for the Government, in the last resort, to decide on its responsibility, and in the light of the information at its disposal, whether the organisation to which the persons concerned belong possesses a representative and national character and should be taken into consideration in the course of the consultations."

The Credentials Committee has most seriously considered the problem before it. It has had great difficulties in forming an opinion regarding the national character of the organisations concerned, and the importance attached to that factor in the present case by the Government of Ceylon.

The objection of the Ceylon Workers' Congress refers, in this connection, to the discriminatory treatment alleged to be meted out to workers of Indian origin by the present Ceylon Government. Reference is made to a complaint submitted to the Committee on Freedom of Association of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. The credentials Committee found that the complaint was dismissed by the Governing Body on the ground that the allegations made were too vague to permit a consideration of the case on its merits. At the same time the Governing Body did "draw the attention of the Government of Ceylon to the fact that victimisation for trade union activities is considered by the law and practice of the large majority of countries to constitute an infringement of freedom of association and is specifically referred to as such in the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1949".

The Ceylon Workers' Congress, moreover, denies the assertion that it is not a national organisation. It maintains that 25,000 of its members are Sinhalese workers. Moreover, it claims that while its members of Indian origin are not, in law, citizens of Ceylon, that position is due merely to discriminatory legislation forming part of the above-mentioned measures.

It points out in that connection that several hundred thousand persons of Indian origin, who have been resident in Ceylon for a large number of years, or were even born there, are

waiting to obtain citizenship. As Mr. Wijenaike himself admits, most of these persons were, prior to the attainment of independence by Ceylon, on a footing of equality with the indigenous population in the matter of citizenship by virtue of the fact that they were all British subjects. The Credentials Committee has noted that the present situation is essentially transitory in character. As soon as the persons concerned have obtained Ceylon citizenship *de jure* on the basis of recent legislation on the matter, that equality will in some manner be restored.

In these circumstances, and in view of the diversity of the races which are in any case represented in the Ceylon Workers' Congress, the Credentials Committee could not help feeling certain doubts concerning the reasoning followed by the Government delegate of Ceylon in declaring that the Ceylon Workers' Congress is not a national organisation.

The precedents of 1926, 1929 and 1931 referred to by him did not appear absolutely convincing to the Committee, seeing that the position at the time was somewhat different; the employers of a country protested against the nomination as Employers' delegate by the Government of that country of a foreigner belonging to an organisation which, in that case, the persons who lodged that objection and not the Government, considered to be a non-national organisation. The persons who lodged the objection claimed that that delegate could not represent the employers of the country. The Credentials Committee, in recommending the validation of his credentials, considered, as has been shown, that it is for the Government to decide in such cases whether the organisations concerned possess a national character.

The case which is before the Committee to-day is somewhat different.

A Government, that of Ceylon, denies the national character of an important organisation existing on its territory, the Ceylon Workers' Congress, which has a large number of Ceylonese workers amongst its members. No doubt many of them are of Indian origin, but most of them seem to have resided continuously in Ceylon for many years. To deny any representative character to the organisation to which they belong is tantamount to depriving a group of particularly important workpeople of the right to participate in the representation of the workers of the country. Moreover, the presence, amongst the members of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, of workers who are not of Indian origin, whatever their exact number, would seem to mean that it cannot be stated that that organisation is non-national in character. Finally, according to figures given in official data, the Ceylon Workers' Congress has a real numerical preponderance in relation to the other organisations. The Credentials Committee notes nevertheless that

the Government of Ceylon has considered it possible this year, contrary to the practice of the two previous years, not to take that organisation into account in connection with the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Ceylon.

The Credentials Committee found that the situation concerning the various trade union movements in Ceylon was so confused, in view, particularly, of the large number of Indian workers who have not yet effectively obtained Ceylonese citizenship, that it was impossible for the Committee to establish the facts with complete certainty in the time at its disposal.

In the absence of such information at the present time, the Committee is unanimous in considering that it is not in a position this year to accept the objection before it, and invites the Conference to take note of this report.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

In a letter dated 17 June 1952, and sent on 19 June 1952, the South African Trades and Labour Council submitted an objection, itself dated 18 June 1952, to the credentials of the Workers' delegate of the Union of South Africa and his adviser. That letter reached the Credentials Committee on 23 June 1952, *i.e.*, nineteen days after the opening of the Conference.

Paragraph 4 (a) of Article 26 of the Standing Orders of the Conference provides that an objection is not receivable if it "is not lodged with the Secretary-General within three clear days from the opening of the session of the Conference or, in the case of credentials not deposited in time for mention in the brief report referred to in paragraph 2 above, within three clear days from the date of the publication in the *Provisional Record* of the session of the name of the person to whose nomination objection is taken: Provided that the above time limits may be extended by the Credentials Committee in the case of objections to the nomination of a delegate or adviser from a distant country".

The Credentials Committee, considering the late date on which the objection was sent, was of the opinion that that objection was irreceivable in virtue of the above-mentioned provision.

In deciding that the objection was irreceivable in virtue of paragraph 4 (a) of Article 26 of the Standing Orders, the Credentials Committee came to a unanimous decision, which is thus final, in conformity with paragraph 5 (b) of Article 26.

Geneva, 24 June 1952.

(Signed) KAUFMANN, *Chairman*.

A. G. FENNEMA.

ARNOLD SÖLVÉN.

APPENDIX II

Reports of the Selection Committee

(1) First Report of the Selection Committee.

The first report of the Selection Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its third sitting (see Second Part, p. 11).

ANNEX TO THE FIRST REPORT OF THE
SELECTION COMMITTEE

COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

Committee on Standing Orders

Government members :

*Argentina
Belgium
Brazil
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Guatemala
Japan
Philippines
Switzerland
United Kingdom
Uruguay
Viet-Nam*

Employers' members :

Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
Mr. Burton, Mr. Bellingham-Smith
(*United Kingdom*)
Mr. Pires ; substitute : Mr. Assunção
(*Brazil*)
Mr. Shaw (*United States*)
Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. de Hulster
(*France*)

Deputy member :

Mr. van der Rest ; substitute : Mr. Bultynck (*Belgium*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Aguirre (*Cuba*)
Mr. Pastore (*Italy*)
Mr. Ross (*United States*)
Mr. Tessier (*France*)

Deputy member :

Mr. Ochoa (*Venezuela*)

Resolutions Committee

Government members :

*Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Brazil
Chile
China
Czechoslovakia
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Iran
Israel
Italy
Japan
Poland
Portugal
El Salvador
Switzerland
United Kingdom
United States
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia*

Deputy members :

*India
Venezuela*

Employers' members :

Mr. Bergenström (*Sweden*)
Mr. Fennema ; substitute Mr. van Dijk
(*Netherlands*)
Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
Mr. Burton, Mr. Bellingham-Smith
(*United Kingdom*)
Mr. Ghayour (*Iran*)
Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. Barton, Mr.
Calhoun (*United States*)
Mr. Velutini ; substitute : Mr. Martínez
Espino (*Venezuela*)
Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. de Hulster
(*France*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Gref (*Czechoslovakia*)
Mr. Kuntsehen (*Switzerland*)
Mr. Pires ; substitute : Mr. Fischlowitz
(*Brazil*)
Mr. van der Rest ; substitute : Mr. Verschueren (*Belgium*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Brizuela (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Canini (*Italy*)
 Mr. Le Léap (*France*)
 Mr. O'Brien (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Richardson (*United States*)
 Mr. Shastri (*India*)
 Mr. González Tellechea (*Cuba*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Hernandez (*Philippines*)
 Mr. Ross (*United States*)
 Mr. Storti (*Italy*)
 Mr. Swerdlow (*Canada*)
 Mr. Tessier (*France*)

**Committee on the Application of Conventions
and Recommendations***Government members :*

Argentina
Belgium
Brazil
Dominican Republic
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Italy
Japan
Mexico
Netherlands
Norway
Poland
Portugal
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Yugoslavia

(Three vacant seats.)

Employers' members :

Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
 Mr. Bellingham-Smith, Mr. Mellor
 (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Kuntschen ; substitute : Mr. Jaccard
 (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Larsen ; substitute : Mr. Rise (*Den-*
mark)
 Mr. Pires ; substitute : Mr. Rossi (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Pons ; substitute : Mr. Bayce (*Uru-*
guay)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitute : Mr. Bul-
 tynck (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. McGrath,
 Mr. Knowlton (*United States*)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitute : Mr. Erdmann
 (*Federal Republic of Germany*)

Deputy member :

Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. de Hulster
 (*France*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Cool (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Duran (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Espejo (*Argentina*)

Mr. Möri (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Ochoa (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Quatrepoint (*France*)
 Mr. Rosenblum (*United States*)
 Mr. Shastri (*India*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Bouladoux (*France*)
 Mr. Costa (*Brazil*)
 Mr. de Bock (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Ahmad (*Pakistan*)
 Mr. Pastore (*Italy*)

Committee on Agriculture*Government members :*

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Burma
Colombia
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Finland
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Guatemala
India
Indonesia
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Liberia
Luxembourg
Netherlands
New Zealand
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
United Kingdom
United States
Switzerland
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

Employers' members :

Mr. Anderson ; substitute : Mr. Turner
 (*New Zealand*)
 Mr. Campanella ; substitutes : Mr. Gama-
 lero, Mr. Donini (*Italy*)
 Mr. Fennema ; substitute : Mr. Vaandrager
 (*Netherlands*)
 Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
 Mr. Phillips, Mr. Mellor, Sir James
 Turner (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Kuntschen ; substitute : Mr. Hüni
 (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Pires ; substitute : Mr. Vasconcellos
 (*Brazil*)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitute : Mr. Piette
 (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Roy (*Haiti*)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. Newman, Mr.
 Barton (*United States*)

Mr. Solari (*Argentina*)
 Mr. Taylor ; substitutes : Mr. Brass, Mr.
 Ross (*Canada*)
 Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. Conil-Lacoste
 (*France*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Velutini ; substitutes : Mr. Conde Jahn,
 Mr. Garrido (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitute : Mr. Baur
 (*Federal Republic of Germany*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Decourcelle (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Drunsel (*Federal Republic of Germany*)
 Mr. Fragoso Fernandes (*Portugal*)
 Mr. McAndrews (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Newton (*New Zealand*)
 Mr. Niyazi (*India*)
 Mr. Parri (*Italy*)
 Mr. Stokman (*Netherlands*)
 Mr. Turner (*United States*)
 Mr. Valerga (*Argentina*)
 Mr. Wijemanne (*Ceylon*)

(One vacant seat.)

Deputy members :

Mr. Aguirre (*Cuba*)
 Mr. Alfonso (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. de Keuleneir (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Sein Win (*Burma*)

Committee on Social Security

Government members :

Afghanistan
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Egypt
Finland
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Guatemala
Iceland
India
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
Norway
Peru
Poland
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Turkey

United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela

Deputy members :

Indonesia
Pakistan

Employers' members :

Mr. Adachi ; substitutes : Mr. Matsumoto,
 Mr. Shibata (*Japan*)
 Mr. Aung Thu ; substitute : Mr. Madha
 (*Burma*)
 Mr. Bergenström ; substitute : Mr. Bro-
 waldh (*Sweden*)
 Mr. Burne ; substitute : Mr. Strudwick
 (*Australia*)
 Mr. Campanella ; substitutes : Mr. Boc-
 card, Mr. Peyrot (*Italy*)
 Mr. Fennema ; substitutes : Mr. Ray-
 makers, Mr. van Dijk (*Netherlands*)
 Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
 Mr. Taylor, Mr. Broumley (*United*
Kingdom)
 Mr. Guerrero (*Dominican Republic*)
 Mr. Östberg ; substitute : Mr. Henriksen
 (*Norway*)
 Mr. Rutnam (*Ceylon*)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitute : Mr. Calhoun
 (*United States*)
 Mr. Tata ; substitute : Mr. Swaminathan
 (*India*)
 Mr. Taylor ; substitutes : Mr. Smith, Mr.
 Macdonnell (*Canada*)
 Mr. Velutini ; substitutes : Mr. Sánchez
 Covisa, Mr. Soto Montero (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Wajid Ali ; substitute : Mr. Ismail
 (*Pakistan*)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitutes : Mr. Micha,
 Mr. Verschuere (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Waline ; substitutes : Miss Faure,
 Mr. de la Garde (*France*)
 Mr. Weinberger ; substitute : Mr. Schnei-
 der (*Austria*)
 Mr. Wilson (*Liberia*)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitutes : Mr. Reerman,
 Mr. Reinecke (*Federal Republic of Ger-*
many)

Deputy members :

Mr. Karikoski ; substitutes : Mr. Sjöberg,
 Mr. Grotenfelt (*Finland*)
 Mr. Brooke (*Union of South Africa*)
 Mr. Dündar ; substitute : Mr. Alam (*Tur-*
key)
 Mr. Horoch (*Poland*)
 Mr. Kuntschen ; substitute : Mr. Dubois
 (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Larsen (*Denmark*)
 Mr. Moriel (*Israel*)
 Mr. Pires ; substitute : Mr. Lange (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Taha ; substitute : Mr. Kinch (*Iraq*)
 Mr. Tsatsos (*Greece*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Bartlett (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Becher (*Pakistan*)
 Mr. Bottini (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Brizuela (*Venezuela*)

Mr. Budd (*Union of South Africa*)
 Mr. Costa (*Argentina*)
 Mr. Della Chiesa (*Italy*)
 Mr. de Bock (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Gonçalves (*Portugal*)
 Mr. Pérez González (*Cuba*)
 Mr. Hormazábal (*Chile*)
 Mr. Jordan (*Australia*)
 Mr. Kanev (*Israel*)
 Mr. Korte (*Netherlands*)
 Mr. Krier (*Luxembourg*)
 Mr. Kyriakopoulos (*Greece*)
 Mr. McLean (*Canada*)
 Mr. Mentsen (*Norway*)
 Mr. Nordenskiöld (*Sweden*)
 Mr. Oka (*Japan*)
 Mr. Pequeno (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Richter (*Federal Republic of Germany*)
 Mr. Ruttenberg (*United States*)
 Mr. Sein Win (*Burma*)
 Mr. Serang (*India*)
 Mr. Stark (*Austria*)
 Mr. Texier (*France*)
 Mr. Tolentino (*Philippines*)
 Mr. Veber (*Yugoslavia*)
 Mr. Wandas (*Poland*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Alders (*Netherlands*)
 Mr. Ovejic (*Yugoslavia*)
 Mr. Dahl (*Denmark*)
 Mr. Heywood (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Keuleers (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Meedby (*Norway*)
 Mr. Mohamed (*Iraq*)
 Mr. Nilsson (*Finland*)
 Mr. Raynaud (*France*)
 Mr. Wijemanne (*Ceylon*)

Committee on Industrial Relations

Government members :

Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Cuba
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Egypt
Finland
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Guatemala
India
Indonesia
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand

Norway
Pakistan
Portugal
Switzerland
Syria
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela
Viet-Nam

Employers' members :

Mr. Anderson ; substitute : Mr. Turner
 (*New Zealand*)
 Mr. Bergenström ; substitute : Mr. Brodén
 (*Sweden*)
 Mr. Brooke ; substitute : Mr. Drummond
 (*Union of South Africa*)
 Mr. Burne ; substitute : Mr. Gill (*Australia*)
 Mr. Calheiros Lopes ; substitute : Mr. Preto
 (*Portugal*)
 Mr. Campanella ; substitutes : Mr. Banti,
 Mr. Donini, Mr. Boccardi (*Italy*)
 Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
 Mr. Graham Kerr, Mr. Taylor (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Gref (*Czechoslovakia*)
 Mr. Karikoski ; substitutes : Mr. Sjöberg,
 Mr. Grotenfelt (*Finland*)
 Mr. Kuntschen ; substitutes : Mr. Dubois,
 Mr. Jaccard (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Larsen ; substitute : Mr. H. Nielsen
 (*Denmark*)
 Mr. Moriel (*Israel*)
 Mr. O'Brien ; substitute : Mr. Summerfield
 (*Ireland*)
 Mr. Östberg ; substitutes : Mr. Glatved,
 Mr. Henriksen (*Norway*)
 Mr. Pires ; substitute : Mr. Ferraz (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Pons ; substitute : Mr. Bayce (*Uruguay*)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. French, Mr.
 Barton (*United States*)
 Mr. Taylor ; substitutes : Mr. Macdonnell,
 Mr. Smith (*Canada*)
 Mr. Tata ; substitute : Mr. Swaminathan
 (*India*)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitutes : Mr. Verschueren,
 Mr. Micha (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Velutini ; substitutes : Mr. Soto Montero,
 Mr. Martínez Espino (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Wajid Ali (*Pakistan*)
 Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. Leblanc
 (*France*)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitute : Mr. Erdmann
 (*Federal Republic of Germany*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Adachi ; substitutes : Mr. Matsumoto,
 Mr. Shibata (*Japan*)
 Mr. Aung Thu ; substitute : Mr. Madha
 (*Burma*)
 Mr. Diederich ; substitutes : Mr. Hayot,
 Mr. Rollinger (*Luxembourg*)
 Mr. Fennema ; substitute : Mr. van Dijk
 (*Netherlands*)
 Mr. Horoch (*Poland*)
 Mr. Tsatsos ; substitute : Mr. Bardas
 (*Greece*)
 Mr. Wahida (*Egypt*)
 Mr. Weinberger (*Austria*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Ballester (*Dominican Republic*)
 Mr. Barkatt (*Israel*)
 Mr. Beard (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Borstlap (*Netherlands*)
 Mr. Buu (*Viet-Nam*)
 Mr. Dahlberg (*Norway*)
 Mr. Da Silva (*Portugal*)
 Mr. Doyle (*Ireland*)
 Mr. Fernandez (*Philippines*)
 Mr. Flyboo (*Sweden*)
 Mr. Genot (*Belgium*)
 Mr. George (*Union of South Africa*)
 Mr. Giroud (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Hernández (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Keenan (*United States*)
 Mr. Lacroix (*Haiti*)
 Mr. Lübke (*Federal Republic of Germany*)
 Mr. Millot (*France*)
 Mr. Mohamed (*Iraq*)
 Mr. Popović (*Yugoslavia*)
 Mr. Recinos (*Guatemala*)
 Mr. Rubio (*Argentina*)
 Mr. Storti (*Italy*)
 Mr. Sverdlow (*Canada*)
 Mr. Thom (*Australia*)
 Mr. Tripathi (*India*)
 Mr. Tsubaki (*Japan*)
 Mr. Velvin (*New Zealand*)

(Two vacant seats.)

Deputy members :

Mr. Ahmad (*Pakistan*)
 Mr. Altenburger (*Austria*)
 Mr. Araujo (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Canini (*Italy*)
 Mr. Cofiño (*Cuba*)
 Mr. Esberard (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Hernandez (*Philippines*)
 Mr. Keuleers (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Lovrič (*Yugoslavia*)
 Mr. Meedby (*Norway*)
 Mr. Nielsen (*Denmark*)
 Mr. Owen (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Thun (*Burma*)
 Mr. Wagner (*Luxembourg*)

*Committee on Maternity**Government members :*

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Cuba
Denmark
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Guatemala
Haiti
India
Israel
Italy
Japan
Luxembourg

Netherlands
Norway
Pakistan
Poland
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
United States
Uruguay
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

(Four vacant seats.)

Employers' members :

Mr. Bergenström ; substitute : Mr. Giesecke (*Sweden*)
 Mr. Campanella ; substitutes : Mr. Boccardi, Mr. Peyrot (*Italy*)
 Mr. Kuntschen ; substitute : Mr. Lüdi (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Pires ; substitutes : Mr. Lange, Mr. Weber (*Brazil*)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. McGrath, Mr. Knowlton (*United States*)
 Mr. Waline ; substitutes : Mr. Saintigny, Mr. de Hulster (*France*)

Deputy members :

Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes : Mr. Taylor, Mr. Graham Kerr (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitute : Mr. Verschueren (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitutes : Mr. Klaue, Mr. Petri (*Federal Republic of Germany*)

Workers' members :

Mr. Cataldi (*Brazil*)
 Mrs. Ekendahl (*Sweden*)
 Mr. Gruppi (*Argentina*)
 Dame Florence Hancock (*United Kingdom*)
 Mrs. Harmuth (*Federal Republic of Germany*)
 Mr. de Keuleneir (*Belgium*)
 Miss Moik (*Austria*)
 Mr. Schuler (*Switzerland*)
 Mr. Villalobos (*Venezuela*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Bouladoux (*France*)
 Mr. Della Chiesa (*Italy*)
 Mr. Decourcelle (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Tripathi (*India*)
 Mr. Thun (*Burma*)

*Committee on Workers' Health**Government members :*

Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
Cuba

Denmark
 Dominican Republic
 Egypt
 France
 Federal Republic of Germany
 Greece
 Guatemala
 India
 Iraq
 Ireland
 Italy
 Japan
 Mexico
 Netherlands
 Norway
 Pakistan
 Poland
 Sweden
 Switzerland
 Union of South Africa
 United Kingdom
 United States
 Uruguay
 Venezuela
 Viet-Nam
 Yugoslavia

Employers' members :

Mr. Aung Thu ; substitute : Mr. Madha
 (Burma)
 Mr. Burne ; substitute : Mr. Gill (Australia)
 Mr. Campanella ; substitutes : Mr. Donini,
 Mr. Boccardi (Italy)
 Mr. Dündar ; substitute : Mr. Alam (Turkey)
 Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitutes :
 Mr. Chapman, Mr. Graham Kerr (United
 Kingdom)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitutes : Mr.
 Legrand, Mr. Bultynck (Belgium)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. Knowlton,
 Mr. McGrath (United States)
 Mr. Tata ; substitute : Mr. Rohatgi (India)
 Mr. Taylor ; substitutes : Mr. Ross, Mr.
 Brass (Canada)
 Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. Bourdon
 (France)
 Mr. Velutini ; substitute : Mr. Conde Jahu
 (Venezuela)
 Mr. Wahida (Egypt)
 Mr. Weinberger ; substitute : Mr. Pro-
 chazka (Austria)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitutes : Mr. Reinecke,
 Mr. Reermann (Federal Republic of
 Germany)

Deputy members :

Mr. Fennema ; substitute : Mr. Bisschop-
 Boele (Netherlands)
 Mr. Kuntschen ; substitute : Mr. Lüdi
 (Switzerland)
 Mr. Pires ; substitutes : Mr. Dias, Mr.
 Fischlowitz (Brazil)

Workers' members :

Mr. Baluch (Argentina)
 Mr. Barbel (Luxembourg)
 Mr. Decourcelle (Belgium)
 Mr. Espinoza (Chile)
 Miss Godwin (United Kingdom)
 Mr. Hegney (Australia)

Mr. Höfner (Federal Republic of Germany)
 Mr. Owens (United States)
 Mr. Pagani (Italy)
 Mr. Rodrigues Filho (Brazil)
 Mr. Schüpbach (Switzerland)
 Mr. Sumu (Finland)
 Mr. González Tellechea (Cuba)
 Mr. Vermeulen (Netherlands)

Deputy members :

Mr. Becher (Pakistan)
 Mr. Da Silva (Portugal)
 Mr. de Keuleneir (Belgium)
 Mr. King (Liberia)
 Mr. Kirim (Turkey)
 Mr. Moreno (Venezuela)
 Mr. Niyazi (India)
 Mr. Olsson (Denmark)
 Mr. Toydemir (Turkey)

Committee on Employment in Mines

Government members :

Argentina
 Australia
 Belgium
 Brazil
 France
 Federal Republic of Germany
 India
 Italy
 Japan
 Liberia
 Netherlands
 Pakistan
 Turkey
 United Kingdom
 United States
 Uruguay
 Viet-Nam

(One vacant seat.)

Employers' members :

Mr. Benítez (Chile)
 Mr. Fennema ; substitute : Mr. Bisschop-
 Boele (Netherlands)
 Sir John Forbes Watson ; substitute : Mr.
 Minton (United Kingdom)
 Mr. Lučovnik (Yugoslavia)
 Mr. van der Rest ; substitutes : Mr.
 Legrand, Mr. Bultynck (Belgium)
 Mr. Shaw ; substitutes : Mr. Graham, Mr.
 McGrath (United States)
 Mr. Tata ; substitute : Mr. Parekh (India)
 Mr. Waline ; substitute : Mr. Belin (France)
 Mr. Winkler ; substitutes : Mr. Wompener,
 Mr. Fellingner (Federal Republic of Ger-
 many)

Deputy members :

Mr. Adachi ; substitute : Mr. Matsumoto
 (Japan)
 Mr. Dündar ; substitute : Mr. Alam (Tur-
 key)
 Mr. Pires ; substitutes : Mr. Fernandes,
 Mr. Fischlowitz (Brazil)

Workers' members :

Mr. Cabral de Mello (Brazil)

Mr. Hamel (*Canada*)
 Mr. Keuleers (*Belgium*)
 Mr. Kolský (*Czechoslovakia*)
 Sir William Lawther (*United Kingdom*)
 Mr. Massaccesi (*Argentina*)
 Mr. Okura (*Japan*)
 Mr. Reed (*United States*)
 Mr. Schmidt (*Federal Republic of Germany*)

Deputy members :

Mr. Genot (*Belgium*)
 Mr. King (*Liberia*)
 Mr. Ochoa (*Venezuela*)
 Mr. Parri (*Italy*)

(2) Second Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Discussion of the Director-General's Report.

In order to ensure the smooth working of the Conference the Selection Committee recommends that delegates who wish to take part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report should hand in their names to the Clerk of the Conference without delay. It also recommends that they should make every effort to be on the spot and ready to speak at the sitting at which they are to be called upon. Speakers will be informed in advance by the Clerk of the Conference of the sitting and the time at which the President is likely to call upon them to speak.

The Selection Committee proposes to close the list of speakers on Saturday, 14 June, at noon, it being understood that it will be for the President to decide if need be whether a member of the Conference who has not handed in his name should be authorised to speak or whether one who has already spoken should be authorised to speak again.

Request of the International Federation of Christian Landworkers' Unions.

The International Federation of Christian Landworkers' Unions has requested that a representative of the Federation should be authorised to participate in the work of the Conference on the questions on its agenda concerning agriculture.

The Selection Committee has considered this request and decided to recommend the Conference to admit the representative of the Federation under the terms of Article 18 of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Article 18 of the Constitution provides that :
 " The Conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts without power to vote. "

The Selection Committee therefore recommends, in virtue of Article 18 of the Constitution, that the representative of the International Federation of Christian Landworkers' Unions should be added as a technical expert to the Committee on Agriculture.

¹ See Second Part, p. 21.

Application for Representation by the World Medical Association.

The World Medical Association has requested that a representative of the Association should be authorised to participate in the work of the Conference on the questions on its agenda concerning social security.

As in the foregoing case, the Selection Committee recommends that in virtue of Article 18 of the Constitution of the Organisation the representative of the World Medical Association should be added as a technical expert to the Committee on Social Security.¹

(3) Third Report of the Selection Committee.²

Co-operation between Employers and Workers.

At its 117th Session (November 1951) the Governing Body, anxious to lighten the agenda of the Conference in 1953, authorised the Director-General to suggest to the Conference that it should not carry over beyond the 35th Session its consideration of questions relating to industrial relations, including co-operation.

The Selection Committee has considered this suggestion and recommends the Conference to adopt it.

The Selection Committee recommends the Conference to decide that the Committee on industrial relations should take as its basis for discussion the proposed Recommendation concerning co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, which appears on page 82 of Report VI (a) (2), it being understood that the Committee may also discuss the guiding principles concerning co-operation at the level of the undertaking set out on pages 80 and 81 of Report VI (a) (2).

(4) Fourth Report of the Selection Committee.³

Application of the United Kingdom of Libya for Membership in the International Labour Organisation.

The Conference has before it an application for membership in the International Labour Organisation from the United Kingdom of Libya. This application is contained in the following letter which the Director-General has received from the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom of Libya :

Paris, 22 January 1952.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that in accordance with Resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in pursuance of Annex XI, paragraph 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, 1947, the United Kingdom of Libya was declared a free and independent sovereign State on 24 December 1951.

The Government of the United Kingdom of Libya has

¹ The Selection Committee made further recommendations, concerning changes in the composition of Committees, which were presented orally by the chairman of the Selection Committee and adopted by the Conference as a supplement to the Second Report. See Second Part, pp. 24 and 25.

² See Second Part, p. 25.

³ See Second Part, p. 50.

now decided to apply for membership in the International Labour Organisation, under paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and I have the honour to request that this application be laid before the General Conference of the Organisation.

The United Kingdom of Libya hereby accepts the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and solemnly undertakes fully and faithfully to perform each and every of the provisions thereof. The United Kingdom of Libya will bear its share of the expenses of the International Labour Organisation in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation, and the Libyan Government will make the necessary arrangements concerning its financial contribution with the Governing Body.

I have also the honour to inform you that the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya is prepared to accept the undertakings given on its behalf by the Government of Italy under the provisions of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and consideration will be given at a very early date to the formal ratification of these Conventions by this country.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the assurance of my highest esteem.

(Signed) Mahmoud MUNTASSER,

Prime Minister

and

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Since the United Kingdom of Libya is not at present a Member of the United Nations its admission to membership in the International Labour Organisation is governed by paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, which provides as follows :

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation may also admit Members to the Organisation by a vote concurred in by two-thirds of the delegates attending the session, including two-thirds of the Government delegates present and voting. Such admission shall take effect on the communication to the Director-General of the International Labour Office by the Government of the new Member of its formal acceptance of the obligations of the Constitution of the Organisation.

The United Kingdom of Libya became an independent and sovereign State on 24 December 1951 in conformity with resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations which were adopted in pursuance of Annex XI, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Italy on 10 February 1947. On the same day authority was transferred to the Libyan Government by the two administering powers, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

In addition to applying for membership in the International Labour Organisation the United Kingdom of Libya has applied since 24 December 1951, the date of its Declaration of Independence, for membership in the United Nations, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the World Health Organization. Libya's achievement of independence has already brought the new State the warm congratulations of the General Assembly of the United Nations which, in a resolution adopted unanimously on 1 February 1952, supported its application for membership in the United Nations. Libya was admitted to membership in the World Health Organization on 6 May 1952.

From the foregoing, it appears that the United Kingdom of Libya is a fully self-governing State which has the same inter-

national status as the other Members of the International Labour Organisation. There is, therefore, no doubt that the applicant Government has the international status necessary to enable it to discharge the obligations involved in membership of the International Labour Organisation.

The Selection Committee has noted with interest that the Constitution of the United Kingdom of Libya of 7 October 1951 guarantees freedom of thought, of meeting, of association and of speech. The Employers' and Workers' members of the Committee wish to emphasise the importance which they attach to these points.

In reply to questions by the Employers' and Workers' members, the representatives of the Libyan Government assured the Subcommittee appointed by the Selection Committee to examine the application that it would be the policy of the Libyan Government to send complete tripartite delegations, nominated in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, to future sessions of the International Labour Conference. They also gave an assurance that the Libyan Government would place no obstacle in the way of the formation of central trade union federations, and would permit such federations to co-operate freely with other workers' and employers' organisations represented in the International Labour Organisation.

The Conference will note that the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom of Libya has already, by his letter of 22 January 1952, communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office the formal acceptance by the Libyan Government of the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

The Conference will also note that, in the same letter, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister states that the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya is prepared to accept the undertakings given on its behalf by the Government of Italy under the provisions of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and that consideration will be given at a very early date to the formal ratification of these Conventions by the Libyan Government.

The Selection Committee accordingly submits to the Conference for adoption the following proposed resolution :

" The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

" Having been seized of an application from the Government of the United Kingdom in Libya for membership in the International Labour Organisation,

" Recalling that it has always been the firm conviction of the Organisation that its ends can be more effectively advanced if the membership of the Organisation could be made universal,

" Decides to admit the United Kingdom of Libya to membership in the International Labour Organisation with the same rights and obligations as the other Members of the International Labour Organisation.

" The Conference takes note that the United Kingdom of Libya accepts the undertakings given on its behalf by the Government of

Italy under the provisions of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and that the Government of Libya will give consideration at a very early date to the formal ratification of these Conventions.

"The Conference authorises the Governing Body to make the necessary arrangements with the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya with regard to its financial contributions.

"The Conference notes that the Government of Libya has already communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office its formal acceptance of the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and that accordingly the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to membership in the International Labour Organisation will take effect on the adoption of the present resolution by the Conference."

Appointment of the Drafting Committee of the Conference.

The Selection Committee recommends that, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article 6 of the Standing Orders, the Drafting Committee of the Conference be composed as follows :

- The President of the Conference ;
- The Secretary-General of the Conference ;
- Mr. Jenks, Assistant Secretary-General and Legal Adviser of the Conference ;
- Mr. Morellet, Assistant Secretary-General of the Conference ;
- Mr. Lafrance, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General of the Conference.

The Selection Committee thinks it desirable to remind the Conference that the special drafting committees appointed by Committees under the Standing Orders and consisting of one Government delegate, one Employers' delegate, and one Workers' delegate, together with the Reporter or Reporters of the Committee and the legal advisers of the Conference, form part of the Drafting Committee of the Conference when proposals submitted to the Conference by the Committee concerned are under consideration.

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of Committees :

Selection Committee. Add : Workers' deputy members, Mr. Bührig (*Federal Republic of Germany*), Mr. Hernández (*Venezuela*), Mr. Pastore (*Italy*), Mr. Stark (*Austria*).

Committee on Industrial Relations. Workers' members : Add Mrs. Andrzejewska (*Poland*), Mr. Hadjopoulos (*Greece*).

(5) Fifth Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees :

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Östberg (substitute : Mr. Henriksen) (*Norway*) ; Mr. Elias (substitute : Mr. Salem) (*Syria*) ; Mr. Adachi (substitute : Mr. Shibata) (*Japan*).

Committee on Standing Orders. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Bergenström (substitutes : Mr. Browaldh, Mr. Brodén) (*Sweden*) ; Mr. Fennema (*Netherlands*) ; Mr. Elias (*Syria*).

Resolutions Committee. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Thu (*Burma*). Workers' members : Replace Mr. Brizuela (*Venezuela*) by Mr. Nielsen (*Denmark*).

Committee on Agriculture. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Cowley (*Cuba*) ; Mr. Burne (substitute : Mr. Strudwick) (*Australia*) ; Mr. Calheiros Lopes (substitute : Mr. Preto) (*Portugal*).

Committee on Social Security. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Karikoski (substitutes : Mr. Sjöberg, Mr. Grotenfelt) (*Finland*) ; Mr. Cowley (substitute : Mr. del Pino) (*Cuba*) ; Mr. Elias (substitute : Mr. Charabati) (*Syria*) ; Mr. Tedjasukmana (*Indonesia*). Workers' deputy members : Add Mr. Nabor (*Philippines*) ; Mr. Torres (*Bolivia*) ; Mr. Espinosa (*Colombia*) ; Mr. Liang (*China*).

Committee on Industrial Relations. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Elias (substitute : Mr. Salem) (*Syria*) ; Mr. Tedjasukmana (*Indonesia*). Workers' deputy members : Replace Mr. Hernandez (*Philippines*) by Mr. Hoffman (*Philippines*). Replace Mr. Esberard (*Brazil*) by Mr. Baeta Neves (*Brazil*). Add Mr. Teng (*China*) ; Mr. Kamel (*Egypt*) ; Mr. Delaney (*United States*).

Committee on Maternity. Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Östberg (substitute : Mr. Henriksen) (*Norway*) ; Mr. Tedjasukmana (*Indonesia*).

Committee on Workers' Health. Employers' members : Add Mr. de Hulster (*France*) as substitute for Mr. Waline (*France*). Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Elias (substitute : Mr. Charabati) (*Syria*) ; Mr. Tedjasukmana (*Indonesia*). Workers' members : Replace Mr. González Tellechea (*Cuba*) by Mr. King (*Liberia*). Workers' deputy members : Add Mrs. Kuppermann (*Brazil*) ; Mr. Torres (*Bolivia*).

Committee on Employment in Mines. Workers' deputy members : Add Mrs. Amaro (*Brazil*) ; Mr. Torres (*Bolivia*) ; Mr. Nabor (*Philippines*).

(6) Sixth Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees :

¹ See Second Part, p. 62.

¹ See Second Part, p. 81.

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Ling (substitute: Mr. Chi Tsun) (China).

Committee on Agriculture. Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Richardson (United States).

Committee on Social Security. Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Rovira (Uruguay).

Committee on Industrial Relations. Employers' members: Add Mr. de Hulster (France) as substitute for Mr. Waline (France). Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Chau (Viet-Nam). Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Troitiño (Uruguay).

Committee on Maternity. Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Ling (substitute: Mr. Chi Tsun) (China); Mr. Chau (Viet-Nam).

Committee on Workers' Health. Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Ling (substitute: Mr. Chi Tsun) (China).

(7) Seventh Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees:

Committee on Agriculture. Employers' members: Add Mr. Lang (Brazil) as substitute for Mr. Pires (Brazil).

Committee on Social Security. Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Fischlowitz (Brazil) as substitute for Mr. Pires (Brazil). Workers' members: Replace Mr. Krier (Luxembourg) by Mr. Leick (Luxembourg). Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Lascaris (Greece).

Committee on Industrial Relations. Employers' members: Add Mr. Lang (Brazil) as substitute for Mr. Pires (Brazil).

Committee on Workers' Health. Workers' members: Replace Mr. Barbel (Luxembourg) by Mr. Weis (Luxembourg).

Committee on Employment in Mines. Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Dias (Brazil) as substitute for Mr. Pires (Brazil). Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Vondras (Czechoslovakia).

(8) Eighth Report of the Selection Committee.²

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees:

Resolutions Committee. Employers' members: Replace Mr. Ghayour (Iran) by Mr. van der Rest (substitute: Mr. Verschueren) (Belgium), previously deputy member.

Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Chii (Iran); Mr. Troitiño (Uruguay).

Committee on Social Security. Workers' deputy members: Add Mr. Keyvan (Iran). Delete Mr. Mohamed (Iraq).

Committee on Industrial Relations. Employers' deputy members: Add Mr. Schneider (Austria) as substitute for Mr. Weinberger (Austria). Workers' members: Replace Mr. Barkatt (Israel) by Mr. Kirim (Turkey).

(9) Ninth Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees:

Committee on Agriculture. Workers' members: Add Mr. Ferrete (Brazil).

Committee on Social Security. Government deputy members: Add Philippines. Workers' deputy members: Replace Mr. Raynaud (France) by Mr. Mario (France).

Committee on Industrial Relations. Workers' deputy members: Replace Mr. Wagner (Luxembourg) by Mr. Werné (Luxembourg).

Committee on Workers' Health. Employers' members: Replace Mr. Bultynck (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) (Belgium), by Mr. Jacquemart (Belgium).

(10) Tenth Report of the Selection Committee.²

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees:

Committee on Social Security. Employers' members: Replace Mr. Micha (substitute for Mr. van der Rest) (Belgium) by Mr. Buchet (Belgium).

Committee on Maternity. Workers' deputy members: Replace Mr. Bouladoux (France) by Mrs. Troisgros (France).

Committee on Workers' Health. Employers' members: Add Mr. Newman (United States) as substitute for Mr. Shaw (United States). Workers' members: Replace Miss Godwin (United Kingdom) by Mr. McAndrews (United Kingdom).

(11) Eleventh Report of the Selection Committee.³

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees:

¹ See Second Part, p. 162.

² See Second Part, p. 223.

³ See Second Part, p. 223.

¹ See Second Part, p. 99.

² See Second Part, p. 119.

Committee on Social Security. Workers' members : Replace Mr. Richter (*Federal Republic of Germany*) by Mr. Drunsel (*Federal Republic of Germany*).

(12) Twelfth Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of committees :

Committee on Social Security. Employers' members : Add Mr. Brass (*Canada*) as substitute for Mr. Taylor (*Canada*). Employers' deputy members : Add Mr. Saabye (*Denmark*) as substitute for Mr. Larsen (*Denmark*).

(13) Thirteenth Report of the Selection Committee.²

Composition of Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that

¹ See Second Part, p. 305.

² See Second Part, p. 337.

the following changes be made in the composition of committees :

Resolutions Committee. Workers' members : Replace Mr. Shastri (*India*) by Mr. Tripathi (*India*). Replace Mr. Richardson (*United States*) by Mr. Ross (*United States*). Workers' deputy members : Add Mr. Sölvén (*Sweden*) and Mr. Roberts (*United Kingdom*).

(14) Fourteenth Report of the Selection Committee.¹

Co-operation between Employers and Workers.

The Third Report of the Selection Committee, unanimously adopted by the Conference, while providing that the Conference shall not carry over beyond the Thirty-fifth Session its consideration of questions relating to industrial relations, including co-operation, is not to be regarded as limiting the right of the Governing Body, in accordance with normal practice, to determine if and when these questions shall again be placed on the agenda of a future session of the Conference.

¹ See Second Part, p. 403.

APPENDIX III

Committee on Standing Orders

Report of the Committee on Standing Orders.¹

The Committee on Standing Orders consisted of 20 members (12 Government members, four Employers' members, and four Workers' members). The Committee elected as *Chairman* and *Reporter* Mr. Lanting, Government member, Philippines, and as *Vice-Chairmen* Mr. Burton, Employers' member, United Kingdom, and Mr. Tessier, Workers' member, France.

The Committee had before it the following questions :

1. Simplification of the procedure of the Conference.
2. Proposal made by the Guatemalan Government delegates for the amendment of the Spanish text of Article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.
3. Proposal made by the Guatemalan Government delegates for the amendment of the Standing Orders of the Conference in respect of official languages.

I. SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PROCEDURE OF THE CONFERENCE

At its 118th Session (Geneva, March 1952) the Governing Body of the International Labour Office considered a number of proposals made by its Committee on Standing Orders and Application of Conventions and Recommendations for simplifying the procedure of the Conference and decided to transmit them to the President of the 35th Session of the Conference and to the Selection Committee in order that the latter might take such action upon them as might be practicable.

On the recommendation of the Selection Committee² the Conference gave immediate effect to the two following recommendations :

(a) *Punctuality in beginning meetings.*

Plenary sittings of the Conference should invariably begin precisely at the hour announced and if the President of the Conference is unable to take the Chair at that hour his place should be filled by one of the Vice-Presidents.

(b) *Publication of names of members of Committees instead of the reading of these names at a plenary sitting of the Conference.*

The Conference should approve the nominations made by the groups without having the lists of names read to it ; these lists would, of course, be published in the *Provisional Record*, and it was suggested that appropriate arrangements should be made for the lists to be reviewed on behalf of the three groups before being printed in the *Provisional Record*. The Committee noted that a question concerning the membership of committees was pending before the Selection Committee.

On the recommendation of the Selection Committee, the Conference decided to refer the other Governing Body recommendations concerning the simplification of the Conference procedure to the Committee on Standing Orders for consideration and report. These recommendations were the following :

(c) *Arrangements for setting up Committees at the beginning of the Conference.*

The Standing Orders Committee does not propose the laying down of rigid rules governing this question, but offers certain suggestions which would, in particular, serve as a guide for the Selection Committee in its approach to its work.

On the assumption that the session would open officially on a Wednesday, the Standing Orders Committee recommends that the following timetable should as far as possible be followed during the first two days.

Wednesday.

The opening sitting should start at 10 a.m., as at the present session, instead of at 11 a.m. as in the past, and proceed to the election of its President. This would enable the groups to hold official meetings at the close of the opening sitting for the selection of the Officers of the groups, the nomination of groups' representatives on the Selection Committee, and the nomination of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference. The Conference would meet again at the beginning of the afternoon to elect its Vice-Presidents and appoint the Selection Committee. This Committee would meet immediately after the close of the plenary

¹ See Second Part, p. 400.

² See Second Part, p. 11.

sitting in order to draw up its recommendations concerning the Committees to be established and membership targets to be used as the basis for the usual negotiations between the groups on the following morning.

Thursday.

Thursday morning would be occupied by group meetings and inter-group consultations. The results of these consultations would be reported to the Selection Committee, which would meet at 3 p.m. and which would submit its report to a plenary sitting of the Conference at 4 p.m.

Arrangements should be made for the largest possible number of committees to meet on Thursday afternoon to elect their officers—the precise arrangements being left to the Selection Committee.

* * *

The arrangements thereafter would be decided by the Selection Committee according to circumstances.

The Standing Orders Committee also recommends that the Selection Committee should consider the desirability of delegating to its officers authority to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Chairmen of the groups, to communicate to the Conference for formal confirmation arrangements necessitated by the provision of additional seats as members of Committees for latecomers and other slight adjustments which are not of a controversial nature. It would, of course, be understood that any change in the composition of Committees which was not completely non-controversial would, as at present, be considered by the Selection Committee.

The Standing Orders Committee decided not to make any recommendation to the Conference concerning group meetings which might take place on the Monday and Tuesday preceding the opening of the Conference, it being understood that it would be open to each group to make its own arrangements.

(d) Arrangements for the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

(i) The Standing Orders Committee recommends to the Conference that the discussion of the Director-General's Report should normally begin on the Monday following the opening of the session and that the time limit within which delegates must put down their names on the list of speakers should normally expire on the following Saturday, it being understood that this time limit would not apply to visiting Ministers.

(ii) The Committee recommends that this procedure should each year be brought to the attention of delegates.

(iii) The Committee recommends that the Conference should draw attention to the inconvenience which is caused to the Conference as a whole and to other speakers if speakers on the list who have been warned of the approximate time at which they will be invited to speak are not ready to do so at the time fixed; it considers that such speakers

must run the risk of a time which is convenient to them and has not already been pledged to another speaker not being available; if the volume of business coming before the plenary sittings leaves no margin of time, they may even run the risk of losing their chance to speak altogether.

(iv) Speakers should be asked to warn the Clerk of the Conference as soon as possible in the event of being prevented from speaking.

(v) The Committee draws attention with particular emphasis to paragraph 6 of Article 14 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, which provides that no speech shall exceed 15 minutes, it being understood that the Conference would maintain the courtesy in this matter which it has been customary to extend to visiting Ministers.

(vi) The Committee also recommends that speakers should be requested to concentrate their attention as far as possible on questions relating to the Director-General's Report and on the activities of the International Labour Organisation during the year under review.

II. PROPOSAL MADE BY THE GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATES FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE SPANISH TEXT OF ARTICLE 17 OF THE STANDING ORDERS OF THE CONFERENCE

The Standing Orders Committee had before it a proposed amendment to the Spanish text of Article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, put forward by the Government delegates of Guatemala. The Spanish text of Article 17, 1 (1) reads at present as follows¹:

No se podrá presentar durante las sesiones de la Conferencia ninguna resolución que no se refiera a un punto del orden del día, a menos que su texto se haya enviado al Director General de la Oficina Internacional del Trabajo, por lo menos siete días antes de la fecha fijada para la apertura de la Conferencia.

In accordance with the proposal made by the Guatemalan Government delegates the Standing Orders Committee recommends the Conference to replace the words *se haya enviado al* (has been sent to) in the above-mentioned provision by the words *haya llegado a poder del* (has been deposited with).

The Spanish text of Article 17, 1 (1) of the Standing Orders of the Conference, thus amended, would read as follows:

No se podrá presentar durante las sesiones de la Conferencia ninguna resolución que no se refiera a un punto del orden del día, a menos que su texto haya llegado a poder del Director General de la Oficina Internacional del Trabajo, por lo menos siete días antes de la fecha fijada para la apertura de la Conferencia.

This amendment would have the advantage of making the Spanish text of Article 17, 1 (1) correspond to the English and French texts of that Article. The amendment affects only the Spanish text of the Standing Orders.

¹ The English text reads as follows:

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

III. PROPOSAL MADE BY THE GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATES FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE STANDING ORDERS OF THE CONFERENCE IN RESPECT OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

The Standing Orders Committee had before it a proposal made by the Guatemalan Government delegates that the Standing Orders of the Conference should be amended to make the Spanish language an official language of the Conference.

In considering this question, the Standing Orders Committee noted the very great importance which the International Labour Organisation had always attached to ensuring that all participants in the work of the Organisation could take a full part in its work and to ensuring that the official records of I.L.O. meetings and all Office publications of general interest were accessible from the language point of view to the greatest number of people in all parts of the world. It was the International Labour Organisation which had introduced the general use of Spanish for purposes of Conference discussion as early as 1919 and maintained it consistently since that time. The International Labour Organisation had also been the pioneer of the system of telephonic interpretation by the aid of which all major international conferences are now conducted. The number of languages in which the major publications of the Office appear has been progressively increased and a large number now appear in Spanish simultaneously with the appearance of the English and French

texts, a recent noteworthy example being the volume of Conventions and Recommendations in Spanish containing carefully revised, authoritative Spanish texts of these instruments.

The Committee also noted that the problems arising in the application of this policy were of a practical character, the most serious of which was the varying linguistic pattern in different parts of the world. The Committee recognised the efficiency of the flexible policy by which, in the case of regional meetings, for example, the arrangements made are those most practicable in the light of the language or languages predominant in the region.

The Committee thought it important that these policies should be continued with a view to making the best use of the resources of the Organisation for the purpose of giving a maximum of practical service to those interested in its work in various parts of the world.

Taking the foregoing considerations into account, the Committee recommends the Conference to refer the above proposal to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office for examination having due regard to the resolution concerning the use of Spanish and Portuguese as official languages adopted at the 26th Session of the Conference (Philadelphia, 1944).

Geneva, 25 June 1952.

(Signed) JUAN L. LANTING,
Chairman and Reporter.

APPENDIX IV

Resolutions

(1) Resolutions submitted in accordance with Article 17 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, SUBMITTED BY MR. JOUHAUX, WORKERS' DELEGATE, FRANCE, MR. COFIÑO Y GARCÍA, WORKERS' DELEGATE, CUBA, MR. SHASTRI, WORKERS' DELEGATE, INDIA, MR. DELANEY, WORKERS' DELEGATE, UNITED STATES, MR. MÖRI, WORKERS' DELEGATE, SWITZERLAND, MR. BOEHM, WORKERS' DELEGATE, AUSTRIA, MR. PASTORE, WORKERS' DELEGATE, ITALY, MR. JODOIN, WORKERS' DELEGATE, CANADA, AND MR. ROBERTS, WORKERS' DELEGATE, UNITED KINGDOM

Whereas the International Labour Conference at its recent sessions has formulated in international Conventions and Recommendations principles for the establishment of freedom of association and good industrial relations ;

Whereas a stable, free and independent trade union movement is an essential condition for good industrial relations and should contribute to the improvement of social conditions generally in each country ;

Whereas the relations between the trade union movement and political parties will inevitably vary for each country ; and

Whereas any political affiliation or political action by the trade unions depends on national conditions in each country ;

Considering nevertheless that there are certain principles which should be laid down in this regard which are essential to protect the freedom and independence of the trade union movement and its fundamental task of advancing the social and economic well-being of the workers,

The International Labour Conference at its 35th Session adopts on June 1952 the following resolution :

1. The fundamental and permanent mission of the trade union movement is the economic and social advancement of the workers.

2. The trade unions also have an important role to perform in co-operation with other elements in promoting social and economic development and the advancement of the community as a whole in each country.

3. To these ends it is essential for the trade union movement to preserve its freedom and independence so as to be in a position to carry forward its economic and social mission irrespective of political changes in each country.

4. A condition for such freedom and independence is that trade unions be constituted without regard to the race, national origin or political affiliations of their individual members and pursue their trade union objectives on the basis of the solidarity and economic and social interests of all workers.

5. When trade unions in accordance with national law and practice of their respective countries and at the decision of their members decide to establish relations with a political party or to undertake constitutional political action as a means towards the advancement of their economic and social objectives, such political relations or action should not be of such a nature as to compromise the continuance of the trade union movement or its social and economic functions irrespective of political changes in the country.

6. Governments in seeking the co-operation of trade unions to carry out their economic and social policies should recognise that the value of this co-operation rests to a large extent on the freedom and independence of the trade union movement as an essential factor in promoting social advancement and should not attempt to transform the trade union movement into an instrument for the pursuance of political aims, nor should they attempt to interfere with the normal functions of a trade union movement because of its freely established relationship with a political party.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING ASSISTANCE TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, SUBMITTED BY THE YUGOSLAV DELEGATION

The Conference—

Convinced that the acceleration of the development of underdeveloped countries is one of the basic conditions both of the expansion and development of the world economy as a whole and of the maintenance and strengthening of world peace ;

Convinced that the acceleration of the development of underdeveloped countries is conditioned not only by the increased national efforts of the underdeveloped countries themselves but also by the increase of international assistance rendered by developed countries and international agencies ;

Noting with satisfaction the decisions of the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly relating to the necessity to expand assistance to underdeveloped countries through an increased flow of international public funds, and especially through the establishment of a special U.N. Fund for financing the programme of general development of underdeveloped countries ;

Noting with satisfaction the decision of the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly relating to the necessity to expand assistance to underdeveloped countries through the continuation and extension of the technical assistance programme of the United Nations and of the specialised agencies,

Expresses its hope that the United Nations and the specialised agencies will make every effort to carry out these decisions,

Notes with satisfaction the activity of the I.L.O. in the field of assistance to underdeveloped countries, as stated in the Report of the Director-General, and

Requests the Director-General to continue and to extend this activity so that the I.L.O. may give its greatest contribution to the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING MEASURES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE, FOR THE PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND THE REDUCTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT,
SUBMITTED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION

Whereas in accordance with Part II, paragraph (d) of the Philadelphia Declaration 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 its fundamental objective ;

Whereas a number of States are consistently increasing their armament expenditures ;

Whereas as a result of increased armaments these States are transforming their production for civilian purposes into war production ;

Whereas as a result of this transformation of the economy the living standards of the working people deteriorate constantly ;

Whereas the flow of the exchange of goods between individual countries is being artificially curtailed, resulting in the increase of unemployment and the lowering of the purchasing power of the populations of numerous countries ;

Whereas the extension of economic and trade relations between all countries irrespective of their economic and political structure is of special importance for the maintenance of world peace as well as for economic development and will considerably contribute

towards the improvement of the living standards of the people and towards the reduction of unemployment ;

Whereas there exist great possibilities for an increase in volume of international trade and the extension of its geographical area,

The Conference calls upon the Governments of all States Members, with a view to the maintenance of world peace, the development of world economy, as well as to the increase of employment and the improvement of living standards of the working people, to take immediate measures for the elimination of the artificial barriers which prevent extension of economic and trade relations between all countries irrespective of their economic and political structure, and

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to support effectively the endeavour for the extension of economic and trade relations between all countries and to report to the International Labour Conference at its 36th Session on the results of the measures undertaken in this respect.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL ECONOMY AND OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION IN THE INTEREST OF RAISING THE STANDARDS OF LIVING OF THE POPULATION,
SUBMITTED BY THE POLISH DELEGATION

Considering :

(1) That the war preparations of the countries of the so-called Atlantic Pact Organisation as well as the wars being actually conducted in the Far East by some of the States Members of the I.L.O.—and which have recently assumed a particularly savage character through the use in Korea of bacteriological weapons of mass destruction—and the progressive revival of German and Japanese militarism, constitute a serious threat to world peace ;

(2) That this state of affairs brings about ever-growing economic disturbances which, in many countries, result in—

- (a) a decrease in the production of consumer goods,
- (b) a considerable growth of unemployment,
- (c) a further rise in the cost of living and a decline of purchasing power of the working population,
- (d) the cutting and suppressing of expenditures on social welfare and insurance, on mother and child care, on culture and education—following from the emphasis on armaments in the national budgets, and at the same time
- (e) an enormous increase in the profits of the big monopolies ;

(3) That the militarisation of the economy in some of the States Members—

- (a) disorganises international trade,
- (b) leads to a decrease in the commercial exchange, particularly between East and West, which in turn affects employment and the standards of living of the working population in many countries, and

(c) hampers the development of economically backward countries ; and

Considering that the I.L.O. cannot view with indifference this state of affairs which makes social progress and the implementation of constitutional aims of the Organisation virtually impossible,

The International Labour Conference—

(1) Condemns the policy of war preparations and the aggressive wars now being waged by some of the States Members in the Far East ;

(2) States that this policy is the source of growing poverty and exploitation of the working masses, and that it hampers social progress ;

(3) Appeals to all Governments to develop peaceful economy, to build up social welfare and insurance, to raise the general standards of wages, and to raise educational and cultural standards in their countries ;

(4) Calls upon all countries to develop international trade on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and equality of rights and interests.

(2) First Report of the Resolutions Committee.¹

1. The Resolutions Committee, set up by the Conference at its Third Sitting, on 5 June 1952, consisted of 35 members (21 Government members, seven Employers' members and seven Workers' members). Each Government member has one vote and each Employers' and each Workers' member three votes.

2. The Officers appointed by the Committee are as follows :

Chairman : Mr. Henry Hauck, Government member, France ;

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Bergenström, Employers' member, Sweden, and Mr. Shastri, Workers' member, India.

3. The Committee had before it four proposed resolutions submitted in accordance with Article 17 of the Standing Orders² :

(1) Resolution concerning the independence of the trade union movement submitted by Mr. Jouhaux, Workers' delegate, France, Mr. Cofiño y García, Workers' delegate, Cuba, Mr. Shastri, Workers' delegate, India, Mr. Delaney, Workers' delegate, United States, Mr. Möri, Workers' delegate, Switzerland, Mr. Bøhm, Workers' delegate, Austria, Mr. Pastore, Workers' delegate, Italy, Mr. Jodoin, Workers' delegate, Canada, and Mr. Roberts, Workers' delegate, United Kingdom ;

(2) Resolution concerning assistance to underdeveloped countries submitted by the Yugoslav delegation ;

(3) Resolution concerning measures for the maintenance of world peace, for the promo-

tion of economic development of higher standards of living of the working people and the reduction of unemployment, submitted by the Czechoslovak delegation; and

(4) Resolution concerning the development of peaceful economy and of international economic co-operation in the interest of raising the standards of living of the population, submitted by the Polish delegation.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

4. At its first three sittings the Committee completed consideration of the resolution concerning the independence of the trade union movement and of a series of amendments to it, of which ten were presented by the French Workers' member. After having considered the receivability of the resolution and the competence of the Conference to adopt it, the Committee considered the expediency of its adoption.

5. The Employers' members stated that they favoured the principle of the freedom and independence of the trade union movement, but they considered that the resolution, as drafted, contained certain other matters which had no direct relation to this general idea, and accordingly considered that the adoption by the Conference of the resolution in its present form was inexpedient. They drew attention to the following passages to which they objected : (1) The first paragraph of the preamble referred to certain Conventions and Recommendations which had previously been adopted by the Conference and against some of which certain employers had cast their vote, and they would not be able to accept a reference in the resolution approving these instruments against which they had voted. (2) The second paragraph of the preamble stated that a stable, free and independent trade union movement was an " essential " condition for good industrial relations; there were, however, countries, industries and undertakings where good industrial relations existed in the absence of trade unions. (3) The fourth paragraph of the resolution did not appear to be essential to the main purpose of the resolution and introduced several irrelevant considerations, which the Employers' members of the Committee were unable to support. (4) The sixth paragraph again introduced the idea that a trade union movement was an essential factor in promoting social advancement and the reference to non-interference with the " normal functions of the trade union movement " was not sufficiently defined.

6. The Workers' members made it clear that they considered the points raised by the Employers' members struck at the very root of the resolution and that they were all fundamental. The Workers' members could not accept the Employers' suggestions for modifying the resolution. The Employers opposed all the above paragraphs on a vote.

7. By 28 votes to 21, with 5 abstentions, the Committee decided to recommend for adoption by the Conference the proposed resolution concerning the independence of the

¹ See Second Part, p. 369.

² See above, point (1).

trade union movement as it appears below. The Employers' members voted against the recommendation for adoption of the resolution by the Conference, because they considered its adoption in the form agreed to by the majority of the Committee as inexpedient.

8. The text of the proposed resolution concerning the independence of the trade union movement as recommended by the Committee for adoption by the Conference is as follows :

"Whereas the International Labour Conference at its recent session has formulated in international Conventions and Recommendations principles for the establishment of freedom of association and good industrial relations ;

"Whereas a stable, free and independent trade union movement is an essential condition for good industrial relations and should contribute to the improvement of social conditions generally in each country ;

"Whereas the relations between the trade union movement and political parties will inevitably vary for each country ; and

"Whereas any political affiliation or political action by the trade unions depends on national conditions in each country ;

"Considering nevertheless that there are certain principles which should be laid down in this regard which are essential to protect the freedom and independence of the trade union movement and its fundamental task of advancing the social and economic well-being of the workers,

"The International Labour Conference at its 35th Session adopts on June 1952 the following resolution :

"1. The fundamental and permanent mission of the trade union movement is the economic and social advancement of the workers.

"2. The trade unions also have an important role to perform in co-operation with other elements in promoting social and economic development and the advancement of the community as a whole in each country.

"3. To these ends it is essential for the trade union movement in each country to preserve its freedom and independence so as to be in a position to carry forward its economic and social mission irrespective of political changes.

"4. A condition for such freedom and independence is that trade unions be constituted as to membership without regard to race, national origin or political affiliations and pursue their trade union objectives on the basis of the solidarity and economic and social interests of all workers.

"5. When trade unions in accordance with national law and practice of their respective countries and at the decision of their members decide to establish relations with a political party or to undertake constitutional political action as a means towards the advancement of their economic and social objectives, such political relations or actions should not be of

such a nature as to compromise the continuance of the trade union movement or its social and economic functions irrespective of political changes in the country.

"6. Governments in seeking the co-operation of trade unions to carry out their economic and social policies should recognise that the value of this co-operation rests to a large extent on the freedom and independence of the trade union movement as an essential factor in promoting social advancement and should not attempt to transform the trade union movement into an instrument for the pursuance of political aims, nor should they attempt to interfere with the normal functions of the trade union movement because of its freely established relationship with a political party."

Geneva, 24 June 1952.

(Signed) HENRY HAUCK,
Chairman.

(3) Second Report of the Resolutions Committee.¹

1. The Resolutions Committee at its Fifth Sitting unanimously elected Mr. Nielsen, Workers' member, Denmark, to replace Mr. Shastri as Vice-Chairman of the Committee, since the latter had left the Conference. The Committee also decided to appoint the Chairman as Reporter.

2. Following the preparation of its first report the Committee still had to consider the proposed resolutions concerning assistance to underdeveloped countries, concerning measures for the maintenance of world peace, for the promotion of economic development of higher standards of living of the working people and the reduction of unemployment, and concerning the development of peaceful economy and of international economic co-operation in the interest of raising the standards of living of the population.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING ASSISTANCE TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

3. The Committee considered this draft resolution submitted by the Yugoslav delegation together with amendments to it submitted by the French Workers' member, the United Kingdom Government member and the Australian Government member. By 46 votes to 0, with five abstentions, the Committee recommends the following proposed resolution for adoption by the Conference :

"The Conference—

"Convinced that the acceleration of the development of underdeveloped countries is one of the basic conditions both of the expansion and development of the world economy as a whole and of the maintenance and strengthening of world peace :

¹ See Second Part, pp. 393, 397.

"Convinced that the acceleration of the development of underdeveloped countries is conditioned not only by the national efforts of the underdeveloped countries themselves but also by the quantity and quality of international assistance rendered by developed countries and international agencies :

"Noting with interest the decisions taken on this subject by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Sixth Session ;

"Noting with satisfaction the contribution afforded to the economic development of underdeveloped countries through national efforts, international aid, bilateral arrangements and other forms of assistance,

"Expresses its hope that the United Nations and the specialised agencies will make every effort to make international assistance to underdeveloped countries increasingly effective,

"Notes with satisfaction the activity of the I.L.O. in the field of assistance to underdeveloped countries, as stated in the Report of the Director-General, and

"Requests the Governing Body and the Director-General of the International Labour Office to continue to develop and extend this activity so that the I.L.O. may give its greatest contribution to the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries."

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PEACEFUL ECONOMY AND OF
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION
IN THE INTEREST OF RAISING THE STANDARDS
OF LIVING OF THE POPULATION

4. The Committee considered this proposed resolution submitted by the Polish delegation, paragraph by paragraph. Each part of the resolution was separately rejected by 44 votes to five, with one abstention. The Committee accordingly decided not to recommend this proposed resolution for adoption by the Conference.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING MEASURES FOR THE
MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE, FOR THE
PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF
HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING OF THE
WORKING PEOPLE AND THE REDUCTION OF
UNEMPLOYMENT

5. The Committee considered the proposed resolution presented by the Czechoslovak delegation and an alternative text submitted as a series of amendments to it by the United Kingdom Government member. The Czechoslovak

Government member considered that the United Kingdom proposals bore no relationship to the original draft resolution and could not therefore be considered as amendments to it. The Chairman ruled that the United Kingdom proposals could be submitted as amendments to the Czechoslovak proposed resolution. The Committee, by a vote of 47 to five, with two abstentions, supported this ruling. The texts presented by the United Kingdom Government member as amendments were approved by the Committee. The Czechoslovak Government member then withdrew the title of his original proposed resolution, and the Committee indicated that because he considered the text approved bore no relationship to his original draft resolution he agreed that the text of the United Kingdom Government member's proposals which it had substituted for the Czechoslovak proposed resolution should be entitled "Resolution concerning the effective prosecution in all countries of the aims and objectives of the I.L.O. in conditions of freedom and security". The Committee, by a vote of 47 to five, with one abstention, recommends the following proposed resolution for adoption by the Conference :

*Resolution concerning the Effective Prosecution
in All Countries of the Aims and Objectives
of the I.L.O. in Conditions of Freedom and
Security.*

Whereas it is laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia that the central aim of national and international policy shall be the attainment of conditions in which all human beings 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,

Whereas the available resources of many countries are severely extended by the claims of economic development and national security as well as by efforts to maintain or improve the present living standards of their peoples,

The Conference calls upon all States Members to make every effort, both national and international, more particularly through their mutual relations in the field of economics and trade, to secure that adequate resources are progressively available for the purpose of the effective prosecution in all countries of the aims and objectives of the I.L.O. in conditions of freedom and security.

Geneva, 26 June 1952.

(Signed) HENRY HAUCK,
Chairman and Reporter.

APPENDIX V

Second Item on the Agenda : Financial and Budgetary Questions

(1) Further Proposals submitted by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to the 35th Session of the Conference.

The Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided at its 119th Session (Geneva, May 1952) to submit to the Conference certain proposals on financial and budgetary matters supplementing those made at its 118th Session (Geneva, March 1952) which have been submitted to the Conference in Report II (*Financial and Budgetary Questions*).

I. DRAFT SCALE OF CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE 1953 BUDGET

In Conference Report II (*Financial and Budgetary Questions*), it is mentioned (pages 2-3) that the Governing Body at its 117th Session (November 1951) approved a report of its Allocations Committee on the principles and methods to be applied in preparing the scale of contributions of States Members to the 1953 budget. In that report the Committee reported that, after examining the question of the possibility of revision of the basic principles embodied in the I.L.O. scale of contributions and the question of raising the maximum rate of contribution, it had agreed that in the meantime, as a practical measure, the principles and methods applied in arriving at the 1952 scale provided the most equitable solution of the problem. The Committee agreed, therefore, that in the preparation of the 1953 scale the following principles and methods should be applied. The 1952 scale should be taken as a basis with a view to trying to achieve a more equitable distribution of the financial burdens of membership than was provided by the 1952 scale; account should be taken of the contributions for which new States Members would be assessed and the additional income thus available would be applied for the relief of existing Members in accordance with specified methods of application. The methods of application would be the following: (a) certain Members might agree that their percentage rate of contribution should remain at the existing level on the 1952 scale; (b) certain Members assessed on the I.L.O. scale for a lower percentage of contribu-

tion than on the United Nations scale would receive no relief; in addition, certain States not Members of the United Nations which would be assessable on the United Nations scale at a higher level than on the I.L.O. 1952 scale would receive no relief; (c) no change would be made in the minimum on the I.L.O. 1952 scale, i.e., 0.12 per cent.; (d) in considering the amount of the relief to be accorded to the remaining States, account would in particular be taken of the margin of difference between the rate of contribution for which they were assessed on the United Nations 1952 scale and the rate of contribution for which they were assessed on the I.L.O. 1952 scale. The Committee further agreed to request the Director-General to continue to follow the matter carefully and to submit to it, for consideration at its meeting to be held on the occasion of the session of the Governing Body preceding the International Labour Conference, a draft scale of contributions for 1953 prepared on the basis of the above principles and methods of application and in the light of the discussion which had taken place. At its 119th Session (May 1952) the Governing Body had before it a report of its Allocations Committee and, after discussion of the question of the maximum rate of contribution, it unanimously agreed to propose to the Conference for approval the following scale of contributions for the 1953 budget, drawn up on the basis of the above-mentioned principles and methods of application. For purposes of comparison the U.N. 1952 scale and the I.L.O. 1952 scale are also shown.

DRAFT SCALE OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF STATES MEMBERS FOR 1953¹

State	U.N. ^a 1952	I.L.O. 1952	Proposed I.L.O. 1953
1. Afghanistan	0.08	0.12	0.12
2. Albania	0.04	0.12	0.12
3. Federal Republic of Germany	3.88	5.—	4.87
4. Argentina	1.62	2.31	2.18
5. Australia	1.77	2.44	2.35
6. Austria	0.33	0.37	0.35
7. Belgium	1.35	1.77	1.72
8. Burma	0.15	0.20	0.19
9. Bolivia	0.06	0.12	0.12
10. Brazil	1.62	2.36	2.22
11. Bulgaria	0.19	0.30	0.28

Footnotes at end of table on following page.

State	U.N. ² 1952	I.L.O. 1952	Proposed I.L.O. 1953
12. Canada	3.35	4.03	3.98
13. Ceylon	0.10	0.17	0.15
14. Chile	0.35	0.53	0.50
15. China	5.75	3.04	3.04
16. Colombia	0.37	0.46	0.45
17. Costa Rica	0.04	0.12	0.12
18. Cuba	0.33	0.38	0.38
19. Denmark	0.79	0.99	0.97
20. Dominican Republic	0.05	0.12	0.12
21. Egypt	0.60	0.93	0.86
22. Ecuador	0.05	0.12	0.12
23. United States of America	36.90	25.—	25.—
24. Ethiopia	0.10	0.12	0.12
25. Finland	0.42	0.30	0.30
26. France	5.75	7.78	7.49
27. Greece	0.18	0.22	0.22
28. Guatemala	0.06	0.12	0.12
29. Haiti	0.04	0.12	0.12
30. Hungary	0.48	0.53	0.53
31. India	3.52	4.17	4.13
32. Indonesia	0.60	0.43	0.43
33. Iraq	0.14	0.22	0.20
34. Iran	0.40	0.56	0.54
35. Ireland	0.34	0.55	0.50
36. Iceland	0.04	0.12	0.12
37. Israel	0.17	0.12	0.12
38. Italy	2.16	3.19	3.01
39. Lebanon	0.06	0.12	0.12
40. Liberia	0.04	0.12	0.12
41. Luxembourg	0.05	0.12	0.12
42. Mexico	0.65	0.83	0.81
43. Norway	0.50	0.66	0.64
44. New Zealand	0.50	0.63	0.62
45. Pakistan	0.79	0.89	0.89
46. Panama	0.05	0.12	0.12
47. Netherlands	1.27	1.37	1.37
48. Peru	0.20	0.25	0.25
49. Philippines	0.29	0.38	0.37
50. Poland	1.36	1.24	1.24
51. Portugal	0.44	0.76	0.67
52. United Kingdom	10.56	13.15	12.79
53. Salvador	0.05	0.12	0.12
54. Sweden	1.73	2.22	2.17
55. Switzerland	1.30	1.93	1.81
56. Syria	0.09	0.15	0.14
57. Czechoslovakia	1.05	1.16	1.16
58. Thailand	0.21	0.31	0.29
59. Turkey	0.75	1.12	1.05
60. Union of South Africa	0.90	1.37	1.28
61. Uruguay	0.18	0.24	0.23
62. Venezuela	0.32	0.35	0.35
63. Viet-Nam	0.17	0.29	0.26
64. Yugoslavia	0.43	0.55	0.54
Reserve for Assessment of States admitted or re- admitted to the Organisa- tion since the I.L.O. 1952 Scale of Contributions was adopted by the Conference	—	—	2.31
	98.12	100.—	100.—

¹ The countries are arranged in the French alphabetical order.
² The U.N. General Assembly has assessed States which are not members of the U.N. for contributions in respect of the Control of Narcotic Drugs. The assessments shown in the column entitled "U.N. 1952" relating to the following States are the assessments for contributions in respect of the Control of Narcotic Drugs: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland and Viet-Nam.

It is noted in the report of the Allocations Committee that the scale includes a figure of

2.31 per cent. as reserve for assessment for States admitted or readmitted to the Organisation since the I.L.O. 1952 scale of contributions was adopted by the Conference, and that this reserve is intended to provide for the contribution of Japan, which has not yet been assessed by the Conference, and for the contribution of Libya, whose application for admission to membership is before the Conference.

II. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS PAYABLE TO THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND IN 1953

In Report II (*Financial and Budgetary Questions*) it is mentioned (page 3) that a proposed resolution concerning the contributions payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in 1953 would be submitted to the Conference by the Governing Body, which at its 119th Session would have before it proposals made by the Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund.

At its 119th Session the Governing Body unanimously decided to submit the following proposed resolution to the Conference for adoption :

The International Labour Conference—

Decides that the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the Pensions Fund for 1953 under Article 7, paragraph (a) of the Staff Pensions Regulations shall be 14 per cent. of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund ;

Decides that, for the year 1953, the officials mentioned in Article 4, paragraph (a) (i) of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Regulations shall continue to pay an additional one per cent. of their pensionable emoluments (making a total of seven-and-one-half per cent.), and those mentioned in Article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), an additional half per cent. (making a total of five-and-one-half per cent.) if their pensionable emoluments exceed the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 per annum, and an additional quarter per cent. (making a total of five-and-one-quarter per cent.) if these emoluments are the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 or less.

Resolves that, in continuation of the arrangement approved in previous years, the whole budgetary vote for 1953 in respect of the contributions of the Organisation to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund should be paid to the Fund.

Arrears of Contributions due on 3 June 1952

State	Period	Arrears due	Total arrears due	Contributions due 1950-1951
		U.S. \$	U.S. \$	U.S. \$ ¹
Albania	Consolidated (1936-1937)	2,427.13		
	1939-1940	3,214.39		
	1950-1951	14,045.29	19,686.81	14,045.29
Argentina	1950-1951	—	223,564.11	292,688.53
Bolivia	1951	—	5,514.65	17,338.94
Bulgaria	1939-1946 ²	24,205.61		
	1947-1951	108,109.86	132,315.47	52,378.64
China	1948-1951	—	535,504.19	350,853.55
Cuba	1950-1951	—	51,561.35	59,582.47
Ecuador	1951	—	7,296.44	13,568.26
Ethiopia	1945-1946	5,135.10		
	1947-1951	30,963.11	36,098.21	14,045.29
Guatemala	1951	—	2,296.44	11,980.83
Hungary	1941-1946	13,329.34		
	1948-1951	105,831.05	119,160.39	61,707.90
Indonesia	1951	—	1,014.72	41,053.52
Iran	1951	—	35,553.89	65,468.19
Iraq	1951	—	13,996.64	34,938.98
Israel	1951	—	5,776.83	13,938.71
Italy	1951	—	15,272.10	396,615.57
Poland	1951	—	78,561.98	144,870.31
Syria	1950-1951	—	15,243.50	23,311.12
Uruguay	1951	—	4,900.53	46,781.09
Total			1,303,318.25	

¹ The figures in the last column are included in this table in pursuance of Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the text of which is as follows :

“ A Member of the Organisation which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contribution to the Organisation shall have no vote in the Conference, in the Governing Body, in any committee, or in the elections of members of the Governing Body, if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years : Provided that the Conference may by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the delegates present permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.”

² Consolidated contributions payable by equal half-yearly instalments spread over a period of five years, in accordance with the arrangements approved by the 31st Session of the International Labour Conference (1948).

ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS DUE FROM JAPAN¹

Period	Total arrears due
	U.S. \$
1938-1940	368,212.10

ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS DUE FROM STATES WHICH HAVE CEASED TO BE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

State	Period	Arrears due	Total arrears due
		U.S. \$	U.S. \$
Nicaragua	Consolidated (1934-1937)	3,014.52	
Paraguay	1920-1937	23,186.—	
Spain	1937-1941	263,272.44	<u>289,472.96</u>

¹ Japan was readmitted on 26 November 1951. Questions relating to the rate of contribution of Japan and the settlement of its arrears have been under consideration by the Allocations Committee.

(2) First Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

1. The Finance Committee of Government Representatives was set up on 11 June 1952 with Mr. P. Shaw (*Australia*) as *Chairman* and *Reporter* and Mr. de Sandoval (*Cuba*) as *Vice-Chairman*. In this first report the Committee deals with a request of the Government of the Republic of China under paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation for permission to vote, which, in accordance with paragraph 1 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, was referred to it as a matter of urgency.

2. The text of the letter from the Chinese delegation to the International Labour Conference, dated 5 June 1952, reads as follows :

Geneva, 5 June 1952.

Dear Mr. Secretary-General,

With reference to the payment of our financial contribution to the International Labour Organisation, which is now in arrears, I am instructed by my Government to present to you and through you to the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference for its sympathetic consideration our decision to invoke paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, in accordance with the procedure as set forth in Article 31 of the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference.

In the opinion of my delegation, both the letter and the spirit of the aforesaid provisions in the Constitution and the Standing Orders definitely authorise my delegation to continue to exercise the right to vote.

My country, through Article 141 of our Constitution, has adopted a national policy to "promote international co-operation and advance the cause of righteousness among nations" and as a founding Member of the International Labour Organisation has been deeply attached to that Organisation and cherished abiding faith in its high purpose. In the course of the last fifteen years, in spite of tremendous financial stringency due to wars imposed upon us, we have always endeavoured to meet our financial obligations to the International Labour Organisation to the best of our ability. But, due to conditions beyond our control, most of our national revenues are for the time being not available to my Government, which consequently finds itself without the ability to pay the high rate of contribution to the International Labour Organisation. Nevertheless, we have just effected the maximum payment we can possibly make under the present circumstances to the account of the International Labour Organisation for this year, with the understanding that we shall be prepared to settle the payments in arrears of our financial contribution to the International Labour Organisation as soon as the conditions beyond our control cease to exist.

May I add that my delegation's request is also prompted by our desire to make our voice heard through our vote in the deliberations of the International Labour Conference not only because we are anxious to make concrete contributions thereto but also because we would not like to see the deliberations of the International Labour Conference passed or rejected without the participation of a Member which speaks for 450 millions of the earth's inhabitants ?

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) YÜ TSUNE-CHI,
Government Delegate of the Republic of China.

3. The Committee noted that paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution is as follows :

A Member of the Organisation which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contribution to the Organisation shall have no vote in the Conference, in the Governing Body, in any committee, or in the elections of members of the Governing Body, if the amount of its arrears

equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years : Provided that the Conference may by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the delegates present permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

4. The Committee also noted that the provisions of Article 31 of the Standing Orders of the Conference are as follows :

1. Any request or proposal that the Conference should nevertheless permit a Member which is in arrears in the payment of its contributions to vote in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution shall be referred in the first instance to the Finance Committee of the Conference, which shall report thereon as a matter of urgency.

2. Pending a decision on the request or proposal by the Conference, the Member shall not be entitled to vote.

3. The Finance Committee shall submit to the Conference a report giving its opinion on the request or proposal.

4. If the Finance Committee, having found that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member, thinks fit to propose to the Conference that the Member should nevertheless be permitted to vote in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution, it shall in its report—

(a) explain the nature of the conditions beyond the Member's control ;

(b) give an analysis of the financial relations between the Member and the Organisation during the preceding ten years ; and

(c) indicate the measures which should be taken in order to settle the arrears.

5. Any decision which may be taken by the Conference to permit a Member which is in arrears in the payment of its contribution to vote notwithstanding such arrears may be made conditional upon the Member complying with any recommendations for settling the arrears which may be made by the Conference.

5. The Committee first heard a representative of the Republic of China, who amplified the information contained in the letter of his delegation of 5 June, and emphasised the fact that the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference of 1951 had accepted in accordance with its constitutional provisions China's request to vote in spite of its arrears.

6. After a full discussion, in which the representatives of 25 Governments took part, the Committee adopted on a record vote, by 31 votes to 7, with 6 abstentions¹, the following resolution, on the understanding that at its next sitting it would have before it the draft of the report which, under paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders, it would be called upon to submit to the Conference :

"The Finance Committee of Government Representatives, after considering the request of the Chinese Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the Conference by letter of 5 June 1952, finds that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member, and thinks fit to propose to the Conference that the Member should nevertheless be permitted to vote in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution."

7. At its following sitting the Committee adopted the present report for submission to the Conference which, in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders, is required (a) to explain the nature of the conditions beyond the Member's control ; (b) to give an analysis of the financial relations between the Member and the Organisation

¹ See Second Part, pp. 75, 184, 193.

¹ The total voting power of the Committee is 59.

during the preceding ten years, and (c) to indicate the measures which should be taken in order to settle the arrears.

8. In respect of subparagraph (a) of paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders referred to above, the majority of the Committee noted that it was not concerned with the political issue involved, namely, the representative character of the Chinese delegation, but only with the financial aspects of the problem arising under paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution. The Committee accepted the statement made by the delegate of China that most of the national revenues of China are not at present available to the Government of the Republic of China. It also notes that due to these circumstances the Republic of China is heavily in arrears in its contributions to the United Nations and other specialised agencies and that it has notified its withdrawal from F.A.O., W.H.O., I.C.A.O. and the Interim Committee for I.T.O.

9. The following figures show the contributions outstanding by China to the following organisations as at 31 August 1951, the latest date for which comparable figures are available.

	Outstanding against 1950 assessments U.S. \$	Outstanding against assessments prior to 1950 U.S. \$
I.L.O.	161,780	184,650
United Nations	2,028,368	175,187
F.A.O.	217,500	642,500
U.N.E.S.C.O.	527,356	1,036,860
W.H.O.	422,702	470,588

10. The following figures show in respect of the United Nations and the I.L.O. (a) the total amount of the arrears due by China on 15 June 1952 ; (b) the total amount of the unpaid balance of outstanding contributions due by China on 15 June 1952 ; (c) the proportion which the total amount of the arrears due by China bears to the contribution due by China for 1952 ; and (d) the proportion which the total amount of the outstanding contributions due by China bears to the contribution due by China for 1952.

	United Nations	I.L.O.
(a) total amount of arrears due by China on 15 June 1952	\$3,631,192	\$520,504
(b) total amount of unpaid balance of outstanding contributions due by China on 15 June 1952	\$6,023,679	\$717,211
(c) proportion which the total amount of arrears due by China bears to contribution due by China for 1952	147%	265%
(d) proportion which total amount of outstanding contributions due by China bears to contribution due by China for 1952	244%	364%

11. In respect of subparagraph (b) of paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders referred to above, the financial relations between the Republic of China and the International Labour Organisation during the preceding 10 years are set forth in the following table :

ANALYSIS OF THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION
1942-1952

Year	Amount assessed	Amount paid in each year	Balance unpaid in each year	Total arrears due on 1 January of each year
U.S. dollars				
1942	32,651.23 ¹	—	—	—
1943	43,159.11 ¹	—	—	—
1944	43,191.87	43,191.87	—	—
1945	90,868.50	90,868.50	—	—
1946	90,107.98	90,107.98	—	—
1947	113,440.54	11,999.46)	—	—
1948	146,778.30	82,562.97	64,215.33	—
1949	164,930.92	56.25	164,874.67	64,215.33
1950	181,899.19	34,118.62	147,780.57	229,090.—
1951	189,072.98	30,439.36	158,633.62	376,870.57
1952	196,707.43	15,000.—	181,707.43	535,504.19
Total	1,292,808.05	499,786.09	717,211.62 ²	520,504.19 ²

¹ In accordance with regulations then in force contributions in arrears by more than two years were transferred to the Reserve Fund of the League of Nations. Contributions for the years 1942-1943 were accordingly transferred and formed part of a general settlement made by the Board of Liquidation with the Government of China.
² Position on 15 June 1952. The Standing Orders provide (Article 29, paragraph 3) that :
" Contributions are due on 1 January of the year to which they relate, but the year in respect of which they are due shall be regarded as a period of grace and a contribution shall be regarded as being in arrears for the purpose of this Article only if it has not been paid by 31 December of the year in respect of which it is due."

12. In respect of subparagraph (c) of paragraph 4 of Article 31 of the Standing Orders referred to above, the Committee notes that the Republic of China in its letter of 5 June states that it is prepared to settle the payments in arrears of its financial contribution to the International Labour Organisation as soon as the conditions beyond its control cease to exist. Certain members of the Committee urged that some specific arrangement should be entered into at the present Conference by the Government of the Republic of China for the settlement of its arrears, and suggested that the Government of the Republic of China should make a further effort to pay off a substantial proportion of the arrears before the end of this year or before the next session of the Conference. The representative of China stated that his Government was not appealing to the Conference to write off the arrears ; his Government hoped confidently to be able to pay them off in time. It was, however, impossible at present for his Government to say when circumstances would permit it to make the necessary payments, but his Government would certainly do its best to make payments as soon as possible.

13. The Committee recommends to the Conference, and the Government delegate of China concurs, that the arrears at present due to the Organisation should be settled by annual payments of a minimum of \$15,000, to be increased as soon as conditions permit a more rapid settlement of the arrears.

14. The Committee wishes to place on record its view that a decision by the Conference to permit a member in arrears under the terms of paragraph 4 of Article 13 to vote is a very serious decision. The Committee draws attention to its view that it has a right and duty to maintain the soundness of the financial position of the Organisation and in particular emphasises the permissive character of the provision in paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Constitution. Bearing in mind all these

matters the Committee, nevertheless, in view of the considerations set out in the preceding paragraphs of this report, has decided to recommend to the Conference that the Chinese delegation should be permitted to vote in terms of the recommendation set out in paragraph 6 and repeated below :

"The Finance Committee of Government Representatives, after considering the request of the Chinese Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the Conference by letter of 5 June 1952, finds that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member, and thinks fit to propose to the Conference that the Member should nevertheless be permitted to vote in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 4, of the Constitution."

Geneva, 17 June 1952.

(Signed) PATRICK SHAW,
Chairman and Reporter.

(3) Second Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

1. The Finance Committee of Government Representatives met from 11 to 20 June with Mr. P. Shaw (*Australia*) as *Chairman* and *Reporter*, and Mr. de Sandoval (*Cuba*) as *Vice-Chairman*.

2. The Committee had before it a report on Financial and Budgetary Questions (Report II) containing the budgetary estimates for 1953 proposed by the Governing Body, together with further proposals of the Governing Body on financial and budgetary questions² and also the Audited Accounts for the Thirty-third Financial Period (1951).

3. In accordance with the Financial Regulations, a tripartite delegation from the Governing Body attended the opening meeting of the Committee. This delegation was composed of the Chairman and the two Vice-Chairmen of the Governing Body.

4. The Director-General attended to explain the budget estimates for 1953. In presenting the estimates the Director-General emphasised that the budget before the Committee was the budget as recommended, after very careful examination, by the Governing Body. He pointed out that that budget was less by approximately half a million dollars than the budget he had originally laid before the Governing Body. In the course of the discussion on his original estimates, Governments made it very clear that, in view of the financial and economic difficulties in many countries, they felt that the original proposals should be reconsidered. In the light of the various considerations mentioned by Governments, he had reviewed his original estimates and come back with proposals which had been unanimously adopted. His action had been a drastic one to meet what had been put to him as a serious problem. He wished to assure the

Committee, as he had assured the Governing Body, that he had accepted the situation and made his proposals in the best of good faith and the best of goodwill. The Governing Body had been unanimous—Governments, Employers and Workers—in recommending to the Conference the budget proposals now before them. These estimates showed a reduction of \$1,554 from the budget for 1952. He expressed the sincere hope that the Committee would recommend the budgetary estimates unanimously for the approval of the Conference. Turning to the income budget, the Director-General pointed out that the scale of contributions recommended by the Governing Body for 1953 in application of specified principles reported to the Committee provided that in 1953 the contributions of some States would be reduced, the contributions of some States would remain unchanged, and in no case would the contribution of any State be increased. The Director-General gave information with regard to the financial working of the Organisation in 1951 and in the early months of 1952. The cash balance on the working of the Organisation in 1951, amounting to \$546,731, was unusually large, due in the main to causes of a non-recurrent nature, and it could not be assumed that in the present year a large cash balance could again be expected. The Director-General summed up his review of the financial position of the Organisation by saying that, both in respect of the regular budget and in respect of extra-budgetary resources, in particular the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the financial position was sound. In concluding, the Director-General drew special attention to the proposal made by the Governing Body, after consideration of the position relating to arrears of contributions, that States Members should be recommended to pay their contributions within the year for which they are assessed and as early in the year as their national budgetary procedures permit. He urged Governments which had not yet paid their arrears and their contributions for the current year to make every effort to pay them before the end of the year. He also expressed cordial thanks to those States Members—the majority—who pay their contributions to the budget regularly and thus demonstrate in the most practical manner possible their support of the Organisation.

5. Opening the general discussion, Mr. Ramadier, Chairman of the Governing Body, said that the Office had made great efforts to reduce its expenditure for 1953 and the budget for that year showed a reduction on the budget for 1952 which, furthermore, had shown only a slight increase on the budget for 1951. These efforts had been made in order to take account of the general financial situation of all Governments. But the reduction in expenditure could have a useful effect on the future activities of the organisation. Public administrations have a tendency to increase their expenditure from year to year, and such increases were only justified when absolutely necessary. The efforts made by the Office to reduce expenditure would be taken into consideration when in the future the question of increasing the budget to meet new responsibilities imposed on the

¹ See Second Part, p. 281.

² See above, point (I).

Organisation was raised. On the subject of the income budget and the allocation of expenses among States Members, it should be recalled that in 1951 the scale applied was not satisfactory to many Governments, although it was recognised that it was an improvement on former scales. The I.L.O. had a scale which was rather different from the scale established by the United Nations. The rules applicable to the United Nations could not, however, be applied by the I.L.O., which had its own tradition. There were also differences in structure between the United Nations and the I.L.O.: the United Nations had a larger membership and more States Members who paid large contributions. When the question of establishing the scale for the I.L.O. had been under discussion, certain countries who paid a large contribution to the United Nations had asked that a maximum contribution should be fixed. Finally, a compromise had been reached, and it had been decided to adopt the 1952 scale as a basis for establishing the scale of contributions for 1953.

6. Sir John Forbes Watson, Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body, said that to all who were firm believers in the principles of the International Labour Organisation—as he himself was—it was a great pleasure to be assured that its financial position was sound. At the present time of financial difficulties in most countries it had to be remembered that many States found it difficult to pay their contributions out of their limited gold and dollar reserves, and tribute should therefore be paid to the Director-General for the efforts he had made in presenting a reduced budget and thus attempting to help those countries with acute currency problems. The I.L.O. was the only organisation in which employers and workers could meet on an equal footing with Governments and he was jealous of its good reputation. For this reason he would like to have a comparative statement which would show the budgets of the United Nations and of each specialised agency from the date of their establishment until the present time. Such information would, he thought, show that the budget of the I.L.O. could be favourably compared with that of other organisations. In addition to the budget for 1953 of \$6,223,368, further expenditure was provided for, namely some \$2,672,279 for technical assistance and some \$1,072,732 for the migration programme. The migration programme would come to an end in June of the present year, but the technical assistance programme would presumably continue. The funds for technical assistance came from the United Nations but the I.L.O. was responsible for their administration. More information should therefore be supplied about the details of expenditure when such a large sum of money was concerned: the brief references to this subject contained in Report II were quite inadequate. Fifty per cent. of the expenditure budget itself consisted of the sum required for the payment of salaries, and it should be remembered that those salaries were all free of income tax. In his own country income tax was a crushing burden on the vast majority of the population, and in his opinion people who received tax-free salaries were living in an

unrealistic world. At previous sessions of the Conference he had asked that the Office should insert an additional column alongside the existing column which stated the salaries of officials, and should give the gross salary which would be required to give the stated net salary if the official concerned had paid the income tax levied in the country in which he was living. He would again urge the Office to provide such information. It was a matter for surprise that in paragraph 6 of Part II of Report II only a passing reference had been made to a matter of very great importance. In 1951 a sum amounting to \$4,721 had been paid in respect of accrued leave to one member of the staff for the years 1942-1948. Such a payment was not in accordance with the Financial Regulations of the Organisation. He would ask the Director-General to explain the action which he had taken, since it appeared to be irregular and he knew of no precedent for it.

7. Mr. Jouhaux, Workers' Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body, said that the reduction in the budget which the Director-General had felt obliged to make was not completely satisfactory to the Workers' group. It was true that expenditure should not be increased unless it was necessary for the accomplishment of certain tasks. But the I.L.O. had not completed all the tasks which it had undertaken; therefore, the work of the Office would be limited by the budgetary resources accorded to it by the Conference. The I.L.O. had a function to fulfil, and its activities should not be restricted unless absolutely necessary. The Workers' group, although not entirely satisfied with the budgetary estimates to be submitted to the Conference, had accepted those estimates in the Governing Body in order to reach unanimity, and they would vote in favour of them in the Conference.

8. The Director-General, in reply to Sir John Forbes Watson, said that the first point raised concerning a comparison of budgets in the United Nations family was very constructive, and, in anticipation of such a request, two documents had been circulated, one showing the budgetary estimates for 1952 of the United Nations and the specialised agencies, and the other the position of the collection of contributions in respect of the I.L.O., U.N. and specialised agencies as at 31 August 1951, the latest date for which comparable figures were available. The second point made by Sir John was also constructive; the Committee should perhaps be provided with more detailed information in regard to expenditure on technical assistance. Information on technical assistance projects had been placed before the Technical Assistance Committee of the Governing Body, where there had been a detailed discussion of these projects, statements on the financial position of each project had been laid before the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body, and he had agreed that at the next session of the Governing Body a more detailed statement would be presented to the Technical Assistance Committee of the Governing Body. If the Committee so wished, however, he would be willing to include in the Report on Financial and Budgetary Questions

for the next session of the Conference a more detailed statement in regard to technical assistance than that given in Report II. The third point raised by Sir John concerned income tax, and perhaps he might point out that two years previously he had made available to the Conference, at the request of Sir John, a table showing salaries receivable by officials of the Office and the gross salaries it would be necessary to pay in order to provide the net salary after payment of income tax. That information on income tax, which related to the year 1950, was still valid at the present time. The Director-General then explained the reasons why the payment in respect of accrued leave referred to by Sir John Forbes Watson had been made under Article 18 (3) of the Financial Regulations.

9. Sir John Forbes Watson said that under Article 18 (3) the Director-General could decide on his own responsibility to settle obligations relating to the preceding year only. The action taken in the present instance was therefore irregular; it could only be made regular now by the Conference itself. He would raise the matter again on the item on the agenda of the Committee relating to the audited accounts for 1951.

I. EXPENDITURE BUDGET

10. After completing the general discussion the Committee considered the expenditure budget part by part, chapter by chapter and item by item.

11. *Part I, Chapter I, Item 1* (Sessions of the Conference and other Conferences).—The Committee agreed, on the proposal of the United Kingdom member, to increase the credit of \$1,000 for "Other Conferences and Technical Meetings" to \$11,000 in order to provide for financing the Conference on Asian Seafarers the holding of which in 1953 the Governing Body had approved in principle since adopting the budgetary proposals before the Committee in Report II (*Financial and Budgetary Questions*). The Committee further agreed that, in order to avoid any increase in the total of the budget, a corresponding reduction of \$10,000 should be effected in item 7 (Printing). It was understood that, if the credit of \$11,000 provided for "Other Conferences and Technical Meetings" should prove insufficient to finance the Conference on Asian Seafarers, any additional expenditure would be covered by way of transfer within Part I of the budget. The Committee then adopted this item at \$239,590.

12. *Item 2* (Sessions of the Governing Body).—The Committee adopted this item at \$100,581.

13. *Chapter II, Item 3* (Salaries and Wages).—The Committee adopted this item as follows: (a) Established posts, \$3,184,783; (b) Temporary assistance, \$55,116; (c) Indemnities, \$1,000; (d) Overtime, night differential and special allowances for duties at committees and other meetings, \$7,000; (e) Repatriation grants, \$12,000; (f) Language allowances, \$2,300; (g) Special post allowances, \$1,000.

14. *Item 4* (Travel and Removal Expenses).—The Committee adopted this item as follows: (a) Travel on official business, \$82,708; (b) Travel on taking up or leaving posts, \$6,200;

(c) Installation payments, \$4,520; (d) Removal expenses, \$13,500; (e) Travel on home leave, \$228,167.

15. *Item 5* (Representation Allowances).—The Committee adopted this item as follows: (a) Chairman of the Governing Body, \$5,000; (b) Director-General, \$10,000; (c) Deputy Director-General, \$1,500; (d) Assistant Directors-General, \$9,000.

16. *Item 6* (Property Account, Maintenance).—The Committee adopted this item at \$196,971.

17. *Item 7* (Printing).—In accordance with the agreement reached in the discussion on item 1, the Committee agreed to reduce the credit proposed for this item by \$10,000 and adopted this item at \$239,466.

18. *Item 8* (General Office Expenses).—The Committee adopted this item at \$205,500.

19. *Item 9* (Common Staff Costs).—The Committee adopted this item at \$151,163.

20. *Item 10* (Unpaid Liabilities).—The Committee adopted this item at \$5,000.

21. *Item 11* (External Audit Costs).—The Committee adopted this item at \$5,662.

22. *Item 12* (Enquiries, Investigations and External Collaboration).—The Committee adopted this item at \$23,000.

23. *Item 13* (Committees).—The Committee adopted this item as follows: (a) Industrial Committees \$168,930; (b) Committee on Work on Plantations \$61,890; (c) Joint Maritime Commission—no credit; (d) Other committees \$76,448; (e) Joint Committees with other intergovernmental organisations \$5,871; (f) Conferences and committees on social security \$31,483; (g) Accident insurance for members of committees \$5,273.

24. *Item 14* (Branch Offices and Correspondents).—The Chinese member requested that it be recorded in the report that his Government considered it desirable that a Branch Office should be established in Formosa. The Ceylon member requested information on the position relating to the appointment of a Correspondent in Ceylon, and he was informed that negotiations were under way with a view to the appointment of a Correspondent. The Committee then adopted this item as follows: (a) Branch Offices \$232,384; (b) Correspondents \$139,003.

25. *Item 15* (Public Information).—The Committee adopted this item at \$51,000.

26. *Item 15A* (Fellowships Programme).—The Committee adopted this item at \$50,000.

27. *Chapter III* (Profit and Loss on Exchange).—The Committee noted that no credit was proposed on this chapter.

28. *Chapter IV* (Permanent Equipment).—The Committee adopted this chapter at \$97,000.

29. *Chapter V* (Capital Expenditure).—The Committee adopted this chapter at \$100.

30. *Chapter VI* (Unforeseen Expenditure).—The Committee noted that no credit was proposed on this chapter.

31. *Chapter VII* (Reserve Fund).—The Committee noted that no credit was proposed for budgetary allocation to Reserve Fund and

adopted a credit for refund of withdrawal from the Reserve Fund at \$17,990.

32. Miscellaneous Income—The Committee adopted the estimate for receipts under the heading of Miscellaneous Income at \$81,500.

33. *Part II* (I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund and U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund)—Before adopting the credit proposed on this part, the Committee adopted for recommendation to the International Labour Conference the draft resolution concerning contributions payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in 1953, the text of which is given in the following section of this report. The Committee then adopted this part at \$546,505.

34. *Part III* (Working Capital Fund)—The Committee adopted a credit of \$250,000 for the third annuity to the Working Capital Fund and noted that no credit was proposed in respect of restoration of deficit as no deficit had been incurred.

35. *Part IV* (Building Fund)—The Committee adopted a credit for the third annuity of \$25,981.

36. The Committee then adopted unanimously the total gross expenditure budget at \$6,469,085. The Committee noted the deduct item of \$245,717, being distribution of one-fifth of the original Working Capital Fund, leaving a total net expenditure budget of \$6,223,368.

II. RESOLUTION CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS PAYABLE TO THE I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND IN 1953

37. The Committee had before it a draft resolution proposed by the Governing Body on the recommendation of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund under Article 7, paragraph (a), of the regulations of the Staff Pensions Fund, concerning the contributions payable to the Staff Pensions Fund in 1953. The Committee recommends the adoption of the draft resolution in the following terms :

The International Labour Conference—

Decides that the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the Pensions Fund for 1953 under Article 7, paragraph (a) of the Staff Pensions Regulations shall be 14 per cent. of the pensionable emoluments of the Members of the Fund ;

Decides that, for the year 1953, the officials mentioned in Article 4, paragraph (a) (i) of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Regulations shall continue to pay an additional one per cent. of their pensionable emoluments (making a total of seven-and-one-half per cent.), and those mentioned in Article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), an additional half per cent. (making a total of five-and-one-half per cent.) if their pensionable emoluments exceed the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 per annum, and an additional quarter per cent. (making a total of five-and-one-quarter per cent.) if these emoluments are the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 or less.

Resolves that, in continuation of the arrangement approved in previous years, the whole budgetary vote for 1953 in respect of the contributions of the Organisation to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund should be paid to the Fund.

III. INCOME BUDGET

38. The Committee had before it ¹ a draft scale of contributions of States Members for

1953 proposed by the Governing Body on the recommendation of its Allocations Committee.

39. The Chairman of the Allocations Committee reported that the Allocations Committee recommended, in agreement with the Governments concerned, that the rate of contribution for Japan for 1953 should be fixed at 2.19 per cent. and that this rate of contribution should be subject to a 10 per cent. reduction in respect of the contribution due for 1952 and to a 25 per cent. reduction in respect of the contribution due for 1951 ; and that the rate of contribution for Lybia for 1953 should be fixed at 0.12 per cent. (the minimum rate of contribution). The Committee noted that these rates of contribution for Japan and for Lybia taken together equalled the reserve of 2.31 per cent. which had been tentatively calculated as the reserve for the assessment of States admitted or re-admitted to the Organisation since the I.L.O. 1951 scale of contributions was adopted by the Conference, and consequently that no change was required in the rate of contributions for any of the other States Members for 1953 as proposed by the Governing Body.

40. The Syrian member said that it was regrettable that the proposed I.L.O. scale in comparison with the United Nations scale increased the contributions of small States and made concessions to larger States. In order to lighten the financial burden placed on smaller States the I.L.O. might adopt the same basis as that used for establishing the United Nations scale. The Canadian Government member said that, in the view of his Government, the I.L.O. scale gave inadequate weight to the principle of capacity to pay. His Government attached particular importance to the principle that the *per capita* contribution of any member should not exceed the *per capita* contribution of the member which bore the highest assessment, a principle which had been adopted by the Third Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and was also accepted by W.H.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O. His Government could not entirely agree with the suggestion made by the Syrian member, as there were sound reasons why the United Nations scale was not appropriate to the I.L.O. He suggested that the Allocations Committee, when preparing the 1954 scale of contributions, should give due regard to the desirability of bringing the I.L.O. scale more into line with the U.N. scale. He pointed out that by increasing the maximum contribution under the 1953 scale by, say, 5 per cent. it would still be well below the ceiling of 33 1/4 per cent. approved at the Third Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The United Kingdom member associated himself with the general direction of the observations of the Canadian member and expressed the hope that the I.L.O. would be treated not less generously than the United Nations by Member States. The Committee agreed that a summary of the observations made by these members should be included in the report of the Committee to the Conference and that the attention of the Allocations Committee should be drawn to them.

41. The Committee adopted the scale of contributions proposed by the Governing Body

¹ See above, point.(I).

as completed by the rates of contribution for Japan and Libya proposed by the Allocations Committee.

IV. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ADOPTION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE 35TH FINANCIAL PERIOD (1953) AND FOR THE ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES AMONG STATES MEMBERS FOR 1953

42. Following upon the adoption of the expenditure budget and the scale of contributions, the Committee adopted with one abstention the resolution set forth below for submission to the Conference for the adoption of the budget for the 35th financial period (1953) and for the allocation of expenses among States Members for 1953 :

In virtue of the Financial Regulations the Conference passes for the 35th financial period, ending 31 December 1953, the budget of expenditure of the International Labour Organisation, amounting to 6,469,085 U.S. dollars and the budget of income amounting to 6,469,085 U.S. dollars, and resolves that the budget of income from States Members shall be allocated among them in accordance with the scale of contributions recommended by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

43. The summary of the expenditure and income budget for 1953, together with the details of the expenditure budget and the statement showing the scale of contributions for 1953 and the gross and net contributions due from each State Member in 1953 as recommended by the Committee for the approval of the Conference are as follows :

BUDGET FOR 1953

EXPENDITURE	U.S. dollars	U.S. dollars	INCOME	U.S. dollars
<i>Part I : Ordinary Budget :</i>			Contributions from States Members . . .	5,744,023
Section I :			Balances at close of 31st, 32nd and 33rd Financial Periods (1949, 1950 and 1951) : proportion to be taken in deduction of contributions of States which contributed to the balances	479,345
Ordinary Expenditure	5,710,009			
Section II :			Working Capital Fund: Distribution of one-fifth of original fund .	245,717
Capital Expenditure .	100			
Section III :				
Unforeseen Expenditure	—			
Section IV :				
Reserve Fund	17,990			
	5,728,099			
<i>Deduct :</i>				
Supplementary Receipts	81,500	5,646,599		
<i>Part II : I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund and U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund</i>		546,505		
<i>Part III : Working Capital Fund :</i>				
(1) Third annuity . . .		250,000		
(2) Restoration of deficit		—		
<i>Part IV : Building Fund :</i>				
Third annuity		25,981		
Total		6,469,085	Total	6,469,085

EXPENDITURE BUDGET FOR 1953

A. SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
PART I — Ordinary Budget			
Section I (Ordinary Expenditure):			
Chapter I — Sessions of the Conference and the Governing Body and other Conferences	340,171	410,069	313,187.88
Chapter II — General Services of the International Labour Office	5,272,838	5,232,120	4,697,062.71
Chapter III — Profit and Loss on Exchange	—	—	— 58,600.53
Chapter IV — Permanent Equipment, etc.	97,000	91,315	99,817.96
Section II (Capital Expenditure):			
Chapter V — Capital Expenditure	100	100	—
Section III (Unforeseen Expenditure):			
Chapter VI — Unforeseen Expenditure	—	—	—
Section IV:			
Chapter VII — Reserve Fund:			
Budgetary Allocation	—	—	—
Refund of Withdrawal	17,990	17,684	—
Total	5,728,099	5,751,288	5,051,468.02
Deduct:			
Miscellaneous Income	81,500	79,000	94,797.14
Net Total of Part I	5,646,599	5,672,288	4,956,670.88
PART II — I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund and U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund	546,505	522,066	506,835.75
PART III — Working Capital Fund:			
(1) Third Annuity	250,000	250,000	250,000.—
(2) Restoration of Deficit	—	—	—
PART IV — Building Fund — Third Annuity	25,981	26,285	26,285.—
Total gross Expenditure Budget	6,469,085	6,470,639	5,739,791.63
Deduct:			
Working Capital Fund:			
Distribution of one-fifth of original Fund	245,717	245,717	245,717.—
Total net Expenditure Budget	6,223,368	6,224,922	5,494,074.63

B. SUMMARY OF ITEMS

SECTION I (ORDINARY EXPENDITURE)

<i>Chapter I</i> (Sessions of the Conference and the Governing Body and other Conferences) :	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
1. Sessions of the Conference and other Conferences :			
(a) Ordinary Session of the Conference	192,998	193,983	190,039.08
(b) Asian Regional Conference	35,592	50,236 ¹	—
(c) Conference of Labour Statisticians	—	8,183	—
(d) Meeting of Experts on Manpower Problems in Asia (Asian States Members)	—	22,637	—
(e) Meeting of Experts on Manpower Problems in the Near and Middle East (Near and Middle East States Members)	—	16,832	—
(f) Meeting on Protection of Children and Young Workers in Asian Countries	—	23,369	—
(g) Conference on Asian Seafarers	—	24,734	—
(h) European Regional Technical Meetings	—	10,000	—
(i) Technical Meeting on Co-operation in Latin America	—	19,232 ²	1,955.62 ³
(j) Other Conferences and Technical Meetings	11,000	1,000	34,378.90
	239,590	370,206	226,373.60
Lump sum reduction	—	60,000	—
	239,590	310,206	226,373.60
2. Sessions of the Governing Body	100,581	99,863	86,814.28
Total of Chapter I	340,171	410,069	313,187.88
<i>Chapter II</i> (General Services of the International Labour Office) :			
3. Salaries and wages :			
(a) Established posts	3,184,783	3,036,509	2,669,044.35
(b) Temporary assistance	55,116	70,422	135,117.73
(c) Indemnities (officials whose contracts have been sus- pended, terminated, etc.)	1,000	1,000	—
(d) Overtime, night differential and special allowances for duties at committees and other meetings	7,000	10,000	16,555.49
(e) Repatriation grants	12,000	7,500	3,130.07
(f) Language allowance	2,300	3,300	618.52
(g) Special post allowances	1,000	—	—
4. Travel and removal expenses :			
(a) Travel on official business	82,708	107,275	138,861.85
(b) Travel on taking up or leaving posts	6,200	20,785	50,832.14
(c) Installation payments	4,520	17,670	
(d) Removal expenses	13,500	30,500	24,856.97
(e) Travel on home leave	228,167	133,832	127,780.80
5. Representation allowances :			
(a) Chairman of the Governing Body	5,000	5,000	5,000.—
(b) Director-General	10,000	10,000	10,000.—
(c) Deputy Director-General	1,500	1,500	—
(d) Assistant Directors-General	9,000	9,000	7,500.—
6. Property account, maintenance	196,971	180,070	221,058.17
7. Printing	239,466	253,647	234,892.91
8. General office expenses	205,500	177,500	199,282.22
9. Common staff costs	151,163	149,315	136,171.06
10. Unpaid liabilities	5,000	5,000	5,048.42
11. External audit costs	5,662	5,662	3,832.34
12. Enquiries, investigations and external collaboration	23,000	37,000	40,700.13
13. Committees :			
(a) Industrial Committees	168,930	254,703	154,060.89
(b) Committee on Work on Plantations	61,890	—	—
(c) Joint Maritime Commission	—	—	11,156.86
(d) Other committees	76,448	120,866	60,823.26
(e) Joint Committees with other inter-Governmental organisa- tions	5,871	5,152	3,433.87
(f) Conferences and committees on social security	31,483	29,851	33,587.41
(g) Accident insurance for members of committees	5,273	—	—
14. Branch Offices and Correspondents :			
(a) Branch Offices	232,384	230,131	204,685.82
(b) Correspondents	139,003	139,930	92,423.73
15. Public Information	51,000	51,000	51,233.83
15A. Fellowships Programme	50,000	100,000	55,373.87
15B. <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Forced Labour	—	28,000	—
Total of Chapter II	5,272,838	5,232,120	4,697,062.71

¹ American Regional Conference.² Technical Meeting on Co-operation in the Near and Middle East.³ Technical Asian Conference on Co-operation.

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
<i>Chapter III (Profit and Loss on Exchange) :</i>			
16. Loss on Exchange	100	100	1,096.73
<i>Deduct :</i>			
Profit on Exchange	100	100	—59,697.26
Total of Chapter III	—	—	—58,600.53
<i>Chapter IV (Permanent Equipment, etc.) :</i>			
17. Furniture and fixtures	27,000	20,000	42,924.40
18. Office and transportation equipment	40,000	45,000	31,894.39
19. Library	30,000	26,315	24,999.17
Total of Chapter IV	97,000	91,315	99,817.96

C. SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE A

(Chapter I—Item 1)

SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE AND OTHER CONFERENCES

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) <i>Ordinary Session of the Conference :</i>			
(a) Salaries of temporary staff	37,000	39,000	42,030.68
(b) Travelling expenses and allowances	10,200	10,200	8,426.21
(c) Charges for hall, heat, light, etc.	4,500	3,500	4,193.95
(d) Hire of office equipment and furniture (including simultaneous interpretation equipment)	1,000	1,000	141.59
(e) Automobiles and cyclists	4,000	4,000	3,326.17
(f) Postage, cables, telegrams and telephone communications	1,000	1,000	958.20
(g) Special printing	134,298	134,283	129,791.57
(h) Miscellaneous	1,000	1,000	1,170.71
Total	192,998	193,983	190,039.08
(b) <i>Asian Regional Conference :</i>			
(a) Governing Body delegation (4)	3,600	3,600 ¹	—
(b) Salaries of temporary staff	10,000	10,000 ¹	—
(c) Travelling expenses and allowances (35)	43,016	58,960 ¹	—
(d) Charges for hall, heat, light, etc.	—	— ¹	—
(e) Hire of office equipment and furniture	2,500	2,500 ¹	—
(f) Automobiles and cyclists	2,500	2,500 ¹	—
(g) Postage, cables, telegrams and telephone communications	1,000	1,000 ¹	—
(h) Special printing	7,567	20,912 ¹	—
(i) Miscellaneous	1,000	1,000 ¹	—
	71,183	100,472 ¹	—
Lump sum reduction (contribution by host Government)	35,591	50,236 ¹	—
Total	35,592	50,236 ¹	—

SCHEDULE B

(Chapter I—Item 2)

SESSIONS OF THE GOVERNING BODY

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Sessions of the Governing Body	65,800	69,000	41,182.67
(b) Delegations of the Governing Body	6,750	6,900	4,594.49
(c) Printing of documents for the Governing Body	23,245	21,963	34,618.56
(d) Asian Advisory Committee	3,000	2,000	6,418.56
(e) Accident insurance for members of the Governing Body	1,786	—	—
Total	100,581	99,863	86,814.28

¹ The figures in this column are those for the American Regional Conference.

SCHEDULE C

(Chapter II—Item 3 (a))

ESTABLISHED POSTS

(Abbreviations : Principal Member of Division = P.M.D.
Member of Division = M.D.
Assistant Member of Division = A.M.D.
General Services = G.1 to G.6)

Number of posts 1952 1953			U.S. dollars
1	1	Director-General	20,000
1	1	Deputy Director-General	16,500
6	6	Assistant Directors-General	86,000
1	1	Treasurer and Financial Comptroller	13,744
<i>Special Assistants to the Director-General</i>			
2	2	Principal Chiefs of Division	23,250
<i>Director-General's Office</i>			
1	1	Executive Assistant to the Director-General	6,227
2	2	M.D.	11,300
1	1	A.M.D.	5,013
2	2	Secretaries (II)	7,286
1	1	Stenographer (III)	3,081
<i>Secretaries to Deputy Director-General, Assistant Directors-General and Treasurer-Comptroller</i>			
8	8	Secretaries (II, G.5)	25,132
CENTRAL SERVICES			
<i>Legal Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,400
1	1	P.M.D.	7,550
2	2	M.D.	13,034
1	1	A.M.D.	4,053
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,852
1	1	Stenographer (G.3)	2,379
<i>International Organisations Division</i>			
<i>(a) Geneva</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,400
2	2	M.D.	10,795
1	1	A.M.D.	3,800
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,679
1	1	Stenographer (G.3)	2,379
<i>(b) New York</i>			
1	1	Principal Chief of Division	15,000 ¹
1	1	Chief of Division	14,600 ¹
4	4	M.D.	31,810 ¹
2	2	A.M.D.	9,650 ¹
3	3	Secretaries (II, G.5)	12,170 ¹
4	4	Stenographers (G.3)	13,420 ¹
1	1	Clerk (G.3)	3,163
1	1	Driver-Messenger	2,730 ¹
1	1	Caretaker	2,730 ¹
<i>Official Relations Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,959
1	1	Assistant Chief of Division (Counsellor)	10,437
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,316
<i>(a) Governing Body</i>			
1	2	P.M.D.	17,534
4	3	M.D.	15,915
1	1	A.M.D.	4,387
<i>(b) General Correspondence</i>			
1	1	P.M.D.	9,700
5	5	M.D.	30,400
3	3	A.M.D.	16,143

¹ Gross salary subject to staff assessment plan.

Number of posts 1952 1953			U.S. dollars
<i>(c) Interpreters</i>			
2	2	P.M.D.	19,250
1	1	M.D.	7,342
<i>Secretariat</i>			
2	2	Secretaries (II)	7,498
2	2	Stenographers (III)	6,162
<i>Employers' Relations Service</i>			
1	1	Counsellor	9,800
2	2	M.D.	11,055
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,970
<i>Workers' Relations Service</i>			
1	1	Counsellor	9,250
4	4	M.D.	25,456
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,516
<i>Application of Conference Decisions Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,400
5	6	M.D.	38,076
4	3	A.M.D.	13,014
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,970
1	1	Clerk (II)	3,316
1	1	Stenographer (III)	2,996
<i>Public Information Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,763
1	1	P.M.D.	7,472
3	3	M.D.	18,373
2	2	A.M.D.	8,576
2	2	Secretaries (II)	7,120
2	2	Stenographers (III, G.3)	6,092
1	1	Clerk (G.3)	2,151
1	1	Clerk (G.2)	1,860
<i>External Services Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	11,400
1	1	Counsellor	10,477
2	2	P.M.D.	19,248
3	3	M.D.	21,294
1	1	A.M.D.	4,526
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,403
1	1	Stenographer (G.3)	1,880
<i>Administrative Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	11,400
1	—	M.D.	—
—	1	A.M.D.	4,053
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,970
1	1	Stenographer (G.3)	2,079
<i>I. Personnel Office</i>			
1	1	Head of the Personnel Office (Counsellor)	10,550
1	1	Assistant to the Head of the Personnel Office (M.D.)	6,845
1	2	M.D.	12,525
4	3	A.M.D.	13,037
—	1	Clerk (G.6)	3,386
1	2	Secretaries (II)	7,286
2	—	Clerks (II)	—
2	2	Clerks (III, G.3)	5,589
1	1	Clerk (G.2)	1,782
<i>II. General Services</i>			
1	1	Chief of General Services (Counsellor)	9,000
<i>(a) Transportation</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (A.M.D.)	4,793
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,416

Number of posts 1952 1953			U.S. dollars
(b) <i>Internal Administration Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (S.P.)	7,484
1	1	A.M.D.	3,800
1	1	Clerk (G.5)	2,852
1	1	Stenographer (G.3)	2,457
1	1	Clerk (G.3)	2,153
(i) <i>Office Supplies</i>			
1	1	A.M.D.	4,264
2	2	Clerks (G.5)	6,409
1	1	Clerk (IV)	2,205
1	1	Carpenter-Painter (G.2)	2,100
(ii) <i>Maintenance</i>			
1	1	A.M.D.	5,000
1	1	Janitor (G.5)	2,679
1	1	Electrician (G.2)	1,739
2	2	Nightwatchmen (3/II, G.1)	3,913
2	2	Gardeners (3/II, G.1)	3,868
(iii) <i>Switchboard Operators</i>			
1	1	Switchboard Operator (III)	2,623
2	2	Switchboard Operators (G.2)	3,794
(iv) <i>Messengers</i>			
1	1	Head Messenger	2,661
4	4	Doorkeepers (G.3)	9,599
2	2	Chauffeurs (3/I)	4,254
1	1	Cyclist (3/II)	2,208
21	21	Messengers (3/II, G.1)	35,939
(c) <i>Stenographic and Duplicating Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (A.M.D.)	5,000
2	2	Supervisors (A.M.D.)	8,346
9	9	Verbatim Reporters (A.M.D.)	37,241
50	50	Stenographers (III, G.3)	133,995
10	10	Copyists (IV, G.2)	22,780
1	1	Supervisor Duplicating Branch (G.6)	3,316
3	3	Multigraph Operators (III, G.3)	8,369
8	8	Roneo Operators (IV, G.2)	16,367
III. <i>Registry and Despatch</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (Registrar) (M.D.)	7,025
1	1	Assistant Registrar (A.M.D.)	4,908
1	1	A.M.D.	3,800
18	18	Clerks : 6 Clerks (II, G.5)	19,128
		5 Clerks (III, G.3)	13,479
		7 Clerks (IV, G.2)	13,505
<i>Bureau of Budget and Finance</i> ¹			
(a) <i>Budget and Control Section</i>			
1	1	Finance Officer (Counsellor)	10,450
1	2	M.D.	10,982
2	1	A.M.D.	4,381
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,516
2	2	Clerks (II, G.5)	5,937
(b) <i>Finance and Accounts Section</i>			
1	1	M.D. (Chief Accountant)	8,000
—	1	M.D. (P.2)	4,800
2	1	A.M.D.	4,848
3	3	Accountants (II, G.5)	8,803
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,616
1	1	Clerk (G.5)	2,528
1	1	Clerk (G.3)	2,758
<i>Editorial and Translation Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	11,709
1	1	Assistant Chief of Division (Counsellor)	9,275
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,716

¹ In order to facilitate comparison, the 1952 posts are shown here on the basis of the 1953 set-up.

Number of posts 1952 1953			U.S. dollars
<i>(a) Editorial Section</i>			
1	1	P.M.D. (English language)	8,100
4	5	M.D. (English language)	27,581
5	5	M.D. (French language)	30,085
1	1	P.M.D. (Spanish language)	8,696
4	4	M.D. (Spanish language)	23,950
2	1	A.M.D.	3,800
3	3	Secretaries (II)	10,458
3	3	Stenographers (III, G.3)	8,670
<i>(b) Translation Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of Section (P.M.D.)	8,329
5	5	Translators (English language) (M.D.)	25,460
5	5	Translators (French language) (M.D.)	26,990
5	5	Translators (Spanish language) (M.D.)	25,600
<i>(c) Legislative Series Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (Counsellor)	10,800
2	2	M.D. (English language)	13,320
2	2	M.D. (French language)	12,934
2	2	M.D. (Spanish language)	12,469
1	1	A.M.D.	4,347
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,716
1	1	Stenographer (III)	3,210
<i>(d) Printing Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (S.P.)	7,790
—	1	Assistant Chief of the Section (M.D.) (P.2)	5,104
1	—	Assistant Chief of the Section (A.M.D.)	—
4	4	Proofreaders (English language) (A.M.D.)	17,073
4	4	Proofreaders (French language) (A.M.D.)	17,174
4	4	Proofreaders (Spanish language) (A.M.D.)	15,760
3	3	Copyholders (III, G.3)	7,962
<i>(e) Sales Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (S.P.)	5,263
4	4	Clerks (III, G.3)	11,074
<i>(f) Distribution Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (S.P.)	6,800
—	1	Assistant Chief of the Section (G.6)	2,713
1	—	Assistant Chief of the Section (G.5)	—
3	3	Clerks (G.3)	6,822
7	7	Clerks (G.2)	13,650
<i>Library and Periodicals Service</i>			
1	1	Librarian (P.M.D.)	7,860
1	1	Associate Librarian (S.P.)	7,540
4	4	Assistant Librarians (A.M.D.)	15,999
4	4	Library Assistants (G.5)	11,548
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,436
13	13	Clerks : 7 Clerks (III, G.3)	16,269
		6 Clerks (IV, G.2)	12,234
TECHNICAL SERVICES			
<i>Economic, Statistical and Manpower Divisions</i>			
1	1	Principal Chief of Division	11,000
<i>Economic Division</i>			
1	1	Economic Adviser (Chief of Division)	11,042
—	1	Counsellor	8,750
1	—	P.M.D.	—
9	9	M.D.	56,931
2	2	A.M.D.	7,960
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,416
1	1	Stenographer (III)	2,996
<i>Statistical Division</i>			
1	1	Chief Statistician (Chief of Division)	10,400
1	1	P.M.D.	8,954
6	6	M.D.	32,645
5	5	A.M.D.	20,783
2	2	Secretaries (II)	7,940
1	1	Stenographer (III)	3,166

Number
of posts
1952 1953

U.S.
dollars

Manpower Division

1	1	Chief of Division	11,033
1	1	Assistant Chief of Division (Counsellor)	9,300
—	1	M.D.	7,692
2	3	Secretaries (II, G.5)	9,065
<i>(a) Employment Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (P.M.D.)	7,510
4	3	M.D.	18,256
3	3	A.M.D.	12,603
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,416
<i>(b) Vocational Training Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (P.M.D.)	7,770
8	9	M.D.	56,466
2	2	A.M.D.	8,413
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,436
<i>(c) Migration Section</i>			
1	1	Chief of the Section (P.M.D.)	7,900
5	4	M.D.	28,782
2	2	A.M.D.	7,793
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	3,216
<i>(d) Field Section</i>			
1	1	M.D.	6,563
1	1	A.M.D.	4,919
1	—	Secretary (II)	—
<i>(e) Documentation Branch</i>			
1	1	A.M.D.	3,800
1	1	Clerk (G.3)	2,407

Manpower Field Offices

<i>(a) Asia</i>			
1	1	Director (Counsellor)	9,900
2	2	M.D.	14,343
1	1	A.M.D.	3,800
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,916
1	1	Clerk (G.2)	2,179
<i>(b) Latin America</i>			
1	1	Director (Counsellor)	9,250
2	2	M.D.	14,002
1	1	A.M.D.	4,060
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,916
1	1	Clerk (G.2)	2,179

Co-operation and Handicrafts Service

1	1	Chief of the Service (Counsellor)	9,000
3	3	M.D.	20,176
2	2	A.M.D.	7,853
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,316

Conditions of Work Division

1	1	Chief of Division	10,800
3	3	P.M.D.	27,150
4	4	M.D.	26,930
4	4	A.M.D.	15,680
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,316
1	1	Stenographer (III)	2,679

Industrial Law and Labour Relations Division

1	1	Chief of Division	11,025
1	1	P.M.D.	8,661
7	7	M.D.	43,218
1	1	A.M.D.	4,227
2	2	Secretaries (II, G.5)	6,822

Industrial Committees Division

1	1	Chief of Division	11,400
1	1	Assistant Chief of Division (Counsellor)	8,750
1	1	P.M.D.	8,392
10	11	M.D.	69,855
8	7	A.M.D.	30,232
1	1	Clerk (II)	3,316
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,760
2	2	Stenographers (III)	5,403

Number of posts 1952 1953			U.S. dollars
<i>Women's and Young Workers' Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	11,004
5	5	M.D.	28,824
2	2	A.M.D.	9,457
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,862
<i>Non-Metropolitan Territories Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,788
2	2	P.M.D.	18,350
3	3	M.D.	16,888
1	1	A.M.D.	4,353
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,716
1	1	Stenographer (III)	3,081
<i>Maritime Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,800
3	4	M.D.	25,725
1	—	A.M.D.	—
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,616
<i>Agricultural Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	11,042
6	6	M.D.	43,113
2	2	A.M.D.	7,600
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,516
<i>Social Security Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	11,400
1	1	Chief Actuarial Adviser (Counsellor)	9,850
1	1	Actuarial Adviser (P.M.D.)	8,970
2	4	P.M.D.	32,598
6	4	M.D.	23,431
5	5	A.M.D.	22,249
2	2	Secretaries (G.5)	5,895
1	1	Stenographer (III)	3,081
<i>Industrial Safety Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,400
1	1	P.M.D.	9,563
5	5	M.D.	33,549
1	1	A.M.D.	3,600
1	1	Secretary (G.5)	2,937
1	1	Stenographer (G.3)	2,309
<i>Industrial Hygiene Division</i>			
1	1	Industrial Hygiene Adviser (Chief of Division)	10,400
3	3	M.D.	18,580
2	2	A.M.D.	7,860
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,416
1	1	Clerk (G.3)	2,379
<i>Technical Assistance Division</i>			
1	1	Chief of Division	10,800
5	5	M.D.	32,923
1	1	A.M.D.	4,320
1	1	Secretary (II)	3,216
1	1	Stenographer (III)	3,081
649	649	Total	3,190,871
Credit for Manpower Field Office for Near and Middle East (provision for salaries of up to six officials)			29,654
Annual increments			29,758
Special increments and increases			5,000
Salary adjustments for Geneva local and semi-local staff and New York staff			29,047
			3,284,330
Reduction corresponding to minus differential of 5 per cent. of 75 per cent. of salaries and increments of international officials at Geneva			99,547
Grand total			3,184,783

SCHEDULE D*(Chapter II—Item 6)***PROPERTY ACCOUNT, MAINTENANCE**

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Water and other municipal rates and taxes	6,650	7,170	9,140.17
(b) Heating	16,540	16,040	10,801.05
(c) Electricity	13,600	10,825	9,733.67
(d) Repairs and upkeep of grounds	41,900	41,270	94,772.85
(e) Insurance	12,900	10,525	7,604.95
(f) Upkeep of office furniture and equipment (including automobiles)	15,000	13,500	11,665.20
(g) Domestic staff employed in cleaning, etc., and watchmen . .	65,444	59,180	52,044.58
(h) Messengers, uniforms	2,677	3,500	1,896.74
(i) Sundry supplies	6,000	5,000	10,573.88
(j) Additional accommodation	16,260	13,060	12,825.08
Total	196,971	180,070	221,058.17

SCHEDULE E*(Chapter II—Item 7)***PRINTING**

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) <i>Industry and Labour</i>	41,210	41,785	26,064.50
(b) <i>Official Bulletin</i>	11,826	8,542	17,471.25
(c) <i>International Labour Review</i>	71,242	50,355	33,903.27
(d) <i>Occupational Safety and Health</i>	11,246	9,122	8,481.65
(e) <i>Bibliography of Occupational Medicine</i>	—	5,140	300.21
(f) (i) <i>I.L.O. Year-Book</i>	—	10,327	—
(ii) <i>Year Book of Labour Statistics</i>	14,320	12,196	22,100.28
(g) <i>Legislative Series</i>	25,260	22,505	21,216.56
(h) <i>Studies and Reports</i>	50,551	37,985	36,965.74
(i) Special publications	26,832	23,364	15,874.72
(j) <i>Report to the United Nations</i>	7,990	8,252	7,091.68
(k) Industrial Committee reports	21,751	29,860	30,229.45
(l) Sales Section (catalogues, circulars, etc.)	4,668	5,607	996.62
(m) Reprinting for sales	7,570	5,607	4,175.96
(n) Miscellaneous printing	15,000	10,000	10,021.02
	309,466	280,647	234,892.91
Lump sum reduction	70,000	27,000	—
Total	239,466	253,647	234,892.91

SCHEDULE F*(Chapter II—Item 8)***GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSES**

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Stationery and office supplies	57,000	49,500	57,987.14
(b) Postage	80,000	84,000	77,566.19
(c) Cables and telegrams	32,000	20,000	34,747.15
(d) Telephones	24,500	15,000	17,113.36
(e) Additional miscellaneous expenses (freight and carriage, bank charges, etc.)	12,000	9,000	11,868.38
Total	205,500	177,500	199,282.22

SCHEDULE G

(Chapter II—Item 9)

COMMON STAFF COSTS

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Indemnities provided for under Staff Regulations	500	500	440.79
(b) (i) Contribution to Sickness Insurance Fund	18,283	18,444	15,384.02
(ii) Contribution to Swiss old-age insurance	2,356	2,812	1,535.91
(c) Upkeep of sickroom	500	500	445.47
(d) Medical service	7,650	8,212	7,996.25
(e) Staff welfare	1,000	1,000	1,202.83
(f) Recruitment of staff	1,000	1,600	2,072.82
(g) Hospitality	11,500	14,000	14,784.74
(h) Subscriptions	700	700	537.03
(i) Administrative Tribunal :			
(i) Expenses	1,000	2,000	488.84
(ii) Indemnities	250	250	3.51
(j) (i) Children's allowances	64,790	63,030	60,858.55
(ii) Education grants	22,563	26,350	16,186.13
(iii) Family allowances for local staff in Geneva	16,071	7,717	11,467.70
(k) Staff training	3,000	2,200	2,766.47
Total	151,163	149,315	136,171.06

SCHEDULE H

(Chapter II—Item 12)

ENQUIRIES, INVESTIGATIONS AND EXTERNAL COLLABORATION

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Translations and fees for articles	6,000	11,000	15,046.64
(b) Consultation of experts; miscellaneous collaboration	15,000	24,000	23,153.49
(c) Fees for special studies	2,000	2,000	2,500.—
Total	23,000	37,000	40,700.13

SCHEDULE I

(Chapter II—Item 13)

COMMITTEES

SUBSCHEDULE A—INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Inland Transport Committee	—	—	70,014.30
(b) Coal Mines Committee	35,783	—	23,005.45
(c) Iron and Steel Committee	—	59,858	—
(d) Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee	66,353	—	50,921.23
(e) Textiles Committee	66,794	—	—
(f) Metal Trades Committee	—	51,568	—
(g) Petroleum Committee	—	59,489	—
(h) Chemical Industries Committee	—	51,788	—
(i) Travelling expenses and allowances of secretariat for committees	—	32,000	10,119.91
Total	168,930	254,703	154,060.89

SUBSCHEDULE B—COMMITTEE ON WORK ON PLANTATIONS

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
Committee on Work on Plantations	61,890	—	—

SUBSCHEDULE C

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
Joint Maritime Commission	—	—	11,156.86

SUBSCHEDULE D—OTHER COMMITTEES

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations	8,371	14,130	3,420.51
(b) Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories	8,919	—	7,026.05
(c) Permanent Agricultural Committee	—	—	—
(d) Correspondence Committee of Statistical Experts	—	—	—
(e) Correspondence Committee on Women's Work	—	—	4,207.09
(f) Correspondence Committee on Accident Prevention	—	9,634	—
(g) Correspondence Committee on Recreation	—	—	—
(h) Silicosis Meeting (Correspondence Committee on Occupational Safety and Health)	—	16,726	—
(i) Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers	—	43,518	—
(j) Correspondence Committee on Occupational Safety and Health	—	—	—
(k) Correspondence Committee on Co-operation	9,935	—	—
(l) Correspondence Committee on Juvenile Employment	—	—	—
(m) Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour	25,138	—	16,871.18
(n) Committee of Social Security Experts	—	19,878	—
(o) Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association	23,185	25,980	—
(p) International Development Works Committee	—	—	—
(q) Permanent Migration Committee	—	—	—
(r) Other meetings	900	1,000	13,750.28
(s) Travelling expenses and allowances of secretariat for committees	—	—	15,548.15
	76,448	130,866	60,823.26
Lump sum reduction	—	10,000	—
Total	76,448	120,866	60,823.26

SUBSCHEDULE E

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
Joint committees with other intergovernmental organisations.	5,871	5,152	3,433.87

SUBSCHEDULE F

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
Conferences and committees on social security	31,483	29,851	33,587.41

SCHEDULE J

(Chapter II—Item 14)

(a) BRANCH OFFICES

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Paris Office Fr. frs. 11,950,000 (Frs. 350 = U.S.\$1)	34,143	29,143	27,206.02
(b) London Office £8,857 (£0.3571 = U.S.\$1)	24,800	21,657	18,462.41
(c) Washington Office	72,060	72,065	60,328.61
(d) New Delhi Office Rs. 202,516 (Rs. 4.762 = U.S.\$1)	42,527	39,215	30,660.11
(e) China Office	1,000	23,000	23,778.71
(f) Rome Office Lire 11,624,500 (Lire 625 = U.S.\$1)	18,599	17,600	22,025.77
(g) Ottawa Office Can. \$33,050 (Can. \$1.05 = U.S.\$1)	31,485	27,451	22,224.19
(h) Bonn Office	20,000	—	—
	244,614	230,131	204,685.82
Lump sum reduction (5 per cent.)	12,230	—	—
Total	232,384	230,131	204,685.82

(b) CORRESPONDENTS

National Correspondents

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
Argentina Pesos 69,600 (Pesos 14 = U.S.\$1)	4,971		
Austria Sch. 22,896 (Sch. 26 = U.S.\$1)	881		
Belgium Frs. 385,895 (Frs. 50 = U.S.\$1)	7,718		
Bolivia Bols. 100,500 (Bols. 101 = U.S.\$1)	995		
Brazil Cr. \$276,000 (Cr. \$18.50 = U.S.\$1)	14,919		
Bulgaria Leva 432,000 (Leva 278.28 = U.S.\$1)	1,553		
Chile Pesos 252,000 (Pesos 92.3 = U.S.\$1)	2,730		
Colombia Pesos 4,680 (Pesos 2.50 = U.S.\$1)	1,872		
Costa Rica Colones 12,000 (Colones 7.52 = U.S.\$1)	1,596		
Cuba U.S.\$3,600	3,600		
Czechoslovakia Sw. frs. 14,112 (Frs. 4.33 = U.S.\$1)	3,259		
Denmark Cr. 16,500 (Cr. 6.907 = U.S.\$1)	2,389		
Ecuador Sucres 28,980 (Sucres 17.68 = U.S.\$1)	1,639		
Egypt Eg. £1,860 (Eg. £0.3482 = U.S.\$1)	5,342		
Finland Marks 636,000 (Mks. 230 = U.S.\$1)	2,765		
Greece Drach. 43,500,000 (Drach. 15,020 = U.S.\$1)	2,896		
Guatemala Quetz. 3,600 (Quetz. 1 = U.S.\$1)	3,600		
Haiti U.S.\$900	900		
Indonesia Rupiahs 18,000 (Rupiahs 7.56 = U.S.\$1)	2,381		
Iran Reals 98,400 (Reals 32.25 = U.S.\$1)	3,051		
Ireland £300 (£0.3573 = U.S.\$1)	840		
Japan Yen 2,822,400 (Yen 360 = U.S.\$1)	7,840		
Mexico Pesos 40,000 (Pesos 8.65 = U.S.\$1)	4,624		
Pakistan Rupees 27,600 (Rs. 3.309 = U.S.\$1)	8,341		
Peru Soles 30,000 (Soles 15 = U.S.\$1)	2,000		
Philippines Pesos 3,600 (Pesos 2 = U.S.\$1)	1,800		
Sweden Sw. Cr. 8,376 (Cr. 5.18 = U.S.\$1)	1,617		
Syria Syr. £3,934.20 (S. £3.62 = U.S.\$1)	1,087		
Turkey Turk. £9,600 (T. £2.80 = U.S.\$1)	3,429		
Union of South Africa S.A. £600 (S.A. £0.3571 = U.S.\$1)	1,680		
Uruguay Pesos 7,980 (Pesos 2.38 = U.S.\$1)	3,353		
Venezuela Bols. 12,000 (Bols. 3.35 = U.S.\$1)	3,582		
	109,250		
Credit for increases in salaries and office expenses	11,753		
Proposed additional correspondents	18,000		
Total	139,003	139,930	92,423.73

SCHEDULE K

(Chapter II — Item 15)

PUBLIC INFORMATION

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(a) Printing and translation of informational publications, art work and engravings	25,000	28,500	21,015.25
(b) Visual education, including posters and exhibits, photographs, motion pictures, slide films, etc.	13,500	10,000	24,990.03
(c) Radio, television and transcriptions	9,500	9,500	2,480.69
(d) Papers and press cuttings	3,000	3,000	1,751.—
(e) Miscellaneous	—	—	996.86
Total	51,000	51,000	51,233.83

SCHEDULE L

PART II — I.L.O. STAFF PENSIONS FUND
AND U.N. JOINT STAFF PENSION FUND

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
I. Contributions to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund	71,839	458,708	73,929.—
II. Contributions to U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund	409,263		
III. Administration of the Funds :			
(a) Salaries	12,373	10,850	11,070.—
(b) (i) Administrative Board of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund, and I.L.O. Staff Pension Committee	1,836	1,836	1,836.—
(ii) Investments Committee, I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund	1,458	1,458	1,458.—
(iii) Administrative Board, U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund	1,047	1,047	—

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Expenditure 1951 U.S. dollars
(c) Valuation of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund	1,200	678	1,750.—
(d) Medical expenses	400	400	200.—
(e) Miscellaneous	200	200	200.—
IV. I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund : Contribution in respect of difference in 1951 between interest earned on the assets of the Fund and the assumed rate of 2¾ per cent.	—	—	46,839.—
V. I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund : Amortisation of actuarial deficit	46,889	46,889	46,889.—
Total	546,505	522,066	506,835.75

SCHEDULE M

MISCELLANEOUS INCOME

	Estimates for 1953 U.S. dollars	Budget for 1952 U.S. dollars	Income 1951 U.S. dollars
Sale of publications	45,000		
Assessments on salaries of staff subject to the staff assessment plan	22,500		
Unexpended balance of obligations charged to previous year's budget	5,000		
Sale of service stamps and used stamps	4,000		
Bank interest	2,000		
Sale of waste paper, used office and transportation equipment ; rental income, etc.	3,000		
Total	81,500	79,000	94,797.14

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS DUE FROM STATES MEMBERS FOR 1953

	State (French alphabetical order)	Percentage	Gross contribution	Credit in respect of 1951 balance	Credit in respect of 1949/1950 balance	Credit in respect of Working Capital Fund	Net contributions 1953
			U.S. dollars	U.S. dollars	U.S. dollars	U.S. dollars	U.S. dollars
1.	Afghanistan	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	424.13	6,702.52
2.	Albania	0.12	7,762.90	—	—	—	7,762.90
3.	Federal Republic of Germany	4.87	315,044.44	14,739.83	—	—	300,304.61
4.	Argentina	2.18	141,026.05	—	—	—	141,026.05
5.	Australia	2.35	152,023.50	14,262.64	—	17,808.07	119,952.79
6.	Austria	0.35	22,641.80	1,961.78	—	—	20,680.02
7.	Belgium	1.72	111,268.26	11,028.36	—	10,630.87	89,609.03
8.	Burma	0.19	12,291.26	1,325.52	—	—	10,965.74
9.	Bolivia	0.12	7,762.90	—	500.28	1,948.76	5,313.86
10.	Brazil	2.22	143,613.69	13,838.47	—	—	129,775.22
11.	Bulgaria	0.28	18,113.44	—	—	—	18,113.44
12.	Canada	3.98	257,469.58	22,692.98	—	18,617.66	216,158.94
13.	Ceylon	0.15	9,703.63	1,590.63	—	—	8,113.—
14.	Chile	0.50	32,345.43	3,234.28	—	—	29,111.15
15.	China	3.04	196,660.18	—	—	—	196,660.18
16.	Colombia	0.45	29,110.88	2,651.05	850.36	—	25,609.47
17.	Costa Rica	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
18.	Cuba	0.38	24,582.52	2,120.84	402.02	—	22,059.66
19.	Denmark	0.97	62,750.12	5,726.26	—	7,267.15	49,756.71
20.	Dominican Republic	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
21.	Egypt	0.86	55,634.13	5,726.26	—	—	49,907.87
22.	Ecuador	0.12	7,762.90	—	—	—	7,762.90
23.	United States of America	25.—	1,617,271.25	132,552.42	—	63,420.10	1,421,298.73
24.	Ethiopia	0.12	7,762.90	—	—	—	7,762.90
25.	Finland	0.30	19,407.26	1,590.63	—	—	17,816.63
26.	France	7.49	484,534.47	47,082.62	—	—	437,451.85
27.	Greece	0.22	14,231.99	1,272.50	—	—	12,959.49
28.	Guatemala	0.12	7,762.90	—	—	—	7,762.90
29.	Haiti	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
30.	Hungary	0.53	34,286.15	—	—	—	34,286.15
31.	India	4.13	267,173.21	23,488.29	—	21,293.49	222,391.43
32.	Indonesia	0.43	27,817.07	—	—	—	27,817.07
33.	Iraq	0.20	12,938.17	1,272.50	743.49	—	10,922.18
34.	Iran	0.54	34,933.06	—	—	—	34,933.06
35.	Ireland	0.50	32,345.43	3,711.47	—	449.17	28,184.79
36.	Iceland	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
37.	Israel	0.12	7,762.90	—	—	—	7,762.90
38.	Italy	3.01	194,719.46	—	—	—	194,719.46
39.	Japan	2.19	141,672.96	—	—	—	141,672.96
40.	Lebanon	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
41.	Liberia	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
42.	Luxembourg	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
43.	Libya	0.12	7,762.90	—	—	—	7,762.90
44.	Mexico	0.81	52,399.59	5,302.10	—	—	47,097.49
45.	Norway	0.64	41,402.15	4,453.76	—	7,172.65	29,775.74
46.	New Zealand	0.62	40,108.33	3,605.43	—	3,404.61	33,098.29
47.	Pakistan	0.89	57,574.86	4,930.95	—	—	52,643.91
48.	Panama	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
49.	Netherlands	1.37	88,626.47	7,688.04	—	10,447.10	70,491.33
50.	Peru	0.25	16,172.71	2,014.80	—	1,328.62	12,829.29
51.	Philippines	0.37	23,935.61	2,279.90	—	—	21,655.71
52.	Poland	1.24	80,216.65	—	—	—	80,216.65
53.	Portugal	0.67	43,342.87	4,135.64	—	7,033.23	32,174.—
54.	United Kingdom	12.79	827,395.97	72,108.52	—	23,700.39	731,587.06
55.	El Salvador	0.12	7,762.90	636.25	—	—	7,126.65
56.	Sweden	2.17	140,379.14	12,353.89	—	10,900.74	117,124.51
57.	Switzerland	1.81	117,090.44	10,233.05	—	10,630.87	96,226.52
58.	Syria	0.14	9,056.72	—	—	—	9,056.72
59.	Czechoslovakia	1.16	75,041.39	6,521.58	—	12,420.85	56,098.96
60.	Thailand	0.29	18,760.35	2,279.90	—	—	16,480.45
61.	Turkey	1.05	67,925.39	6,468.56	—	—	61,456.83
62.	Union of South Africa	1.28	82,804.29	8,960.55	—	16,818.54	57,025.20
63.	Uruguay	0.23	14,878.90	—	—	—	14,878.90
64.	Venezuela	0.35	22,641.80	1,908.75	—	—	20,733.05
65.	Viet-Nam	0.26	16,819.62	1,590.63	—	—	15,228.99
66.	Yugoslavia	0.54	34,933.06	1,781.50	—	—	33,151.56
Total		100.—	6,469,085.—	476,849.38	2,496.15	245,717.—	5,744,022.47

V. RECOMMENDATION TO STATES MEMBERS CONCERNING EARLY PAYMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS

44. The Committee had before it, in Report II (*Financial and Budgetary Questions*) a report of the Governing Body on its consideration of the problem of arrears of contributions. In accordance with the proposal made by the Governing Body, the Committee agreed to recommend the following resolution for submission to the Conference :

The International Labour Conference—

Noting the proposal made by the Governing Body following upon its consideration of the problem of arrears of contributions due by States Members to the budget of the Organisation,

Recommends all States Members to pay their contributions within the year for which they are assessed and as early in the year as their national budgetary procedures permit.

VI.¹ PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND AND THE RESERVE FUND

45. The Committee had before it in Report II (*Financial and Budgetary Questions*) proposals made by the Governing Body for the amalgamation of the Working Capital Fund and the Reserve Fund. These proposals included certain amendments to the relevant articles of the Financial Regulations. The Committee also had before it a report of the discussion on the matter in the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body. The United States member said that his Government realised that there were special reasons for the separation of the Funds into two parts and did not therefore oppose this part of the proposal. His Government was, however, disappointed to find that a distinction was still made between the parts of the Fund in respect of their availability for use both for making advances pending receipt of contributions and for meeting contingencies and emergencies. The qualifications attached to the merger of the two funds prevented the merger from being fully effective. At an appropriate time his Government intended to propose an amendment to the present provisions of the Financial Regulations which would have the effect of eliminating the automatic reimbursement of the Fund when deficits occurred due to the failure of some Members to pay their contributions. The Committee recommends the adoption of the following amended articles of the Financial Regulations.

Proposed Amendments to the Financial Regulations¹

CHAPTER V. THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND

Article 19

1. The Working Capital Fund is a fund established for the following purposes :

- (a) to finance budgetary appropriations pending receipt of contributions or other income ; and
- (b) in exceptional circumstances and subject to prior authorisation of the Governing Body, to provide advances to meet contingencies and emergencies (if the Reserve Fund should prove inadequate for this purpose).

2. The Working Capital Fund shall be of such amount as may be voted from time to time by the Conference and shall be constituted by—

- (a) moneys placed in the Fund by the Members of the Organisation, the amount of the share of each Member being assessed in accordance with the budgetary scale of contributions, and
- (b) any sums which the Conference may cause to be paid into it from time to time.

3. The sums paid by Members of the Organisation under paragraph 2 (a) for the purpose of constituting or augmenting the Working Capital Fund shall be carried to the credit of the Members which have paid such sums. *The sums which the Conference causes to be paid into the Fund from time to time shall be carried to the credit of the Organisation.*

4. The Conference may liberate all or part of the sums constituting the Working Capital Fund, and the sums so liberated *in so far as they are derived from moneys placed in the Fund under paragraph 2 (a)* shall be returned to the Members which have contributed to the Fund in proportion to their respective contributions.

5. Subject to a decision of the Conference, States which for any reason cease to be Members of the Organisation shall be entitled to the reimbursement of the total amount of their contributions to the Working Capital Fund, *under paragraph 2 (a).*

6. Members joining the Organisation shall contribute to the Working Capital Fund even if such contributions would bring the Working Capital Fund above a maximum limit fixed for it by the Conference, provided that the position with regard to the Fund shall be reviewed by the Conference from time to time with a view to determining what adjustment, if any, should be made in the amount of the Fund, having regard to consequent excess over the maximum limit.

Article 20

1. The Working Capital Fund shall be administered as a separate account. A statement showing the position of the Fund, audited by the auditor, shall be submitted each year to the Conference. Contributions to the Fund *under Article 19 paragraph 2 (a)* shall be made through the annual budget. As soon as a Member pays its contribution, the Working Capital Fund account shall be immediately credited with a portion of the contribution corresponding to the ratio between the amount voted in respect of the Working Capital Fund for the year and the total amount voted for the year.

2. Interest earned on the Fund shall be added to the shares in the Fund standing to the credit (a) of individual Members and (b) of the Organisation in proportion to the amount of their shares.

Article 21

1. (a) *Sums not exceeding the total contributions to the Fund by the Members of the Organisation may be withdrawn from the Working Capital Fund to finance budgetary appropriations for any year pending receipt of contributions or other income and shall be reimbursed to the Fund in the course of that financial year as soon as receipts from contributions or other income are available for this purpose.*

(b) *In exceptional circumstances and subject to the prior authorisation of the Governing Body, should the sums contributed to the Working Capital Fund by the Members be temporarily inadequate to finance budgetary appropriations pending receipt of contributions, advances may be made from that part of the Working Capital Fund which stands to the credit of the Organisation. Such advances shall be reimbursed to the Fund as soon as receipts from contributions or other income are available.*

2. If in any financial year any sum withdrawn from the Working Capital Fund, to finance budgetary expenditure pending receipt of contributions or other income, cannot be reimbursed in the course of the financial year owing to the fact that total budgetary income for the year falls short of total budgetary expenditure, such sum shall be reimbursed to the Fund by including an appropriate credit in the budget for the next year but one.

3. Sums withdrawn from the Working Capital Fund to provide advances to meet contingencies and emergencies shall be reimbursed to the Fund by including an appropriate credit in the budget for the next year but one.

Article 22

(Purpose and Constitution of the Reserve Fund). Deleted.

Article 22bis

(Withdrawals from, and Reimbursements to the Reserve Fund). Deleted.

¹ Words to be deleted are enclosed in parentheses and words to be added are printed in italics.

VII. PROPOSED SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTION DUE BY JAPAN

46. The Chairman of the Allocations Committee reported that on behalf of the Allocations Committee he had had negotiations with representatives of the Japanese Government relating both to the rate of contribution and to the settlement of the arrears in respect of 1938-1940. The Japanese Government representatives had readily accepted the proposals made in respect of the rate of contribution as he had already reported. In respect of arrears, however, they urged that a substantial reduction should be made. The Allocations Committee had considered the matter carefully in all its aspects, taking account of the expenditure incurred by the Japanese Government in connection with the work of the I.L.O. Correspondent, and the heavy financial obligations of Japan, and finally agreed to suggest a settlement under which a certain amount of the arrears should be written off. The settlement proposed was that of the total arrears amounting to \$368,212.10 an amount of \$118,212.10 should be written off, leaving a sum to be paid by the Japanese Government of \$250,000; this \$250,000 to be paid in five equal annual instalments. The Japanese Government representatives, after cabled consultation with their Government, had accepted this proposal and the Allocations Committee recommended its acceptance by the Committee.

47. The Japanese representative, in confirming the agreement of his Government to the proposed settlement, expressed the deep appreciation of his Government for the consideration shown by the Allocations Committee in the matter of the arrears. The Japanese Government had heavy financial obligations, and as the yen was a soft currency found it difficult to provide the necessary foreign funds.

48. The Committee recommends the Conference to approve the proposed settlement of the arrears of contribution due by Japan, namely that of the total arrears of \$368,212.10, \$118,212.10 should be cancelled and the remainder of \$250,000 should be paid by Japan in five equal annual instalments beginning in 1952.

Geneva, 20 June 1952.

(Signed) PATRICK SHAW,
Chairman and Reporter.

(4) Third Report of the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

1. The Finance Committee of Government Representatives, at its sittings on 20 and 25 June, had before it the Audited Accounts for the Thirty-third Financial Period (1951) and Report thereon by Mr. Uno Brunskog, Auditor.

2. Sir John Forbes Watson, Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body, who, as stated in the Second Report of the Committee, had raised at the First Sitting of the Com-

mittee a question relating to a sum of \$4,721 paid in respect of accrued leave for one member of the staff for the years 1942-1948, made a further statement on this matter. He said that his statement was made not on behalf of the Employers' group but on his own behalf and on a question of principle and not of persons. The point related solely to irregularities in this payment. He was not a member of the Committee, and at this stage he was unable to say whether he would feel obliged to speak on the matter in the Conference; that would depend on the decision taken by the Committee. There were three irregularities in the payment in question.

3. First, the money had been paid out of the Budget of 1951 and under Article 18 (3) of the Financial Regulations, and had been paid by the Director-General on his own authority and the matter had not been referred to by the Auditor in his report. That Article, however, made it clear that such payments could only be made if they related to debts which had arisen in the immediately preceding year to that in which they were paid, and if it could be shown that there was unavoidable delay in the lodging of the claim. In the present case the claim related to a member of the staff who resigned in 1948; the claim, which related to accrued leave in the years 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1946, had not been lodged till 1951, and no explanation had been given of the reason for the delay. He had asked that the Auditor should be informed of the date and hour of the meeting now taking place so that the Auditor could attend and place before the Committee the considerations he had in mind in approving these payments, but he understood the Auditor was not present.

4. Secondly, it appeared to him that against one budgetary post in the salaries item, two sums had been charged for this same period, namely, the salary of the existing occupant of the post and the payment made in respect of accrued leave of the former occupant of the post.

5. Thirdly, for one and the same period after the retirement of the official concerned, payment had been made in respect both of pension and of accrued leave, which amounted to salary, and that was irregular. He then gave detailed particulars with regard to the leave entitlement of the official concerned during each of the years 1942 to 1948. Salary and allowances paid to the staff were all free of income tax. Income tax was at a very high level in his own country. The contributions providing these tax-free salaries had to be paid by the various Governments in dollars and made a call on the countries' gold and dollar reserves, and when he held the view that a payment had been irregularly made he was unable to reply to the questions raised in his own country and to defend the Organisation in which he firmly believed. The questions which would be put to him at home were why was such a claim made, why was it paid by the Director-General without prior reference to the Officers of the Governing Body or the Officers of the Finance Committee or the Finance Committee itself or the Governing Body, and why was it approved by the Auditor?

¹ See Second Part, p. 375.

So far he had received no satisfactory answer to any of these questions. It was for the Committee to say how it proposed to regularise the action taken. In his opinion there was only one way and that was by the Conference.

6. Sir John Forbes Watson went on to point out that when the Director-General reported to the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body in March of this year the payments he had made under Article 18 (3), the Employers' representative of the United Kingdom had asked for further information and made an express reserve on this question of accrued leave; that that representative repeated his reserve at the subsequent meeting of that Committee in May, and that the report of the May meeting showed that that reserve had been duly recorded and the Committee had confined itself to noting the payment. He asked the Director-General whether the Conference had to take a vote on the Audited Accounts, because he could not in these days vote for anything which seemed to be irregular and symptomatic of taking dollars for granted. He illustrated what the position would have been if salaries had been subject to tax and asked the Director-General whether in the United Nations the figures of salary shown were gross salary or net salary. It was impossible to compare salaries subject to tax, as was the case in his country, with salaries that were tax free.

7. Mr. Ramadier, Chairman of the Governing Body, said that in his capacity as a representative of the Governing Body he would state what had happened in the Financial and Administrative Committee and in the Governing Body. The question of the payment for accrued leave had been raised on two occasions in the Financial and Administrative Committee by the Employers' representative from the United Kingdom, namely at the session preceding the Governing Body in March and again at the session held immediately before this Conference. In reply, the Director-General had given the Financial and Administrative Committee explanations concerning the existence of the claim and the regularity of the payment. Neither the Financial and Administrative Committee nor the Governing Body had pursued the question, and both had unanimously approved the action taken.

8. Sir John Forbes Watson in reply pointed out that unfortunately the report of the May meeting of the Financial and Administrative Committee referred to by Mr. Ramadier had not been circulated to the present meeting. He told the meeting, however, that a reference to the paragraph prior to that quoted by Mr. Ramadier would show that the Employers' representative of the United Kingdom had made an express reserve on this question of accrued leave and had requested the Director-General to consider the taking of steps to have this matter raised at the Conference. When that May report came before the Governing Body, the Governing Body itself did not have before it the Auditor's Report. In these circumstances and pending a statement from the Director-General as to the action he proposed to take on the question of accrued leave, the Employers' representative of the

United Kingdom took no further action at the Governing Body. It was true that subject to that reserve of one member the Financial and Administrative Committee had passed the Audited Accounts, but neither it nor the Governing Body had been called upon to approve the action taken. As the Director-General had not intimated his decision by the time the present Finance Committee of Government Representatives of the Conference held its first meeting here on 11 June, he, Sir John Forbes Watson, had no alternative but to decide to raise this question either in the open Conference or at the confidential meetings of the Finance Committee of Government representatives. In raising the matter before the Finance Committee of Government Representatives, he had hoped that a discussion in the Conference about it would not be necessary and he still hoped that that would be the position.

9. The Director-General said that the point at issue was whether or not the payment made for accrued leave constituted an irregularity. After careful consideration of the question of entitlement, he had come to the conclusion, after looking at all the evidence, that entitlement had been established and he therefore assumed the responsibility, as it was his duty to do so, to authorise the payment. In his view there was no irregularity in the payment. First, on the basis of the Staff Regulations and in accordance with regular practice, he had ascertained that entitlement was established to 72 days of accrued leave for the period in question. Secondly, the payment under Article 18 (3) was made in accordance with the application of this Article which had been followed in recent years. Article 18 (3) of the Financial Regulations provides that debts due in respect of transactions covered by the budget of the previous year, which could not be paid in time to be chargeable to such year owing to unavoidable delay in the presentation or settlement of accounts may, if the Director-General so decides, be paid from the appropriate item of the budget of the year following. The particular payment in question did not relate to the previous year, but to years preceding the previous year. It had, however, been the regular practice to apply Article 18 (3) to cover obligations not only in respect of the immediately previous year but also in respect of the years preceding the immediately previous years. All such payments, indicating the year to which they related, had each year been reported to the Finance Committee of the Governing Body at its spring session and no objection had ever been raised to this application of Article 18 (3), either by the Auditor or by the Finance Committee of the Governing Body. In the third place, in his view there was no duplication of payment after the official's services were terminated. The pension payment, on the one hand, and the payment for accrued leave entitlement, on the other, did not constitute a duplication. An official remaining in the service of the Organisation could not draw a pension. He was only entitled to a pension when his services terminated. In the fourth place, the practice of charging payments in respect of accrued leave to the salaries item of the budget did not involve charging

accrued leave against a particular post ; such payments were charged to the balance in the salaries item remaining as a result of retardation of recruitment or for other reasons. The Director-General said that he had received a letter from the Auditor informing him that he remembered this payment very well as he had studied it carefully and found that this payment was undoubtedly in accordance with the regulations in force. The Auditor said that if he had drawn attention to the payment in his Audit Report this would certainly have been interpreted as an observation of irregularity which would have been exactly contrary to his opinion. Furthermore, he knew that the Director-General would report the payment to the Financial and Administrative Committee. He had been present at the session of the Committee in March when the question was asked with regard to the payment, and as he had recently studied the case he was then prepared to give all explanations about the matter. The Director-General added, in reply to Sir John Forbes Watson, that the Financial Regulations provided that the Conference had to pass the Accounts, and he pointed out that the Accounts had already been passed by the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body as part of the process of bringing the matter forward to the Finance Committee of the Conference and finally to the Conference itself. With regard to the question of the presentation of salaries by the United Nations, he said that the United Nations, which applied the Staff Assessment Plan, showed the gross salaries, as was done in the case of the I.L.O. staff stationed in New York, to whom that plan applied. He thought that the discussion had been healthy, but suggested that the matter might be pursued either in the Governing Body or otherwise if the explanations which he had given were not regarded as satisfactory.

10. The Chairman said that the Committee was grateful to the Chairman of the Governing Body, to Sir John Forbes Watson and to the Director-General for the information they had given the Committee. The Committee appreciated Sir John's motives in raising this point as an evidence of the keen and careful scrutiny to which he subjected the Accounts. He suggested that the report which the Committee would make to the Conference should include a summary of the points raised by Sir John Forbes Watson and the replies given by the Director-General. On this understanding, the Committee might perhaps wish to adopt a resolution which noted that the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body had passed the Audited Accounts and that it recommended under Article 27 of the Financial Regulations that the Conference should pass the Accounts.

11. Sir John Forbes Watson said that he could have gone to the Conference and said all he wanted to say, but he thought that that would not have been fair and therefore he had loyally come before the Committee and put before it his point of view. If the Committee were going to say that the Accounts were passed without reserve, he might feel reluctantly compelled to speak on the matter in the Conference.

12. After further discussion, in which various members of the Committee took part, the Committee reached agreement on the conclusions to be reported to the Conference. These conclusions are as follows.

13. The Committee noted that at the May session of the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body, which had before it the Audited Accounts for 1951 and the Auditor's Report thereon, an Employers' member drew attention to a question he had raised at the March session of the Committee relating to this payment under Article 18 (3) of the Financial Regulations, and requested the Director-General to examine whether steps were necessary to have the matter raised at the Conference.

14. The Committee noted (a) that Article 18 (3) of the Financial Regulations provides that debts which are due in respect of transactions covered by the budget of the previous year which could not be paid in time to be chargeable to such year owing to unavoidable delay in presentation or settlement of accounts may, if the Director-General so decides, be paid from the appropriate item for the budget of the year following, (b) that the Financial Regulations contain no specific provision for paying debts in respect of years preceding the immediately previous year, (c) that beginning in 1947 when the Financial Regulations were amended to include Article 18 (3) a limited number of payments of debts in respect of years preceding the immediately previous year have been made under the provisions of this Article, that such payments have in all cases been reported by the Director-General to the Finance Committee of the Governing Body, and that prior to this case no objection to this application of Article 18 (3) of the Financial Regulations has ever been raised either by the Auditor or in the Finance Committee of the Governing Body or in the Finance Committee of Government Representatives. The Committee therefore considered that in view of these circumstances and in the absence of specific provisions covering such contingencies such payments as the payment to which the attention of the Committee has been drawn have necessarily been made in the manner adopted.

15. The Committee nevertheless recommends that the Conference should request the Governing Body to consider the question of including in the Financial Regulations specific provisions relating to the authorisation of payments of debts in respect of years preceding the immediately previous year.

16. The Committee notes that, subject to paragraph 13 above, the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body has, in accordance with regular procedure, noted the Auditor's Report and passed the Audited Accounts for 1951 and recommends under Article 27 of the Financial Regulations that the Conference should pass the Audited Accounts for 1951.

Geneva, 25 June 1952.

(Signed) PATRICK SHAW,
Chairman and Reporter.

APPENDIX VI

Third Item on the Agenda : Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations

Report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.¹

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Conference set up a Committee of 40 members, 24 from the Government group and eight each from the Employers' and Workers' groups, to consider and report on item III on its agenda: "Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations". Each Government member had one vote and each Employers' and Workers' member three votes.

2. The Committee elected the following officers :

Chairman : Mr. Troclet, Government member, Belgium ;

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Jaccard, Employers' member, Switzerland, and Mr. Cool, Workers' member, Belgium ;

Reporter : Mr. Walker, Government member, United Kingdom.

The Committee held 14 sittings.

3. The Committee had to consider the following questions : annual reports submitted by the States Members on ratified Conventions in pursuance of Article 22 of the Constitution, including their application in non-metropolitan territories ; reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations submitted by the States Members in pursuance of Article 19 of the Constitution ; and information on the submission to the competent authorities of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the 31st, 32nd and 33rd Sessions of the International Labour Conference. The last two of these questions, as well as the reports received too late for examination by the Committee of Experts, were considered by a subcommittee specially set up for this purpose, which reported to the Committee on these points.

II. GENERAL DISCUSSION

4. Before proceeding to deal with its detailed agenda, the Committee held a general discussion during the course of which a number of questions relating to Conventions and Recommendations were considered. These questions are dealt with in the paragraphs which follow.

5. The Committee wishes to point out that Conventions are important international instruments and as such involve the following fundamental and definite obligations on Governments : (a) Governments must submit the Conventions to their competent authorities within 18 months at the latest from the close of the session of the Conference at which they were adopted ; (b) if a Government decides to ratify a Convention it undertakes to take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of the Convention, and to submit annual reports on the application of the Convention by the date requested and in the form prescribed. It was the duty of this Committee to see how far these obligations had been complied with. The fact that these obligations were freely entered into by Governments made it all the more important that they should be scrupulously adhered to, and these obligations should not be lost sight of in the examination of any alternative methods whereby effect might be given to the terms of a Convention.

6. The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that in some countries the subject matter of a number of the Conventions adopted by the Conference was not appropriate for action by the Government or the legislature but fell within the sphere of collective bargaining between employers' and workers' organisations. The question was raised whether it would be appropriate to ratify a Convention in such a case if the provisions of the relevant collective agreements were in accordance with those of the Convention. The Committee recalled that this matter had received very careful consideration by the Conference Delegation on Constitutional Questions in 1946 ; the Delegation had emphasised the consider-

¹ See Second Part, pp. 377, 380.

able difficulties involved and had not recommended the incorporation of a general provision in the Constitution which would permit of ratification on the basis of collective agreements. The Committee at its present session did not express any final view on this question. It considers it appropriate, nevertheless, to draw attention to the fact that the parties to collective agreements are normally free to amend or rescind them, and to point out that on whatever basis a State Member ratifies a Convention, it undertakes the obligation laid down in Article 19, paragraph 5 (*d*), of the Constitution to "take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such Convention".

7. The Committee noted, however, that in 1946 the Conference Delegation had felt that the problem might receive consideration in connection with the adoption of individual Conventions. Since that time, a number of Conventions had been adopted, notably certain of the maritime Conventions adopted at Seattle in 1946, which provided specifically for implementation by means of collective agreements. The Committee noted that in such a case it would be possible to ratify on the basis of such agreements.

8. Another question which the Committee considered was that of States Members which occasionally were unable to ratify certain Conventions although the law and practice in their countries were substantially in conformity with, or even went beyond, the requirements of the Conventions. Sometimes ratification was impossible only because of minor technical discrepancies; in other cases, social policy was conducted on different principles from those contained in Conventions. The view was expressed by some members that consideration should be given to the possibility of devising a system whereby credit could be given to States Members in respect of Conventions with which their national law and practice were in substantial conformity but which for various reasons they were unable to ratify. Attention was drawn to the fact that at its session in 1947 the Conference had decided to establish a procedure whereby, at the request of the States Members concerned, formal note might be taken of cases where reports on unratified Conventions made under Article 19 of the Constitution disclosed that national law and practice were not less favourable than the provisions of the Conventions.¹ The Committee noted that no State Member had so far taken advantage of this procedure.

9. During the discussion the Committee considered the tables originally presented by Sir John Forbes Watson which form Appendix III of the present report. The opinion was expressed by members of all three groups that the tables contained useful factual information but that prudence should be exercised in drawing conclusions from them. The International Labour Office will continue, as it has done since 1945, to bring these tables up to date and to present them each year to the Committee.

¹ See International Labour Conference, 30th Session, Geneva, 1947: *Record of Proceedings*, Appendix III, pp. 388-389.

III. OBLIGATIONS OF STATES MEMBERS IN RESPECT OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10. The Committee of Experts in its report made the comment that this year might be regarded as marking the end of a period of transition and adjustment which began in 1948 when the amendments to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation came into force. These amendments have considerably widened the obligations of States Members to submit reports and information in regard to Conference decisions, since the States Members are now required to supply information on the action which they have taken to submit Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities, and must also supply reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations as requested by the Governing Body, while continuing to furnish each year reports on the Conventions which they have ratified. These new provisions have already had the result of placing at the disposal of the Conference a considerable amount of additional information concerning the effect given by the States Members to its decisions.

11. Certain conditions must be fulfilled, however, if these constitutional requirements are to lead to the results for which they were designed. First, all States Members must fulfil scrupulously the obligations contained in the Constitution to supply within the time limits laid down by the Governing Body, and fixed with a view to facilitating the task of the Governments, the information and reports requested of them in accordance with the Constitution. Secondly, the reports and information supplied should contain all the details required for an adequate appreciation of the extent to which the obligation to submit the texts adopted by the Conference to the competent authorities has been carried out; the law and practice of the States Members in relation to the subject matter of unratified Conventions and of Recommendations; and the degree of conformity by the States Members which have ratified Conventions with the obligations which they have thus freely accepted. Finally, it is essential that the information and reports should be communicated to the representative organisations of employers and workers as laid down in Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Constitution. In connection with this last point, the Committee noted the statement in the report of the Committee of Experts that there were practically no cases where any observations are stated to have been received from employers' and workers' organisations. The Committee considers that the obligation laid down in Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Constitution is not a mere formality but provides a safeguard which could be of considerable value in ensuring in particular the practical application of the provisions of ratified Conventions. The Committee hopes therefore that in all appropriate cases the employers' and workers' organisations concerned will take advantage of the opportunity which the Constitution affords them of participating in the supervision of the implementation of the relevant constitutional obligations.

12. The Committee would have been glad if it could have informed the Conference that all the States Members had scrupulously fulfilled all the constitutional obligations to which reference is made in the two preceding paragraphs. Although there has been an improvement in certain respects as compared with the position last year the Committee unfortunately feels obliged to call the attention of the Conference to the fact that a number of States, despite the repeated appeals addressed to them, still do not comply in all respects with their obligations. The observations which the Committee finds it necessary to make in this respect will be found in the succeeding parts of this report; they relate to ratified Conventions (Part IV), to the submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities (Part V) and to reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations (Part VI). The Committee expresses the hope that the Governments concerned will take the necessary steps to remedy this situation.

IV. REPORTS ON RATIFIED CONVENTIONS

13. As regards ratified Conventions, the percentage of reports received is substantially higher this year than last year; by the time the Committee began its examination of the question 83.9 per cent. of the reports due had been received as compared with 80.1 per cent. at the corresponding time last year. This figure is, however, appreciably below the figures for 1948 and 1950. In spite of the improvement which has taken place, the Committee is unable to regard the position as satisfactory, particularly since certain countries have failed, some for a number of years, to supply any of the reports due. In this connection, reference is made to the table in Appendix II which shows the position in respect of reports received and those still outstanding for the current year. In addition, the Committee found during its examination of the observations of the Committee of Experts that a considerable number of the reports which were received either did not contain sufficient information to enable the Committee of Experts to assess the degree of practical application of ratified Conventions or revealed a number of discrepancies between the national law and practice and the terms of the Conventions concerned.

14. While the Committee finds it necessary to point out these deficiencies, it feels that it would be failing in its duty if it did not draw attention to any happier and more encouraging elements in the situation. In their report, the Committee of Experts noted that on the part of many States there was full and effective application of the Conventions to which they are parties. The Committee gladly calls the attention of the Conference to this fact which it feels should not become obscured by the critical comments which, unfortunately, it is compelled to make so often. The Committee also wishes to bring to the notice of the Conference the fact which emerged both from the report of the Committee of Experts and from the information supplied by Governments during the Conference that in a number of cases concrete action had been taken to

eliminate some of the discrepancies to which attention had been called. Appendix I (Observations and Information concerning Annual Reports on Ratified Conventions) contains particulars with regard to certain countries which have taken action of this nature. The Committee has been much encouraged by these cases and earnestly hopes that other Governments concerned will also take early steps to bring about a state of harmony between the Conventions which they have ratified and the situation in their countries.

15. As in previous years, the Committee devoted several sittings to a detailed examination of the observations concerning reports supplied on ratified Conventions, and gave particular attention to cases where discrepancies appear to exist between the national legislation and practice, on the one hand, and the provisions of ratified Conventions on the other. Several Governments submitted their replies in writing to the observations of the Committee of Experts. The Committee wishes to recommend this procedure which has the advantage that it makes possible a more systematic study of the information supplied by Governments and facilitates the identification of cases where the application of ratified Conventions may be considered as satisfactory on the basis of the new data available. It is pointed out, however, that in order to gain the maximum advantage from this procedure it is necessary that the information should be furnished at the earliest possible stage.

16. The Committee wishes to express its gratitude to the representatives of the Governments who were good enough to come before it, either to supplement their written replies, or to supply orally the additional information it had requested.¹ The particulars given by these Governments and the Committee's findings in this respect are given in Appendix I (Parts A and B). It regrets that in a certain number of cases the replies received are still insufficient. It would be grateful to the Committee of Experts if it could take into account the information supplied to the Conference when it examines, during its next session, the next reports concerning ratified Conventions.

17. The Committee also considered the observations made by the Committee of Experts on the application of Conventions in non-metropolitan territories. The Committee was glad to have the opportunity of hearing from a number of the Governments concerned. The statements made and the Committee's findings are contained in Appendix I, Part C.

V. INFORMATION CONCERNING THE SUBMISSION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES

18. The Committee was seriously concerned to note that a relatively large number of Governments have not as yet fulfilled the constitutional obligation of submitting to the competent authorities the Conventions and Recommendations which the Committee had

¹ With the exception of Peru, all the States Members concerned gave the additional information requested.

under examination. In view of the misunderstanding which may exist on the part of some Governments as to the precise nature of these obligations, the Committee considers it necessary to recall, as did the Committee of Experts, that "Conventions and Recommendations must be submitted to the competent authorities in all cases, and not only when the ratification of a Convention appears possible". It appeared to the Committee that there had been a misunderstanding on the part of certain States as to the obligation to submit Recommendations to the competent authority. The Committee therefore wishes to draw attention to the fact that the obligation contained in the Constitution applies equally to Recommendations and to Conventions. The Committee is aware of the difficulties which may arise from the constitutional practice of some Governments which as a rule submit to the legislature only concrete proposals for the adoption of legislation. It is also aware that, in some cases, Governments may experience practical difficulty in taking the action required by the Constitution within the period of one year or even the exceptional period of 18 months because of the consultations among Government departments which are usually necessary, and also because of the time required in the case of some countries for consultation of employers' and workers' organisations. The Committee nevertheless considers it necessary to point out—

(a) that the Constitution provides that all Conventions and Recommendations must be submitted to the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action, within a period of one year or 18 months;

(b) that the practice of a number of States Members is not yet in full conformity with this obligation; and

(c) that it is, therefore, necessary that the States Members concerned should take the appropriate corrective action at the earliest possible moment.

19. The second question examined by the Committee relates to the nature of the competent authority. As some confusion seems to continue to exist in various States concerning the nature of these authorities, the Committee recalls, as had the Committee of Experts and the Conference Committee, that the authors of the Constitution certainly intended the competent national authority to which Conventions and Recommendations should be submitted to be normally the legislature, *i.e.*, the body which is empowered to adopt legislation for the purpose of applying the provisions of Conventions and Recommendations. In this connection the Committee wishes to draw attention to another constitutional obligation. It is clearly stated in the Constitution that States Members have an obligation to give to the Director-General of the International Labour Office particulars of the authorities regarded as competent and of the action taken by them. The Committee was greatly handicapped in its study of the question before it by the lack of precise information from Governments in regard to these matters. It, therefore, draws the atten-

tion of the Conference to this obligation prescribed by the Constitution and urges all Governments to comply strictly with it by forwarding to the Office the information which the Constitution requires. By this means the Committee of Experts and the Conference Committee would be placed in a position to evaluate which States Members have fully complied with their obligations, and to discover to what difficulties the strict fulfilment of the obligation to submit Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities within the period prescribed by the Constitution may give rise.

20. Last year already the Committee had been of the opinion that, since Article 19, paragraph 5 (b), of the Constitution provides that Conventions must be brought before the authority within whose competence the matter lies "for the enactment of legislation or other action", this provision seemed clearly intended to bring about a decision on the part of the legislator. The Committee of Experts noted this year that some Governments do not merely submit Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities but also make proposals on measures to be taken regarding the texts in question. The Experts also stated that they "would be glad if all the States Members would accompany the submission to the competent authorities with proposals on the effect to be given to the Conventions and Recommendations laid before these authorities". The Committee endorses the suggestion made by the Committee of Experts on this point and hopes that the States Members of the Organisation will do all in their power to submit to their competent authorities concrete proposals within the relevant periods provided for by the Constitution for the submission of texts to such authorities.

21. The Committee also examined the special case of federal States, where the fulfilment of the constitutional obligations raises more complex problems as the texts adopted by the Conference lie within the competence either of the central Government or of the authorities of the constituent States, or of both. The Committee recalls in this respect that it had already expressed in 1951 the desire that the Governments of federal States be good enough to supply information on the application of the constitutional provision calling for effective arrangements to be made between the federal Government and the Government of the constituent States so that Conventions and Recommendations may be submitted within the time limit to the appropriate authorities for the adoption of legislation or other action. The Committee would be glad if the States Members concerned would be good enough to supply full and precise information as to the nature and scope of the arrangements made in accordance with Article 19 (7) (b) (i) and (ii) of the Constitution.

22. The Committee of Experts attaches to its report two appendices, one dealing with ratified Conventions and the other dealing with unratified Conventions and Recommendations. The Committee considers that it would be useful if the Committee of Experts would

also include in its report a third appendix indicating, country by country, cases of failure to comply with the obligations contained in Article 19 of the Constitution, in regard to submission of Conventions and Recommendations to the competent authorities, or cases where further information would appear to be required. The Committee also discussed the possibility of supplementing this additional appendix by a tabular statement which would show the position in summary form. It appeared, however, that this suggestion would give rise to certain difficulties. The Committee nevertheless expressed its interest in having at its disposal such additional documentation which might help to clarify the issues involved and suggests that the attention of the Committee of Experts might be drawn to the matter.

VI. REPORTS ON UNRATIFIED CONVENTIONS AND ON RECOMMENDATIONS

23. The Committee was greatly perturbed by the omission of a considerable number of Governments to send in the reports requested by the Governing Body on unratified Conventions and Recommendations. The Committee noted that at the time the Committee of Experts met only 205 reports had been received out of a total of 470 due. Although a small number of additional reports had been received up to the time of the meeting of the Subcommittee appointed to study these reports, the total received was still only 213. This is a situation which the Committee could only regard with grave disquiet. The Committee also observed that many of the reports received were inadequate to enable conclusions to be drawn as to the position of the law and practice in the countries concerned in relation to the subject matter of the Conventions and Recommendations which the Governing Body had selected. In this connection the Committee noted that the Governing Body had decided to reduce the number of texts on which reports will come before the Committee of Experts and the Conference Committee next year. The Committee, like the Committee of Experts, hopes that this fact, which will reduce substantially the burden of reporting, together with the simplified form of report which will be used in future, will call forth a substantially better response from Governments. Moreover, the Committee feels itself compelled in the light of the above remarks to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that the obligation to render reports on unratified Conventions and Recommendations when so requested by the Governing Body is specifically contained in Article 19, paragraphs 5(e), 6(d) and (as regards federal States) 7(b) (iv) and (v), of the Constitution. The Committee therefore wishes to impress upon all Governments the necessity of sending, within the time limit laid down by the Governing Body, full and complete reports to the International Labour Office in conformity with this obligation.

24. In regard to the examination of the reports submitted by Governments, the Committee recognises the difficulty which the

Committee of Experts found in drawing conclusions from the reports. The Committee considered that the difficulty of drawing satisfactory conclusions was aggravated by the wide variations which existed in the quality of the reports received. Nevertheless, the Committee is particularly grateful to the Committee of Experts for the effort it has made to arrive at general conclusions, in so far as the contents of the reports received permitted, concerning the effect given to Conventions and Recommendations by the various States Members and concerning the possibilities of ratification of the two Conventions on which reports were due last year—the Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934, and the Employment Service Convention, 1948. The Committee approves in general the conclusions of the Experts and finds that there is no need to modify these conclusions on the basis of the contents of the reports which were received too late to be examined by the Experts. The Committee noted, however, with interest that the Government of the United States had submitted very detailed reports on the Employment Service Convention and Recommendation adopted in 1948. The information supplied indicates that effect has been given to all the provisions of the Convention and most of those of the Recommendation, and that the President of the United States has recently submitted the Employment Service Convention to the Senate with a view to its ratification. The Committee also noted that the Government of Uruguay, which had included in a General Note on unratified Conventions, communicated to the Office, information concerning the Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934, and the Employment Service Convention, 1948, has submitted reports on these two Conventions which contain some supplementary data. Reports have also been supplied by this Government on the Unemployment Provision Recommendation, 1934, on the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1935, and on the Employment Service Recommendation, 1948.

25. The Committee has taken note of the suggestion made in their report by the Committee of Experts that it would be a matter of convenience and interest if any State which has formally communicated to the Office its acceptance of a Recommendation and subsequently finds it necessary to cease to apply the provisions in whole or in part would bring this fact to the notice of the Office. The Committee agrees with this suggestion, which it commends to the Governments of the States Members of the Organisation in the hope that they will find it possible to adopt it.

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26. The Committee wishes, in conclusion, to express its deep appreciation of the work done by the Committee of Experts. The Committee is conscious of the extremely heavy and increasing burden of work which falls upon the Experts on the occasion of their annual meeting. This increased load, which arises both from the constantly growing number of annual

reports which are due on ratified Conventions and also from the extended obligations laid down in Article 19 of the Constitution, is reflected in the work of the Conference Committee itself. That the Committee is able to discharge the responsibilities laid upon it is in no small measure due to the thorough and accurate preparatory work which is done by the Committee of Experts in circumstances of growing difficulty. The Committee knows that the Committee of Experts already enjoys, as it has done for many years, a special position of prestige and esteem in the International

Labour Organisation. Nevertheless, the Committee feels that it is appropriate to emphasise once again the high value of the work which the Experts so willingly undertake and so effectively perform.

Geneva, 23 June 1952.

(Signed) L.-E. TROCLET,
Chairman.

R. M. WALKER,
Reporter.

APPENDIX I

OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CONCERNING ANNUAL REPORTS
ON RATIFIED CONVENTIONS (ARTICLE 22 OF THE CONSTITUTION)

OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRIES

<i>Afghanistan :</i>	<i>Iraq :</i>
Part A.	Part A.
	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 19, 41, 42.
<i>Argentina :</i>	<i>Italy :</i>
Part A.	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 4, 6, 26.
	Part C.
<i>Australia :</i>	<i>Luxembourg :</i>
Part C.	Part B.—Conv. No. 14.
<i>Austria :</i>	<i>Mexico :</i>
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 4, 5, 33, 45, 81.	Part A.
	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 13, 22, 26, 62, 63, 87.
<i>Belgium :</i>	<i>Netherlands :</i>
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 42, 56, 58.	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 17, 63, 88.
Part C.	Part C.
<i>Brazil :</i>	<i>New Zealand :</i>
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 3, 5, 52.	Part B.—Conv. No. 88.
<i>Chile :</i>	<i>Norway :</i>
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 2, 3, 11, 17, 24, 35, 36.	Part B.—Conv. No. 88.
<i>Colombia :</i>	<i>Peru :</i>
Part A.	General Report, paragraph 16.
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26.	<i>Poland :</i>
<i>Cuba :</i>	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 2, 77, 78, 79.
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 8, 26, 33.	<i>Sweden :</i>
<i>Czechoslovakia :</i>	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 19, 20, 63, 87.
Part A.	<i>Switzerland :</i>
<i>Denmark :</i>	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 6, 62, 81.
Part A.	<i>Turkey :</i>
<i>Dominican Republic :</i>	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 2, 14, 34.
Part A.	<i>United Kingdom :</i>
<i>Egypt :</i>	Part C.
Part B.—Conv. No. 63.	<i>Uruguay :</i>
<i>Finland :</i>	Part A.
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 32, 52, 81.	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 2, 3, 13, 17, 24, 25, 26.
<i>France :</i>	<i>Venezuela :</i>
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 3, 4, 33, 41.	Part A.
Part C.	Part B.—Conv. No. 3.
<i>Greece :</i>	<i>Yugoslavia :</i>
Part B.—Conv. Nos. 1, 41.	Part B.—Conv. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 13, 17, 19, 27.
<i>India :</i>	
Part B.—Conv. No. 89.	

A. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING
CERTAIN COUNTRIES

A certain number of Governments were good enough to reply to the general observations of the Committee of Experts (Appendix I, Part A, of its report). The statements made in this connection as well as the Committee's conclusions thereon are given below :

Afghanistan. The Government sent a communication confirming the contents of the reports sent to the Office,

which were summarised in Report III (Part I) : *Summary of Reports on Ratified Conventions* (Article 22 of the Constitution).

Argentina. The Government representative explained that during the revolutionary period just experienced in Argentina his country had based itself on the I.L.O. programme, and was not backward on any fundamental question. The only default which had occurred was in the communication of detailed statistical information and of the texts of legislation. The Committee

of Experts had pointed out that the reports supplied this year by the Argentine Government were better than those of previous years. Now that the basic task of the revolutionary period had been fully carried out, the Government would give its whole attention to the fulfilment of its formal obligations in a more satisfactory manner, and the reports to be supplied for the following and for subsequent years would reply to the observations made by the Committee of Experts. However, it should be noted that Argentina was in default only with regard to matters of form, since the basic obligations of the Government were being discharged fully.

The Committee took note of this statement. It expressed the hope that the Government would take appropriate measures to fulfil international obligations freely undertaken by it, and that the next reports would contain detailed information on the full application of ratified Conventions and, in particular, on the points mentioned by the Committee of Experts, which had drawn attention to a number of discrepancies still existing between the terms of these Conventions and the national legislation.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee noted that on the whole the reports supplied by Colombia reproduce the information furnished last year; however, in the case of some Conventions and in particular of some maritime Conventions more detailed information was included in the reports.

The Committee took note of the progress accomplished in the drafting of the reports but drew the attention of the Government to the following points:

1. The report forms approved by the Governing Body include a certain number of general questions (legislation, statistics, authorities entrusted with supervising the application of the legislative provisions and regulations, etc.) together with questions dealing more particularly with the application of certain provisions of the Conventions. It is indispensable that the reports supplied by Governments should contain replies to each of these questions. If this is not done neither the Committee of Experts nor the Conference Committee can form an exact opinion of the degree of application of ratified Conventions.

2. The report forms contain one particular question by which Governments are asked to reply to the observations and requests for information made by the above two Committees. It is also indispensable that Governments should reply in all cases to the questions asked by these Committees.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Government of Colombia would take account of these general observations in the reports to be supplied in future. It also pointed out that once again the reports supplied for this year were received too late to be examined by the Committee of Experts. Since in most cases the contents of these reports were identical to those of the reports for the previous year the Committee drew attention to the observations made last year by the Conference Committee with regard to a certain number of ratified Conventions. Moreover, it believed that it would be advisable to refer the reports supplied this year by the Colombian Government to the next meeting of the Committee of Experts.

A Government representative stated that the Government recognised that it was in default with regard to the timely communication of its reports on ratified Conventions, but this was due mainly to political difficulties experienced by the country during recent years. The fact that the reports supplied were not more detailed was also due to these difficulties.

The Committee expressed the wish that the reports supplied next year on ratified Conventions would reach the Office prior to the meeting of the Committee of Experts and would clearly show the position with regard to the actual application of these Conventions.

The Government representative stated that the wish expressed by members of the Committee would be communicated to the Government and he would do everything necessary to ensure that his Government carried out the obligations which it had undertaken. He could assure the Committee that the Conventions ratified by Colombia were applied to the largest possible extent.

Czechoslovakia. As the 24 reports due by this country were received only in the course of the Conference, the Committee found it impossible to examine them.

It decided therefore to refer them to the Committee of Experts for examination at its next session.

Denmark. A Government representative stated that the Conventions ratified by Denmark were applied scrupulously. His Government desired to fulfil with equal care its obligation to submit detailed reports.

The Committee took due note of this statement and expressed the hope that future reports would contain full particulars in answer to the various questions contained in the report forms.

Dominican Republic. The Government representative expressed regret at his Government's failure to submit its reports for the period 1950-1951. This omission should, however, in no case be interpreted as implying any lack of attachment to the work of the I.L.O. on the part of the Dominican Republic.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the sincere hope that the next reports would be received within the time limit prescribed by the Governing Body.

*Iraq.*¹ A Government representative stated in reply to the Committee's observations² on the reports which had been received too late for examination by the Committee of Experts that his Government was doing its best to ensure the application of ratified Conventions. Some of these were already applied and the remainder would be implemented shortly, since the labour legislation of the country was to be redrafted within the next few months with the assistance of experts sent by the I.L.O. The observations made by the Committee would then be taken into account.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the hope that this technical assistance would help to bring national legislation into full harmony with the provisions of ratified Conventions; the Committee also hoped that the next reports would reach the Office before the meeting of the Committee of Experts so that the latter might have an opportunity of examining them.

Mexico. The Committee held a prolonged discussion on the measures taken by Mexico to apply the Conventions it has ratified. The Government had been good enough to reply in writing to the general observation made by the Committee of Experts and to explain once more that, under Article 133 of the Mexican Constitution, any Convention ratified was automatically converted into a national law.

Some members expressed the opinion that, while such automatic conversion of the terms of a ratified Convention into national law appeared practicable in the case of negative Conventions, i.e., those which prohibited certain practices, the same did not seem to apply in the case of Conventions which contained provisions for the taking of positive action such as, for instance, the definition in the national legislation of the person responsible for the marking of weights on packages (Convention No. 27), or the maintenance of a system of inspection (Convention No. 62), or the definition of sanctions in the case of non-application of the provisions contained in a number of Conventions.

The Mexican Government representative assured the Committee that a labour inspectorate was in fact in existence in his country and that sanctions were imposed for breaches of the provisions of the legislation. His Government would consider with care the observations made in the present Committee and would send in future more detailed and clearer reports.

The Committee took note of these assurances and decided that the explanations given by the Government in reply to the observations made by the Committee of Experts (see below, Part B) should be communicated to the Experts for further consideration.

Uruguay. The Government representative submitted to the Committee in writing a detailed statement on the steps taken by his Government to give effect not only to ratified but also to unratified Conventions. All the annual reports had been despatched to the Office by the time requested. However, in view of the late date at which the report of the Committee of Experts had been received in Montevideo, he was unable to reply to all of the observations made in this document and the relevant information would be contained in his Government's next reports.

Several members of the Committee drew attention to instances where Conventions ratified by Uruguay a number of years ago had not yet been given even

¹ Reports examined by the Subcommittee.

² See below, under Conventions Nos. 19, 41 and 42.

¹ Reports examined by the Subcommittee.

partial effect. It was pointed out, on the other hand, that the constitutional changes which had taken place recently in that country had delayed the adoption of the legislative measures required to achieve full harmony with some of the Conventions ratified by Uruguay.

The Committee decided to refer the supplementary information received from the Government to the Committee of Experts for study along with the reports for the current period. It expressed the unanimous view that Uruguay, which was a highly developed and democratic country, would find it possible in the near future to take the measures required to achieve full harmony between its national laws and practice and the Conventions to which it was a party.

Venezuela. The Committee discussed at some length the question of the communication of reports to the representative organisations of employers and workers, as provided for in Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Constitution. The Government representative pointed out that the texts of Conventions had been published in the Labour Review so as to acquaint the representative organisations with the terms of the Conventions covered by the Government's reports. The texts of these reports had since been communicated to these organisations as well. A new service to ensure relations with the I.L.O. had recently been set up in the Ministry of Labour and two of its members had just completed a period of study at the Office and had thus become acquainted at close hand with the problems with which they would have to deal in future. He was confident that with this administrative reorganisation his Government's reports not only would reach the Office in good time but would also be communicated to the representative industrial organisations; the names of these organisations would be given in future reports.

Employers' and Workers' members of the Committee emphasised the importance of this constitutional obligation, which was designed to ensure that the legislation in the various countries not only was in full conformity with the provisions of ratified Conventions but was also applied in practice.

The Committee took due note, therefore, of the assurances given by the Government representative and expressed the hope that the reports would in future be communicated without delay to the representative organisations.

B. OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION REGARDING CERTAIN CONVENTIONS

The Committee received written or oral statements from a number of Governments in reply to the various observations made by the Committee of Experts on the annual reports received from these countries (Appendix I, Parts B and C, of their report). The contents of these statements are given below, Convention by Convention, together with the Committee's comments. The Committee decided not to hear Governments concerning questions on which the Experts had merely called for the inclusion of additional information, such as statistical data and particulars on points of detail, in the Governments' next reports. This method was adopted purely for practical reasons and it is hoped that Governments will reply in their next reports to all the observations made by the Experts. Subject to this reservation and to the findings noted below, the Committee endorsed the observations of the Committee of Experts.

Convention No. 1 : Hours of Work (Industry), 1919.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next report, in addition to the information requested in the above general observation, a reply to the observation made by this Committee in 1951, which read as follows :

"It [the Committee] wishes to draw attention, however, to the fact that chauffeurs are excepted from the hours of work provisions under Colombian legislation although expressly included in the scope of the Convention (Article 1). The Committee would also be glad to hear whether any provision has been made regarding the notification of rest periods and the keeping of registers on additional hours worked (Article 8(1)). Finally, the Committee hopes that the

Government will be in a position to supply next year a list of processes classified as necessarily continuous (Article 7)."

Greece. The Government representative stated that the Ministers of Labour and Communications had prepared a decree which would ensure the progressive application of the eight-hour day to all railway workers. The workers' organisations had been consulted and were in agreement with this new decree ; it had been submitted to the Council of State, signed by the King, and would shortly be published. The regulations relating to the conditions of work of this category of workers would be published at the same time, and the promise made last year to the Committee would thus be carried out, together with the wish expressed by the Committee.

The Committee took note of this information with interest and expressed its satisfaction at the measures taken by the Government to ensure the full application of the Convention.

Convention No. 2 : Unemployment, 1919.

Chile. A Government representative stated that measures had been taken with a view to promulgating a supreme decree on unemployment and he hoped that this decree would shortly be published.

The Committee took due note of this information.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next report, in addition to the information requested in the above general observation, a reply to the observation made by this Committee in 1951, which reads as follows :

"The Committee hopes that, at an early date, the Government will be able to report progress regarding the functioning of the new department and will take steps, in particular, to ensure compliance with the provisions of Article 2 of the Convention as regards : (1) the establishment of a system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority ; (2) the setting up of advisory committees including representatives of employers and workers ; and (3) the co-ordination of the operations of public, private and free employment agencies."

Poland. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

As has already been pointed out many times in the reports, there is no unemployment in the country and the problem of unemployment benefits does not arise. Thus, with regard to benefits under the unemployment insurance scheme, the application of the Act of 6 July 1923 which was mentioned by the Committee of Experts does not arise, although this Act, which relates to the extension to foreigners of the legal provisions respecting benefits in the case of industrial accidents, old age, death and unemployment, is still in force and is applied with regard to benefits under the other branches of insurance.

The Committee took note of this information.

Turkey. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

Under Act No. 4837 (as modified by Act No. 5562 of 1950) regional and local advisory committees are only provided for by the above amending Act. According to this legislation the functions, competence and composition of these committees, as well as the indemnities to be paid to their members, will be laid down in an administrative regulation.

Before preparing any legislation or regulations the Ministry of Labour consults, as a matter of principle, the workers' and employers' organisations as well as the Federations of Trade and Industry. These opinions are collected, studied and correlated and it is only on the basis of this concrete documentation that the Ministry elaborates a first draft which thereafter follows the normal course before taking final form. In the case of regulations, these are submitted for advice to the other ministries concerned ; any necessary modifications are made in the draft, which is then sent to the Council of State for advice. The latter examines the draft regulations from the point of view of their conformity with the legislation in force and, with its consent, the Council of Ministers decides on the final form of the draft and orders its entry into force.

In the case of the regulations concerning regional and local advisory committees, this procedure is being followed and the Council of State is about to complete

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

its examination. There remains, therefore, only a last formality to be complied with before these committees may begin their activities.

The Committee took note of this information.

Uruguay. The Government representative stated that the supplementary information requested by the Committee of Experts would be given in the next report.

The Committee took due note of this statement.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

In the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia (F.P.R.Y.), the organisation of the employment service is governed at present by the Decree of 29 March 1952 respecting the organisation of the employment service. This Decree repeals the Decree of 10 September 1948 concerning the service and direction of labour. The new Decree provides that employment service will be provided by local employment offices attached to the district and urban people's committees. It also provides for the constitution in each of the Federated People's Republics of a central employment office, attached to the Public Health and Social Policy Board of the Government of the People's Republic, and entrusted with special duties.

In accordance with the new Decree the local employment offices receive demands for employment as well as offers of employment from undertakings, public establishments, co-operative or social organisations and private employers in need of workers and employees. On the basis of the vacancies notified, the offices direct workers and employees to the vacant posts in accordance with their aptitude and qualifications. In addition, under special provisions these offices issue permits for the payment of benefits to temporarily unemployed persons, transport tickets free or at reduced rates to persons taking up employment in another locality, etc.

The central employment offices of the Federated People's Republics are in particular required to follow manpower developments in their respective People's Republics, to co-ordinate the work of the local offices in their territories and to co-operate with the competent economic and social organisations with a view to the hiring of workers and employees in as satisfactory a manner as possible and particularly with a view to the hiring of women, disabled persons and other persons of limited working capacity.

The local employment offices are directed by managing committees composed of two representatives of the People's Committee and of two representatives of the trade union committee of the locality (or of the district). Each People's Committee is set up by a district (or urban) council which represents all the citizens of the district (or town) and by a producers' committee which represents the workers employed in production, transport and trade, *i.e.*, which is composed of the representatives of the workers' groups managing the economic undertakings of the State and of representatives of the co-operative and social organisations. The representatives of the People's Committee who must belong to the managing committee of the local employment service are, therefore, nominated regularly by the members of the producers' council ; effect is thus given to Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Convention. It should be mentioned that the managing committee of the employment office not only carries out the consulting functions but manages the office as well.

The employment service is entirely free of charge for all persons using it. The funds needed for the administration of this service come from the budgets of the governmental bodies to which the offices are attached.

In virtue of the new Decree on the organisation of the employment service, there have been set up so far, in addition to the central offices of each of the six Republics, 108 local employment offices, *i.e.*, 50 in the People's Republic of Serbia ; 17 in the People's Republic of Croatia ; 19 in the People's Republic of Slovenia ; 7 in the People's Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina ; 11 in the People's Republic of Macedonia ; 4 in the People's Republic of Montenegro.

There are no private employment offices in Yugoslavia.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 3 : Maternity Protection, 1919.

Brazil. The Government representative stated that his Government had taken careful note of the Committee of Experts' remarks. The amount of maternity benefits paid was, according to the data available

here, 3,600,000 United States dollars ; the duration of benefits was six weeks before and six weeks after confinement and could be prolonged if necessary ; welfare funds existed for all the branches of activity covered by the Convention.

The Committee took note of this information.

Chile. A Government representative stated that the Bill mentioned by the Committee of Experts had been delayed in Parliament for two years and was finally approved one month ago. This brought about a complete reform in accordance with the principles of the I.L.O. and to the advantage of the workers. At present the legislation covered not only women workers but also the wives of workers, and provided for medical and cash benefits during the six weeks prior to and following confinement, as well as during the nursing period. The legislation of Chile provided that all industries must set up crèches where mothers could nurse their children during the periods prescribed by the medical authorities and not during the periods provided for in the Convention. This solution had seemed preferable, but the Government had taken into account the observations made by the Committee of Experts ; women workers would be allowed the choice of nursing their children either during the periods laid down by the doctors or during the hours set forth in the Convention.

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next report, in addition to the information requested in the above general observation, a reply to the observation made by this Committee in 1951, which "drew the attention of the Government to the following discrepancies between the national legislation and the provisions of the Convention :

(a) Section 238 of Chapter V of Book VIII of Part I of the Labour Code authorises a period of eight weeks' leave in all ; this leave is granted on presentation of a medical certificate and must begin at least two weeks before confinement. The Convention provides for six weeks' leave before and after confinement.

(b) The Convention provides that, during the period of maternity leave, benefits shall be paid out of public funds or provided out of a system of insurance, whereas the Labour Code lays down that the employer is responsible for the payment of the woman's wages.

The Committee would be glad if the Government would take steps at an early date to remove from its legislation these discrepancies which had persisted for a number of years."

France. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

It is correct that Section 54 of Book II of the Labour Code contains two different provisions concerning nursing mothers according to whether or not the employer puts at the disposal of the worker special accommodation for nursing mothers.

Women nursing their children in an undertaking which does not contain such special accommodation are allowed for this purpose one hour per day during the hours of work, divided into two breaks of 30 minutes.

In undertakings where the employer puts such accommodation at the disposal of his workers or employees inside or near the place of work, and where this accommodation meets the requirements laid down by the Administrative Regulations of 11 March 1926, the nursing break is reduced from 30 to 20 minutes. This latter case is not detrimental to the women concerned, as the shorter time granted them is fully compensated for by the elimination of the journey and by the hygienic conditions which are particularly favourable.

The Committee took note of this information.

Uruguay. The Government representative stated that the national legislation not only provided for four months' maternity leave with full pay as required by the Convention but two additional months, if necessary. On the other hand, it was difficult to understand the observation of the Committee of Experts concerning the means of financing maternity benefits since, while the Convention provided for a contribution on the part of the worker, the national legislation put the burden of financing entirely on the shoulders of the employer ;

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

it appeared therefore that the legislation was more advantageous to the women workers on this point than the Convention. The next reports would contain supplementary information on the application of this Convention.

The Committee took note of this information.

Venezuela. The Government representative stated that the provisions of the Convention were applied through Section 109 of the Labour Act which provided that upon presentation of a medical certificate women cease work during six weeks before and six weeks after confinement; they received a benefit which was sufficient for their maintenance and that of the child. This provision went actually further than the terms of the Convention. His Government was attempting at present to extend social security to all the industrial centres and was studying its extension to other regions where it was not as yet being applied. The provisions concerning maternity protection were in full conformity with the Convention and were already in effect in many areas and for many workers. The national legislation favoured the conclusion of collective agreements which contained special benefits for pregnant women on maternity leave; in many cases the benefits were equal to the wages received by the women concerned.

The Committee took note of this information.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

As regards the observation of the Committee of Experts concerning the qualifying period required for entitlement to benefit during maternity leave in accordance with the Social Insurance Act, it should be noted that this qualifying period is provided for in a majority of national legislations where this risk is covered by a social insurance system. The draft of the new Convention on minimum standards of social security also provides such a qualifying period. The qualifying period laid down in the legislation is solely intended to prevent abusive practices. Further, the period in question is not two years as stated by the Committee of Experts but only six months of uninterrupted employment or 18 months of previous employment with interruptions during the two years immediately preceding the maternity leave. It should be added that women who do not satisfy the qualifying period laid down in the Social Insurance Act receive also appropriate aid in cash through a general public assistance scheme.

As regards the entitlement of a pregnant woman to benefit from the date of a medical certificate estimating the time of confinement, regardless of a possible mistake on the part of the doctor, attention should be drawn to the provisions of Section 1, paragraph 5, of the Decree of 14 October 1949 respecting the protection of pregnant women and nursing mothers in employment, according to which the employer is required to grant maternity leave on the basis of a doctor's certificate estimating confinement to take place within the next 45 days, as well as to the provisions of Section 2 of the same Decree according to which a woman on maternity leave is entitled to a benefit during the whole of this leave. In practice, the woman receives a benefit during the whole of her leave even if the doctor was mistaken in estimating the date of confinement. The maternity benefit, in cases where the confinement takes place after the estimated period of 45 days, is paid by the sickness insurance scheme in accordance with Internal Instructions of the former Ministry of Labour of the F.P.R.Y.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 4 : Night Work (Women), 1919.

Austria. The Government stated in writing that a Federal Bill concerning regulations relating to hours of work (Hours of Work Act) was submitted to the National Council on 18 November 1950 and had also been discussed by the competent committee. Since up to now no agreement has been reached among the conflicting party interests with regard to some essential points, it has not been possible for the National Council to adopt the Bill.

In addition a Government representative explained to the Committee that the revised Convention No. 89¹ was applied in practice, but that legislation which had been imposed on the country during the occupation in 1939 and which was still in force contained numer-

ous exceptions permitting night work by women. These exceptions required, however, the authorisation of the inspection service, which was refused in most cases. A Bill was to be put before Parliament to ensure full legislative conformity with the provisions of the Convention.

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee refers to the statement made by a Government representative in 1951 to this Committee to the effect that a Bill was shortly to be submitted to the legislature prohibiting night work for all women or in respect of all kinds of work. As this year's report makes no mention of the adoption of this new legislation the Committee requests the Government to take at the earliest possible moment, if it has not already done so, such measures as may be needed to ensure full conformity between the provisions of the Convention and those of the national legislation. The Committee would be glad to have further information on this point.

France. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

The Committee of Experts pointed out that, although Section 22 (A) of Book II of the Labour Code, which provides for the possibility of suspending the prohibition of night work in undertakings where work concerning national defence is carried out and where a shift system operates, is in accordance with Article 5 of the revised Convention (No. 89), this Section does not provide for prior consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

It should be stated that this omission has no unfavourable effect in practice since no important measures relating to labour regulations are taken in France without consulting with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

The Government representative added that the relevant chapter of the Labour Code was being completely modified and his country intended to ratify Convention No. 89. The consultations with employers' and workers' organisations provided for in Article 5 of Convention No. 89 took place automatically. Once this revised Convention had been ratified his Government was, of course, free to denounce Conventions Nos. 4 and 41, if it deemed such action necessary. The Government had decided to make the necessary legislative changes at a later date, probably next year.

The Committee took due note of this statement and expressed the hope that full legislative conformity would be achieved in due course.

Italy. The Government stated in writing that it had decided to apply in full once again Act No. 653 of 26 April 1939 by refusing all requests for the authorisation for night work by women, except in the case of *force majeure* and in the case of undertakings dealing with raw materials subject to rapid deterioration; these cases were in full conformity with the provisions of the Convention.

The Government representative added that an Act, No. 1630 of 7 December 1951, had been adopted as a consequence of the observations made by the Committee of Experts and the Conference Committee.

The Committee took note of this information with interest and expressed its satisfaction at the measures taken by the Government to ensure full application of the Convention.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

As indicated in the report for the period 1950-1951, steps have been taken to adapt the provisions of the national legislation to the terms of the Convention. These steps include the insertion in the draft Decree concerning labour relations, prepared last year, of provisions which are in conformity with the Convention. It has, however, not yet been possible to promulgate this Decree since the labour legislation as a whole is at present under revision with a view to its adaptation to the new conditions created in the economy because of the introduction of the new economic system. The obligations of the Convention will be taken into account during the final drafting of the new regulations in question.

The Government representative added that the new economic system established in his country had ren-

¹ Convention No. 89 was ratified by Austria in 1950 and no report was due on it for the period under review.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

dered necessary a complete reorganisation of its social laws and he hoped that the Government would be able to inform the Committee next year of the adoption of the relevant regulations.

The Committee took note of this information with interest and expressed the hope that next year the national legislation will have been brought into full conformity with the Convention.

Convention No. 5 : Minimum Age (Industry), 1919.

Austria. The Government stated in writing that the Federal Act of 13 February 1952 had eliminated the small discrepancies between the Federal Act of 1 July 1948 concerning the employment of children and young persons and the requirements of the Convention; the provision concerning the keeping of registers of young persons employed in industrial undertakings in Austria was now applied without any exceptions, as required by the Convention.

The Committee took note of this information with satisfaction.

Brazil. The Government representative stated that the legislation relating to the minimum age for admission to industrial employment (Article 2) applied to public undertakings. The same was true of the duty of the employer to keep a list of all persons under 16 years of age in his employ (Article 4).

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

Convention No. 6 : Night Work of Young Persons (Industry), 1919.

Italy. The Government stated in writing that it would supply in its next report full information concerning the application of Act No. 63 of 11 February 1951 which, as noted by the Committee of Experts, came into force after the period covered by the annual report.

The Government representative explained that the Act came into force on 11 February 1952. In addition to this Act, another, No. 1630 of 7 December 1951, had also been adopted as a consequence of the observations made by the Committee of Experts and by the present Committee.

As in the case of Convention No. 4, the Committee took note of this information with satisfaction.

Mexico. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

Mexico has not submitted a report on this Convention because it is not possible at present to modify the ages stipulated in the legislation regarding the admission of young persons to unhealthy and dangerous work, as these are laid down in the Constitution and the reform of the Constitution is a very complicated matter. The Government intends to denounce this Convention.

The Committee took note of this information.

Switzerland. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

The Committee of Experts had noted with interest that the Government was to convene a meeting in 1951 to deal with the question of night work by apprentice bakers, and had stated that it would be glad to be informed of the progress made in arriving at a practical solution of this problem.

The meeting referred to in the Government's report for the period 1950-1951 took place on 13 December 1951 in Berne. It consisted of representatives of the cantons and of organisations of employers and workers in the baking industry. The Federal Office for Industry, Arts and Crafts and Labour defended the point of view that the provisions of the Federal Act concerning the employment of young persons and women in arts and crafts, and therefore relating to the Convention should be strictly applied. It is proposed to facilitate the application of this measure by raising the minimum age for entry in apprenticeship in the case of bakers' apprentices. Moreover, the regulations and apprenticeship contracts would refer explicitly to the prohibition for young persons under 18 years of age to begin work before 5 o'clock in the morning.

The Committee took note of this information with interest and expressed its satisfaction at the measures taken by the Government to ensure the full application of the Convention.

Yugoslavia. See under Convention No. 4.

Convention No. 7 : Minimum Age (Sea), 1920.

*Colombia.*¹ Some additional information concerning standards serving as a basis for the internal organisation of the Grand Colombian merchant navy is included in the reports communicated on the following ratified maritime Conventions : No. 7 : Minimum Age (Sea), 1920 ; No. 8 : Unemployment Indemnity (Shipwreck), 1920 ; No. 9 : Placing of Seamen, 1920 ; No. 15 : Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers), 1921 ; No. 16 : Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea), 1921 ; No. 22 : Seamen's Articles of Agreement, 1926 ; No. 23 : Repatriation of Seamen, 1926. The Committee noted that these standards appear to be based on the provisions contained in the Conventions in question. However, it is unable to form an opinion concerning the degree of application of the maritime Conventions ratified by Colombia for the following reasons :

1. The text of the standards in question is not attached to the reports ; it is therefore not possible to make a comparative analysis between their contents and those of the provisions of the Conventions.

2. The reports do not indicate the nature of the standards in question. The Committee does not know whether they are in the form of a legislative text, regulations, or merely private regulations without any legal value. The Committee would therefore be grateful if the Government would be so good as to supply to the Office at the earliest possible date the text of the standards in question and if it would indicate their legal nature and show the measures taken by the public authorities to ensure their application.

3. The Committee would also like to know what is the international status of the Grand Colombian merchant navy.

A Government representative stated that the next report would contain all relevant information concerning the application of maritime Conventions and concerning the Grand Colombian merchant navy, which was also the property of Ecuador and Venezuela.

The Committee took due note of this statement.

Mexico. The Government stated in writing that it had not sent a report on this Convention because it had ratified the revised Convention No. 58 which involved the automatic denunciation of Convention No. 7. As Convention No. 58 came into force one year after the constitutional requirements had been complied with, the date at which the Decree becomes effective had not yet been reached.

The Committee noted that Convention No. 7 contained no provision for its automatic denunciation in the case of the ratification of the revised Convention and that the Government had not communicated to the Office either the ratification of Convention No. 58 or the denunciation of Convention No. 7.

Convention No. 8 : Unemployment Indemnity (Shipwreck), 1920.

*Colombia.*¹ See under Convention No. 7.

Cuba. A Government representative stated, in reply to the observation made in paragraph 33 of the Report of the Committee of Experts, that Congress, which was independent of the executive branch, had not taken any initiative with regard to the approval of the Bill which would have brought the legislation into conformity with the provisions of the Convention. As a result of the political events which had occurred during March of the present year, the new Government had, in accordance with the wish expressed by the Committee of Experts, examined the question, but it had been unable to issue a legislative decree since draft decrees were submitted to the Advisory Council before being approved by the Government. He had just learned that the Advisory Council had examined this question and that the draft legislative decree would no doubt be submitted shortly to the Cabinet for approval.

The Committee took note of this statement with interest, and expressed the hope that complete conformity between the national legislation and the Convention might be achieved in the near future.

Mexico. The Government stated in writing that the provisions of the Convention were sufficient to

¹ Reports examined by the Subcommittee.

enable any seaman to claim the benefit due in case of shipwreck, in virtue of the Decree which gave the Convention force of law in Mexico.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 9 : Placing of Seamen, 1920.

*Colombia.*¹ See under Convention No. 7.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

The provisions of Article 4 of the Convention are applied through Section 3 of the Decree of 29 March 1952 concerning the organisation of the employment service, which provides that the local employment offices shall contain a special service for the placing of seamen. The chief of this service is appointed by the People's Committee on the proposal of the competent authority of the maritime administration. This constitutes a guarantee that the work in question is directed by a person having practical experience in maritime matters.

As regards the obligation contained in Article 5 of the Convention concerning the setting up of advisory committees composed of seafarers and employers, this is implemented by the provisions of the above-mentioned Decree relating to the composition of the managing committees of the employment offices which contain, in addition to the representatives of the trade unions, representatives of the producers chosen amongst the members of the producers' committees of the People's Committee in which, in the case of coastal regions, the maritime navigation organisations are represented.

The guarantees of Article 7 of the Convention are found in the general provisions concerning the making of labour contracts and contained in the Decree of 27 September 1948 concerning the initiation and termination of employment relations which also applies to seafarers. This has already been explained in connection with the Seamen's Articles of Agreement Convention.

In accordance with the provisions regulating the employment service, no discrimination exists between nationals and foreign workers, regardless of whether or not the foreigners belong to countries which have ratified the present Convention. The principle of equality is applied in the whole of the labour and social insurance legislation. Foreigners may work in the F.P.R.Y. under the same conditions as nationals. This satisfies the provisions of Article 8 of the Convention. As regards Article 9, it should be noted that the employment service is at the disposal of workers as well as of employees and that, consequently, deck officers and engineer officers may also make use of it.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 11 : Right of Association (Agriculture), 1921.

Chile. A Government representative made the following statement :

The Chilean legislation did not prohibit the right to form agricultural trade union federations and the Government preferred to deal with these rather than with a large number of different trade unions. The only matter prohibited by law was the presentation of claims by trade unions during harvesting periods. This was due to the fear that after the prescribed period of conciliation strikes would be declared during the harvesting period, and such action would cause considerable damage to the economy of the country. Thus, the legislation did not prohibit the right to present claims but it postponed such presentation and made it subject to certain conditions. A Bill had, however, been prepared with a view to modifying the legislation in the way suggested by the Committee of Experts, and he hoped that the question would have been favourably settled before the next session of the Conference.

The Committee took due note of this statement and expressed the wish that Parliament would adopt this Bill and that the discrepancy pointed out by the Committee of Experts would thus be eliminated.

Convention No. 13 : White Lead (Painting), 1921.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

report, in addition to the information requested in the above general observation, a reply to the observation made by this Committee in 1951, which reads as follows :

"The Committee wishes to point out that although Colombia ratified this Convention 18 years ago it has failed to take any of the numerous legislative measures and regulations which would be necessary in order to ensure its application. The Committee would be grateful if the Government would be so good as to state in its next report what action it is considering taking in order to rectify this situation."

Mexico. The Government stated in writing that the Safety and Hygiene Regulations still awaited redrafting by the authorities. The International Labour Office was aware that the Government intended to make use of the services of an expert in order to revise the draft of these Regulations. The Drafting Committee which was dealing with this work had been instructed to insert in these draft Regulations the provisions of the Convention.

The Committee took note of this information.

Uruguay. The Government representative stated that the observations made by the Committee of Experts which were justified had been communicated to the National Labour Institute which had prepared a draft decree in 1949 designed to bring the national legislation into harmony with the provisions of the Convention.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

The Regulations of 7 May 1931 are no longer in force. As was indicated in the report for 1950-1951, white lead, lead sulphate and all other products containing these pigments are, on the whole, not used in Yugoslavia in the type of work for which their use is prohibited by the terms of the Convention. The use of these products in the type of painting authorised by the Convention is extremely limited. There exist no statistical data concerning poisoning caused by white lead in painting work in cases where this product is still used, but steps have been taken to collect these statistics and it is hoped to supply them in the next report.

As regards the national regulations concerning the prohibition of the use of white lead in painting, as indicated in our report for 1950-1951, there exist as yet no regulations for a general prohibition of the use of these products in painting. A decree was, however, promulgated in the meantime, which provides for the prohibition of the employment of women and young persons in certain types of work and which, having regard to the obligations of the present Convention, prohibits specifically the employment of women and young persons under 18 years of age, particularly in industrial painting work requiring the use of white lead, sulphate of lead and any other products containing these pigments, as provided for in Article 3 of the Convention. Account will be taken of the obligation to extend regulations containing this prohibition to all other workers in accordance with the Convention when new regulations are adopted.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 14 : Weekly Rest (Industry), 1921.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next report the information requested in the above general observation and to confirm, in accordance with the wish expressed by this Committee in 1951, the statement made by the Government representative to the effect that the legislation provided that posters indicating the legal provisions concerning hours of work, weekly rest, holidays, etc., had to be prominently displayed by all employers.

Luxembourg. The Government stated in writing that, in conformity with the provisions of the national legislation and the collective agreements in force, compensatory periods of rest were granted to the workers who were employed on Sundays for maintenance, repairs and preparatory work.

The Committee took note of this information.

Turkey. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

The Committee of Experts asked for information regarding the posting of notices required by Article 7 (a) of the Convention.

The Government's report states that "the posting of notices in workplaces is not required in this country". This should not be understood to mean that the days of weekly rest (or any other days of rest) are not brought to the attention of the workers. On the contrary—

(1) Under Section 29 of the Labour Code every undertaking must have its workshop regulations.

(2) The Ministry of Labour is competent, in accordance with the same Section, to define and notify the subjects which all workshop regulations are required to contain. The Ministry fulfilled this obligation in promulgating Order No. 5. Amongst the subjects to be regulated, paragraph 7 of this Order refers to weekly rest.

(3) Under the same Article, all workshop regulations must be "posted by the employer" in a place in the undertaking where they may easily come to the notice of the workers; any worker may request a copy of the regulations. Section 108, paragraph 8, of the Code contains a penal sanction in cases where the obligation of posting is not complied with.

Article 7 (a) of the Convention is thus fully applied in Turkey. This same Article does not, in fact, require any special posting of the time of weekly rest but permits this information to be made known "in any other manner approved by the Government". This manner consists, in Turkey, of the workshop regulations which, as had been indicated, formed the subject of a Ministerial Circular.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 15 : Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers), 1921.

*Colombia.*¹ See under Convention No. 7.

Convention No. 16 : Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea), 1921.

*Colombia.*¹ See under Convention No. 7.

Convention No. 17 : Workmen's Compensation (Accidents), 1925.

Chile. A Government representative made the following statement :

Chilean legislation on occupational diseases and industrial injuries is highly developed and, in the course of the review of the legislation, the Government intends to include special provisions dealing with occupational diseases and industrial injuries. In Chile, workers prefer the payment of a lump sum in the case of permanent partial incapacity rather than a pension, the value of which decreases after some years because of inflation; furthermore, the payment of a lump sum further allows workers to find other occupations. However, they are free to choose between a pension and a lump sum payment.

The Committee, having noted that in the case of permanent incapacity Article 5 of the Convention permits payment of a lump sum only if the competent authority is satisfied that this sum would be properly utilised, the Government representative stated that he was prepared to consider an appropriate revision of the legislation.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the hope that this revision would be adopted.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next report, in addition to the information requested in the above general observations, a reply to the observation made by this Committee in 1951, which reads as follows :

"The Committee finds, however, that certain discrepancies to which the Committee of Experts had pointed in 1936 still continue to exist. Thus, the national legislation does not give effect to the provisions of Article 5 of the Convention which requires that, in the case of an injury resulting in permanent incapacity or death, compensation should be payable to the injured workman or his dependants in the form of periodical payments. The Government states in its report that the payment of such compensation would

involve difficulties of a practical nature, particularly in the case of the liquidation of undertakings which are under an obligation to make compensation payments. The Committee would be grateful if the Government would undertake a study of the question with a view to ascertaining whether these difficulties could be overcome so as to achieve conformity on this point between the national legislation and the terms of the Convention.

The Committee also notes that there are no provisions as regards the supply and renewal of artificial limbs and surgical appliances provided for in Article 10 of the Convention. It expresses the hope that the Government will examine at the earliest possible opportunity the means whereby the national legislation can be brought into harmony with this provision of the Convention."

Netherlands. The Government representative stated that the discrepancy between the legislation and the Convention was a very minor one and would be eliminated when the relevant Act was revised; it was intended to do this at an early date. In any case the provisions of the Convention were applied in practice.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Uruguay. The Government representative stated that the supplementary information requested by the Committee of Experts would be given in the next report.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

In accordance with the Act respecting social insurance for workers and employees and their families, permanent partial disability benefits for industrial accidents are paid in a lump sum to insured persons whose working capacity is reduced by 20 per cent. to one third. No guarantee of the proper utilisation of this benefit is provided for by the Act; in fact, this benefit does not represent the material basis of the livelihood of the persons concerned since they continue as a rule in employment but carry out work corresponding to the degree of impairment of their working capacity. In accordance with Section 39 of the Social Insurance Act, the recipient of a disability benefit has the right to look for other employment corresponding to his working capacity; under Section 11 of the Decree concerning the organisation of the employment service, the employment offices of the Federated People's Republics are required to co-operate with the organisations of disabled persons and similar organisations with a view to offering the best employment possibilities to persons with reduced working capacity.

On the other hand, the Decree of 10 April 1952 respecting the procedure to be followed in dismissing workers and employees from the economic organisations offers disabled persons special protection in case of possible dismissal by the economic organisation where they are employed. Under Section 8 of this Decree, any economic organisation which intends to dismiss persons who are war-disabled or disabled as a consequence of an industrial accident must first consult the local trade union committee (or the district trade union committee). If this consultation does not lead within a period of three days to an agreement between the economic organisation and the trade union committee, and if the economic organisation insists upon dismissing these persons, it is under an obligation to submit its intended dismissal with a statement of motives to the decision of a district (or urban) arbitration board, which will take a decision. This decision is final. In deciding on this matter the arbitration board must exercise particular care to ensure that the war-disabled or work-disabled persons who have been dismissed do not remain without employment, and must attempt to find appropriate work for them.

In addition, under Section 41 of the Social Insurance Act, the recipients of disability benefits who have lost their professional capacity are under an obligation to retrain themselves with a view to other work, while the other recipients of disability benefits have the right to ask for vocational retraining.

The vocational retraining is also carried out without expense to the insured. In accordance with Section 41, paragraph 2, of the Social Insurance Act, the manager of an undertaking or of an establishment is under an obligation to provide within the undertaking or establishment itself facilities for the retraining of recipients of disability benefits so as to enable

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

them to take up other work. If the undertaking or establishment is not in a position to offer such retraining facilities within the workplace, the Public Health and Social Welfare Board of the People's Republic is required to arrange for the vocational retraining of the insured either in another undertaking or establishment or through courses or in a school. Under Section 42 of the Social Insurance Act, the insured is entitled during the whole of the duration of his retraining, in addition to his invalidity benefits, to a salary corresponding to the work he is doing. If the vocational retraining is carried out by means of a course or in a school, the insured will receive in addition to the disability benefits a cash grant to cover his educational expenses.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 19: Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation), 1925.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee noted the statement in the report that the Convention is given effect to, in so far as foreigners residing in the country are concerned, by the following clause of Article 11 of the National Constitution: "Foreigners in the territory of the Republic shall enjoy the guarantees enjoyed by nationals except for such modifications as may be provided for in the Constitution or by legislation", and that it was therefore unnecessary to enact a special law to apply Article 1 of the Convention.

As the above-mentioned provision of the National Constitution appears to relate only to foreigners residing in the country, the Committee would be glad if the Government would indicate in its next report by virtue of what legislative provision equality of treatment is "guaranteed to foreign workers and their dependants without any condition as to residence" as required by Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Convention.

*Iraq.*¹ The Committee noted the indications given in the report concerning the date of elections held by four trade unions. It would be glad to know whether copies of the Government's report have been submitted to those workers' organisations which are recognised as representative under Article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

Sweden. The Government stated in writing that by a Royal Order issued in the Cabinet council meeting held on 15 May 1952, equality of treatment with regard to accident compensation had been granted to the nationals of Egypt, Peru and Venezuela. (A copy of the Royal Order was attached to the Government's communication.)

The Committee took note of this information with satisfaction.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

The Act of 14 May 1922 respecting workers' insurance is no longer in force. It is true that, under Section 7 of the Act respecting social insurance for workers and employees and their families, foreigners working in Yugoslavia are entitled to the same rights as regards social insurance only if they are workers or employees in public, co-operative or social undertakings and establishments. However, under Section 135 of the Social Insurance Act, private employers are required to pay the social insurance contributions of all persons in their employ, which means also of any foreigners who may be employed by them. Consequently, all foreigners working for private employers, regardless of whether or not their country has ratified the Convention, are insured and have the same rights as regards social insurance and all other branches of insurance as nationals of the F.P.R.Y. This follows also from Section 2 of the Decree of 4 April 1952 respecting social insurance contributions, under which private employers are required to pay the social insurance contributions of all their staff and consequently also of foreign workers.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 20: Night Work (Bakeries), 1925.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would be good enough to give in its next

report, in addition to the information requested in the above general observation, a reply to the observation made by this Committee in 1951, which reads as follows:

"The report states that it has not been considered necessary to adopt specific legislation relating to the Convention as, until quite recently, the only bakeries in the country have been small-scale undertakings. Moreover, the report points out that the Convention forms part of the national legislation and is applied in the country.

"The Committee would be glad to have information regarding the practical application of the Convention."

Sweden. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

Under the Bakery Act of 16 May 1930, as amended on 26 May 1939 (Section 1), work in the preparation for sale of bakers' and confectioners' wares may not be carried out on Sundays or holidays or between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. on week days. Section 4 of the Act provides that if exceptions to the prohibition in Section 1 are required on account of special circumstances, the competent labour inspector (who is an official of the Workers' Protection Board) has the power to give such authorisations. These authorisations, which must be applied for in each individual case, are not granted for more than two days at a time, nor for the same workplace more than ten times in a calendar year. If a further exemption should be required on account of special circumstances, it may be granted by the chief industrial inspection authority, that is, the Workers' Protection Board on which employers' and workers' organisations are represented.

The exemptions granted by the board are authorised in virtue of the provisions of Article 3 (d) of the Convention. It should be noted that the Workers' Protection Act of 3 January 1949 in no way annuls the provisions of the Bakery Act; it merely puts further restrictions on the employment of women and young persons during the night.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 22: Seamen's Articles of Agreement, 1926.

*Colombia.*¹ See under Convention No. 7.

Mexico. The Government stated in writing that it was true that Articles 7, 13 and 14 of this Convention had not been the object of subsidiary regulations in Mexico; this was mainly due to the fact that the size of the national mercantile marine had not necessitated the complete application of the above-mentioned Articles. The opinions expressed by the Committee would be taken into account when these regulations were drawn up.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the hope that all the Articles of the Convention would be applied in future.

Convention No. 23: Repatriation of Seamen, 1926.

*Colombia.*¹ See under Convention No. 7.

Convention No. 24: Sickness Insurance (Industry), 1922.

Chile. A Government representative informed the Committee that Parliament had recently adopted a new Social Insurance Act, which not only complied with the desire expressed by the Committee of Experts but also ensured considerable progress on many other points.

The Committee took note of this information with satisfaction.

Uruguay. The Government representative stated that his Government would take all necessary steps to achieve the full application of Conventions Nos. 24 and 25.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the hope that the Government would take definite measures as regards these Conventions which, though ratified in 1933, had not yet been implemented.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

Convention No. 25: Sickness Insurance (Agriculture), 1927.

Uruguay. See under Convention No. 24.

Convention No. 26: Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery, 1928.

*Colombia.*¹ The Committee noted that the report received this year was supplied, as last year, too late for it to be examined by the Committee of Experts, and that it repeated the information contained in the previous report and did not include the information requested in 1951 by the Conference Committee.

This Committee had noted in 1951 that Act. No. 6 A of 1945 provided that minimum wages would be established with the assistance of joint committees including workers' representatives but had noted that the application of this step entailed difficulties which resulted in Decree No. 3871 of 6 December 1949, establishing a minimum wage of two pesos per day, to be effective throughout the country. The Committee had then indicated that it would be glad to know whether this measure applied to all occupations, such as home-working trades, where wages were generally fixed by the task or by piece work, within the meaning of Article 1 of the Convention, which refers to trades or parts of trades in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise, or in which wages are exceptionally low.

In reply to this observation, a Government representative had informed this Committee in 1951 that his Government was devoting special attention to the protection of low-paid workers, such as home-workers and agricultural workers, who were usually not covered by collective agreements; he had added that these trades were subject to minimum wage regulations which were very strictly enforced.

The Committee had taken note of this statement and had expressed the hope that the necessary information would be included in the next report.

However, since this information was not included in the report supplied this year by the Government, the Committee expressed the earnest hope that the next report would include information on the application of the Convention to occupations, such as home-working trades, where wages are generally fixed by the task or by piece work and, in general, to the trades or parts of trades in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise, or in which wages are exceptionally low.

The Committee also noted that the report did not contain the information requested under Article 5 of the Convention which provides that States "shall communicate annually to the International Labour Office a general statement giving a list of the trades or parts of trades in which the minimum wage-fixing machinery has been applied, indicating the methods as well as the results of the application of the machinery and, in summary form, the approximate numbers of workers covered, the minimum rates of wages fixed, and the more important of the other conditions, if any, established relevant to the minimum rates".

The Government indicated in its report that detailed statistical information concerning the number of workers covered by minimum wage-fixing machinery cannot be supplied, but that the Government hoped to be in a position to include this information in its next report. Since this statement was also included in the previous report, the Committee would be grateful to the Government for any measures which it might be able to take so as to supply in its next report the information referred to under Article 5 of the Convention.

Cuba. A Government representative stated that there were tripartite wages boards in Cuba which cannot approve contracts but only agreements which had force of law. Instructions had been given so that the number of workers covered would be indicated in these agreements. With regard to labour inspection he agreed that it did not function satisfactorily; however, the new Government intended to entrust some of the inspectors with the application of legislation relating particularly to Conventions ratified. With regard to statistics, Cuba had requested that the I.L.O. should send an expert under the Technical

Assistance Programme in order that he might collaborate in the reorganisation of the statistical services.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Italy. The Government supplied the following statistical information in writing:

Number of workers covered by collective agreements:

Industry: Men 2,333,000; Women 867,000.
Commerce: Men 233,000; Women 97,000.

The hourly rates of wages, as established in the agreements, for workers of the latter category, who belong to the occupational group which receives the lowest wages in the zone where the cost of living is the lowest, are as follows:

	lire	lire
Industry: Men	78.35	Women 61.20
Commerce: Men	72.55	Women 60.55

To this remuneration must be added the family allowances, which vary with the persons concerned and the type of work.

Although they are drawn up on the basis of approximate criteria, the data supplied with regard to the number of workers covered by collective agreements may be considered as sufficiently correct.

The Committee took note of this information.

Mexico. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

In Mexican legislation the juridical concept of minimum wages (in accordance with Section 99 of the Federal Labour Act) has the following features:

"Section 99. The minimum wage shall mean the wage deemed sufficient in view of the conditions in each district to satisfy the normal needs of a worker for subsistence, education and reasonable amusement, considering him in the capacity of head of a family and taking into account the fact that he must dispose of the necessary means of subsistence during the weekly days of rest when he receives no remuneration."

"In the case of agricultural workers the minimum wage shall be fixed with due consideration of the facilities which the employer puts at the disposal of his workers as regards lodging, crops, woodcutting and the like which decrease the cost of living."

In Mexico, minimum wages are intended to ensure to any worker—without taking into account his ability, etc.—a wage which is sufficient to meet his needs.

In these circumstances, the lowest wage in a specific industry may not be lower than the minimum wage which is laid down in the contract. The minimum official wage has been replaced by a contractual wage and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to draw up statistics of the persons covered by the minimum wage because, in general, there is no written contract and the contract is an individual one. As regards industry, not a single instance can be found of the application of the minimum wage rate. Moreover, the lowest contractual wages are much higher than the official minimum wages.

The Committee took note of this information and considered that it failed to answer in full the questions asked by the Committee of Experts. It expressed the hope that the Government would supply full particulars in its next report.

Uruguay. The Government representative stated that the national legislation and practice were in conformity with the requirements of the Convention. Act No. 10,449 had created wages councils including three Government representatives, two employers' representatives and two workers' representatives, who had been asked to make a study of the question. Minimum wages were fixed by law and had therefore to be respected in all collective agreements. Methods of wage fixing varied according to the categories of workers and this was done either through wages councils, as in industry and commerce, or by law, as in agriculture and in the case of public officials. In the absence of full statistics, it could be stated that 180,000 industrial workers and 90,000 employees in commerce were covered by the legislation.

The Committee took note of this information.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

Convention No. 27 : Marking of Weight (Packages Transported by Vessels), 1929.

Yugoslavia. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

As already indicated in the report for 1950-1951, there exist at present no formal regulations under which there is an obligation to mark the weight on packages of more than 1,000 kilograms transported by vessels, although there is no discrepancy between the national practice and the provisions of the Convention. The Decree of 4 February 1938 is no longer in force. However, taking the view that this question ought to be covered by national regulations, the Government of the F.P.R.Y. intends to promulgate an appropriate decree which is already being considered by the Marine Ministry of the F.P.R.Y. The Public Health and Social Welfare Board has already submitted to the International Labour Office a request for documentation concerning relevant regulations adopted in other countries and this documentation has been received from the Office.

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

Convention No. 32 : Protection against Accidents (Dockers) (Revised), 1932.

Finland. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

Article 2, paragraph 2 (1) : It is recognised that lighting is not yet satisfactory. However, the Ministry for Social Affairs has given particular attention to the question of improving lighting and has emphasised the importance of this question in its circulars to labour inspectors. In these circulars the term "safely and efficiently lighted" has been defined as approximately 50 lux with regard to places of work such as quays and the decks and holds of ships, 20 lux in the case of steps leading on board ship and dangerous passages such as crossings of roads and quays in the port, and 10 lux in the case of ways leading to the port. It is noted, finally, that the reorganisation of the lighting system is so extensive a task that it cannot be brought about immediately. In some cases provisional solutions have been made by improving the lighting system by temporary measures.

Article 2, paragraph 2 (2) : The provision specifying that wharves and quays will be kept sufficiently clear of goods to maintain a clear passage to the means of access on board ship is to be found in Section 19, paragraph 2, of the directives. Section 3, paragraph 1, of the directives must be interpreted as specifying that the ways leading through ports must be kept clear of goods and other obstacles.

Article 12 : Section 21, paragraph 2, of the directives deals expressly with cases where work is carried out in places where dangerous goods or harmful substances are stored. The observations made in the report of the Committee of Experts concerning the lack of special prescriptions relate only to this Section 21 and not to measures ensuring the application of the provisions in general. It was felt that cases relating to the application of Section 21 are of such special nature that it has not been possible to include in the legislation detailed prescriptions. As a result, labour inspectorates must in each individual case where dangerous materials are handled or where work is carried out in places where such materials "have been stowed", issue the necessary prescriptions as regards the safety of the workers. Labour inspectors may thus, in virtue of the legal provisions concerning labour inspections, give directives, written injunctions or, in the most serious cases, prohibit the continuation of such work.

Article 16 : The next report will supply information regarding the application of these provisions.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 33 : Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment), 1932.

Austria. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

Conformity between the Austrian regulations and the provisions of the Convention concerning the employment of children in domestic work has been achieved through the amendment of the Act concerning the employment of young persons. Thus the Act concerning the employment of young persons is no

longer applicable as regards their employment in domestic work ; only the employment of the children of the employer continues to be authorised and then only as regards light work of short duration, even when regularly carried out. This authorisation is in accordance with the provisions of the Convention.

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

Cuba. A Government representative stated that the draft regulations, the approval of which was being considered, did not contain provisions which would have made it fully effective ; the Government had examined the original text, approved it in principle, and referred it to the Advisory Council. The latter would submit it to the Cabinet and this body would issue the corresponding legislative decree. The legislative decree would provide sanctions in the case of infringements.

The Committee took note of this statement.

France. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

The Committee of Experts had pointed out that no exceptions were authorised under Convention No. 33 in the case of undertakings where the employment of young persons and adolescents was dangerous to the life, health or morals of the persons employed in it.

It seems that the Committee was hereby referring to the possibility, under Section 59 of the Labour Code, by which the Minister of National Education, and Prefects, can, in exceptional circumstances, authorise the employment of one or more children in theatres in connection with the performance of certain plays. Yet this provision seems to correspond to that of Article 4 of the Convention which provides that, in the interests of art, science and education, individual permits may be granted in order to enable children to appear in a public entertainment or the making of films. Moreover, it should be noted that these provisions are even more liberal than those of the Labour Code. Further, the provision of Article 5 of the Convention by which a higher age or ages than 14 years may be established for the admission of young persons and adolescents to any employment which is dangerous to the life, health or morals of the persons employed in it, seems to correspond to the minimum age of 16 years established under Sections 60 and 61 of Book II of the Labour Code.

The Government representative stated that the higher minimum age stipulated in Article 5 of the Convention in the case of young persons admitted to any employment which is dangerous to their life, health or morals was in practice set at 16 years through the school-leaving age and through instructions given to the labour inspectorate. The Bill submitted to Parliament with a view to achieving legislative conformity had been delayed and would be resubmitted again as soon as possible to the present legislature. Difficulties in the application of this Convention had been noted only in Algeria and his Government had given particulars of such violations to the Committee in writing.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the hope that full legislative conformity would be achieved.

Convention No. 34 : Fee-Charging Employment Agencies, 1933.

Turkey. The Government supplied the following information in writing :

(1) In accordance with Article 3, paragraph 1, of the Convention, the Ministry of Labour has consulted, in so far as possible, the employers' and workers' organisations of the regions and branches of agriculture where the placing occurred. Agricultural trade unionism is as yet little developed in Turkey ; the only trade union of agricultural workers existing at present, that of Adana, was consulted. There exists no association of agricultural employers. The farmers' association in Adana has always been in favour of the placing arrangements existing in the region. The system now in use in the agricultural regions does not in fact come completely within the scope of the definition given in Article 1, paragraph 1 (a), of the Convention. The persons carrying out such placing activities are in fact worker-recruiters who take part in agricultural work under the same conditions as the workers they have recruited.

(2) The prohibition of fee-charging employment agencies is formally provided for in Section 65 of the Labour Code.

(3) Worker-recruiters may not engage in their activities unless they hold a permit which is granted by the placing administration and subject to yearly renewal. The administration holds discretionary powers in this matter.

(4) Section 66 of the Labour Code provides that each employment agency must inform the administration concerned in a clear and detailed manner of the amount and percentage of the rates collected from the workers and the employers as compensation for their services. The competent authorities undertake the necessary enquiries and investigations and alter these rates if appropriate.

(5) As regards Article 5 of the Convention, the Labour Code provides that fee-charging agencies (Section 66) and non-fee-charging agencies (Section 68) must submit to the authorities a statement indicating whether their placing services are free or paid for. If this statement is not submitted, administrative sanctions may be taken, including the closing of the offices. In addition, the Labour Code (Sections 122, 123 and 124) provides for penal sanctions, fines and terms of imprisonment according to the seriousness of the violation.

(6) The Government has taken a certain number of steps with a view to increasing the efficiency of the employment services in agriculture and to promoting the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies. A foreign expert has been carrying out for several months a detailed study of placing and working conditions in industry as well as in agriculture. Following the suggestions made by this expert the employment services administration has prepared a certain number of measures which should lead to the development of its organisation and to an increase in the efficiency of its agricultural placing activities. A number of agencies have already been set up in the regions where the mobility of agricultural labour is particularly pronounced.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 35 : Old-Age Insurance (Industry, etc.), 1933.

Chile. A Government representative stated that an Act which had just been adopted introduced a complete reform of the old-age insurance system and provided that beneficiaries could claim cost-of-living adjustments in their pensions.

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

Convention No. 36 : Old-Age Insurance (Agriculture), 1933.

Chile. See under Convention No. 35.

Convention No. 41 : Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1934.

France. See under Convention No. 4.

Greece. The Government representative stated that there were still four decrees authorising the night work of women in the canning and dairy industries and industries for the preparation of figs and dried currants; however, these decrees had become obsolete and the Government would have no objection, in principle, to repealing them by means of special decrees.

The Committee took due note of this statement.

*Iraq.*¹ The Government states in its report that it has nothing to add to the information supplied in 1950.

The Committee therefore refers to the observations made by the Committee of Experts in 1951 and would be glad to be informed whether any progress has been made with the proposed measures to amend Section 9 of the Labour Law so as to bring it into conformity with the provisions of Article 4 (a) of the Convention (exceptions to the prohibition of the night work of women in cases of *force majeure*).

Convention No. 42 : Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) (Revised), 1934.

Belgium. The Government representative stated that the observation of the Committee of Experts

did not take into account the latitude left to the national legislation defined in the schedule contained in the Convention to define the halogen derivatives of hydrocarbons of the aliphatic series.

As the Committee noted that the latitude referred to related to processes and not to diseases, the Government representative explained that the Belgian legislation, which antedated the Convention, covered only processes actually used in the country as shown by the technical report drawn up by his Government; no other derivatives were in fact used.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the wish that the question be brought to the attention of the Committee of Experts.

*Iraq.*¹ The Committee would be glad if the Government would include in its next report more detailed information concerning the practical application of the Convention and in particular, as had been requested by the Committee of Experts in 1951, statistical data on the number of workers employed in the trades and industries covered. The Committee draws the Government's attention to the constitutional obligation of supplying reports in the form indicated by the Governing Body and of replying therefore in detail to every one of the questions in the form of report.

Convention No. 45 : Underground Work (Women), 1935.

Austria. The Government stated in writing that in the amendment to the Act concerning the employment of young persons account has also been taken of the provisions of the Convention which had not been applied up to the present since the employment of young girls in underground work in mines is now prohibited.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 52 : Holidays with Pay, 1936.

Brazil. The Government representative stated that the consolidation of Labour laws concerning holidays with pay and the provisions applying to seamen did in fact cover other persons employed in undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers and goods by inland waterways. Public and customary holidays were excluded from holidays with pay since the latter applied exclusively to working days. The relevant legislation, Act No. 916 of 1949, provided for a paid holiday of 20 days; it was more liberal than the Convention concerning interruptions of attendance at work due to sickness, since the right to holidays with pay was lost only if a worker absent from work had received his wages for a period exceeding six months. His Government would not fail to append the statistical information requested to its next report.

The Committee took note of this statement with interest.

Finland. A Government representative stated in writing that the Council of Ministers set up a Committee in 1951 and entrusted it, *inter alia*, with the question of the revision of the Act concerning annual holidays with pay. The observations of the Committee of Experts would be brought to the attention of this Committee.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 56 : Sickness Insurance (Sea), 1936.

Belgium. The Government representative made the following statement:

The comparative list of rates of cash benefit requested by the Committee of Experts would be supplied with the next report. The Committee of Experts had also enquired whether there were cases of sickness benefits being withheld other than those provided for in Article 2, paragraph 4 (c), of the Convention. Belgian legislation contained two such cases: first, that of a sickness which did not decrease the earning capacity and therefore the resources of the seafarer (*i.e.*, the salary, allowances, holidays, waiting pay or industrial accident benefits); secondly, the case of free allowances paid by the shipowner which, together with the sickness benefits, must not exceed the total amount of the salary. Further

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

explanations would be given in the next report and any changes in the legislation which the Committee of Experts might deem necessary could be considered by his Government.

The Committee took due note of this statement.

Convention No. 58: Minimum Age (Sea) (Revised), 1936.

Belgium. The Government representative stated that as regards the discrepancy between the Belgian legislation and the Convention, no such discrepancy existed in practice since administrative measures had been taken to prevent young persons under 15 years of age from accepting employment at sea. However, a Bill had been drafted and would shortly be brought before Parliament with a view to changing the provisions of the relevant Belgian legislation.

The Committee took due note of this statement.

Convention No. 62: Safety Provisions (Building), 1937.

Mexico. The Government indicated in writing that the authorities of the Federal District and of the States of the Republic of Mexico had recognised the compulsory character of the Convention and expected to apply its provisions.

The Committee took due note of this information.

Switzerland. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

As regards the first point mentioned by the Committee of Experts, it should be noted that Section 2 of the Ordinance of 22 June 1951 concerning measures intended to prevent accidents in the use of cranes and hoisting machines fully satisfies the requirements of Article 12 of the Convention. This section of the Ordinance prescribes that "cranes and hoisting machines together with their auxiliary fittings shall only be employed when in perfect condition". This obligation necessarily implies minute examination of the apparatus in each case.

As regards the second point of the observation of the Committee of Experts, the general provisions contained in the Federal Act of 24 June 1938 concerning the minimum age of workers establishes a minimum age of 15 years for workers employed in the undertakings covered by this Act (Section 4). Moreover, it is pointed out that the report for the period 1950-1951 indicates under Article 13 of the Convention that an apprentice driver must have accomplished an apprenticeship as locksmith, mechanic, fitter or machinist or must have had at least one year's practical experience as mechanic on a building site. This means that a person must be at least 18 years old before he can be placed in control of a hoisting machine. Young persons aged 15 years, who have just entered employment, are never entrusted with the job of giving signals to the operator. It is obvious that the security and advantage of all persons concerned makes it necessary that this task should be carried out by experienced men.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 63: Statistics of Wages and Hours of Work, 1938.

Egypt. A Government representative stated that the administrative reforms contemplated last year had not yet been carried through but were to be completed in due course and the next reports would contain the information requested. The reforms contemplated by his Government would bring about a larger degree of centralisation in the collection of statistics and would thus ensure more rapid compilation of this data.

The Committee took due note of this statement.

Mexico. The Government stated in writing that a copy of the statistics in the report of the Secretariat of Labour and Social Welfare submitted to the National Congress had been communicated to the International Labour Office. In the next annual report, statistical data would be given for this year.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Netherlands. A Government representative stated that the statistics mentioned by the Committee of Experts would be published.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Sweden. The Government representative stated that the additional particulars requested by the

Committee of Experts would be given in the next report.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Convention No. 77: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry), 1946.

Poland. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

The Polish legislation makes a distinction between young workers under the age of 18 years and adult workers over the age of 18 years. No provision is made for a special group of young persons aged between 18 and 21 years. As regards adult workers over 18 years, the preliminary medical examination provided for by the legislation is carried out in a series of industries where there is danger to health; this is the case, for example, of work where white lead is used, and work by spraying, sandblasting or air compressors. In practice preliminary medical examinations are carried out in all the larger undertakings which have their own doctor, whilst smaller undertakings are being progressively brought under this scheme.

An Instruction issued by the Minister of Health (No. 92 of 25 September 1951) with regard to the medical examination of young workers lays down detailed regulations concerning the medical examination of adolescents. A French translation of this Instruction will shortly be communicated to the I.L.O.

It is planned that the admission of workers, regardless of their age, to work which is particularly arduous or harmful to the health should be subject to a doctor's certificate showing that the worker's health is up to the required standard.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 78: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946.

Poland. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

Those provisions of the Act of 2 July 1924 which relate to adolescents are no longer in force. The work and training of adolescents are at present covered by the Decree of 2 August 1951 respecting the work and vocational training of adolescents in undertakings.

With regard to domestic servants, the national economy is based on the principle that specified vocational education is compulsory for all adolescents; it is given either through vocational schools or in the form of apprenticeship training in undertakings. Domestic service is not covered by this. Cases where adolescents are employed in domestic service are at present very few and in future this type of work will disappear completely since it offers no possibility of social advancement. It is for this reason that the Polish legislation does not, and will not, deal specially with this problem.

The employment of adolescents in itinerant trades was abolished a long time ago in Poland, together with any other occupation carried on in the street or in places to which the public has access. This problem does not arise.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 79: Night Work of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946.

Poland. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

As mentioned under Convention No. 78, those provisions of the Act of 2 July 1924 which deal with adolescents are no longer in force. The Decree of 2 August 1951, which applies to all young workers whether they are employed in industry or in non-industrial work, came into force as from August 1951. This Decree regulates separately the hours of work of adolescents between 14 and 16 years and of those between 16 and 18 years.

While in industry, where as a rule work is carried out by two shifts, the question of the employment of adolescents in the evening or at night is undeniably important, this problem is in practice unimportant in the case of commerce, offices, etc.

The hours of work of adolescents between 14 and 16 years may not exceed six a day or 36 a week. The employment of adolescents during the night is prohibited. The definition of the night period with regard to this group of adolescents is determined by the Order of the Council of Ministers of 12 April 1952

concerning the conditions of admission to work with a view to vocational training and future employment of adolescents between 14 and 16 years of age. According to this Order "night" is defined as the hours between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. Taken in conjunction with the provision fixing the hours of work for adolescents at six per day, this provision ensures that adolescents have a period of rest at least equivalent to that provided for in the Convention.

With regard to the second group of adolescents aged between 16 and 18 years, the Decree of 2 August 1951 provides under Section 3, paragraph 3, that exceptions to the prohibition of night work may be authorised but only in the case of boys (girls under 18 may not be employed at night). Up to the present no prescriptions have been issued under this provision. The definition of the night period is determined by the general regulations on hours of work. This question was dealt with in the report.

It should also be pointed out that under this Decree the employment of both groups of young persons on overtime work is prohibited.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 81: Labour Inspection, 1947.

Austria. The Government stated in writing that it would make efforts to take into account in its next report the desire expressed by the Committee of Experts for more detailed information in respect of each point and concerning the annual reports of the labour inspectorates of transport and mines.

The Committee took note of this information.

Finland. The Government indicated in writing that the transitory volume (report for the period 1939 to 1949) of the series of annual reports concerning labour inspection which was published before the war and the publication of which has begun again since 1950, is now being printed; the provisions of the Convention will be taken into consideration in the next annual report concerning the activities of the labour inspectorate.

The Committee took note of this information.

Switzerland. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

As stated in the report for the period 1950-1951 concerning the application of the Convention, the Federal Office publishes biennial reports of the inspectorates. Moreover, it publishes each year in *La Vie Economique* (monthly review of the Federal Department of Public Economy) a report concerning the application of the Factories Act. The report for 1951 is to be found in the copy of this review for January 1952 (attached to the Government's communication). The report supplies for the year 1951 the information requested under Article 21 of the Convention (clauses (c), (d) and (e)). The annual report concerning the application of the Factories Act might have been published at an even later date. It was therefore impossible for us to refer to it in our report dated 30 September 1951.

As regards Article 21, clause (a) of the Convention (laws and regulations relating to the work of the inspection service), it should be noted that the biennial reports of the federal factory inspectorates and the annual reports of the Federal Office published in *La Vie Economique* always and exclusively deal with the application of the Federal Factories Act and the ordinances issued in application thereof. The Government therefore considers that this question has also received a satisfactory reply.

Finally, as regards Article 21, clause (b) (staff of the labour inspection service), reference is made each year to the federal staff responsible for the supervision of factories in the year book of the Swiss Confederation which is communicated regularly to the International Labour Office.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 87: Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948.

Mexico. The Committee supplied the following information in writing:

The attitude of the Government with regard to the Convention is well known, since so many of the relevant constitutional texts, such as the Federal Labour Act, have been published in the Legislative Series of the International Labour Office and contain evidence of the existence of complete freedom of

association. Throughout the whole of the period which has just come to an end, the present Government has given expression to its unchanging attachment to the principle of freedom of association. Next year it will see that a report is sent.

The Committee took due note of this information.

Sweden. The Government representative stated that the additional particulars concerning the Convention requested by the Committee of Experts would be given in the next report.

The Committee took note of this statement.

Convention No. 88: Employment Organisation, 1948.

*Netherlands.*¹ The Committee took note with interest of the information contained in this first report.

The employment service, as it functions at present in the Netherlands, fully satisfies all the requirements of the Convention. Nevertheless, the Committee would be glad to have more detailed information on paragraphs (c), (d) and (e) of Article 6 concerning respectively the preparation of analyses and the publication of information on the situation of the employment market and its probable evolution, the co-operation of the employment service in the administration of unemployment insurance, and the participation of the employment service in social and economic planning calculated to ensure a favourable employment situation.

New Zealand. A Government representative made the following statement:

The Committee of Experts had requested exact information as to whether the New Zealand employment service was free; this he answered in the affirmative and the only cases where charges were made to persons using the employment service related to the payment of expenses for accommodation and for the services of home aides.

The Committee of Experts had also referred to the training of officials in the employment service; this training was largely undertaken by on-the-job tuition coupled with the issue of comprehensive instructions for the guidance of the staff. Copies of the relevant orders and instructions would be supplied with the next report.

The Committee took note of this information with interest.

Norway. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

Workers' identity cards are registration cards (two copies of these are attached to the Government's communication). The cards are given to all persons registered as seeking employment and must be kept as long as the person concerned is actually applying for work at the office. The card serves as an identity card in the various offices of the employment service and in certain other institutions, such as public assistance agencies, which require that certain persons report to the employment service as seeking employment. The information noted on the registration card is also included in the permanent card index of the employment service; the registration card can therefore be reconstructed if lost by the applicant for employment.

The Government also states that it will forward to the Office the more important decrees, orders and instructions concerning the working and organisation of the employment service.

The Committee took note of this information.

Convention No. 89: Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1948.

India. The Government supplied the following information in writing:

The Committee of Experts has expressed the hope that the amending legislation designed to ensure harmony between legislation and the Convention will be adopted before the opening of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. The proposed amendment to the Factories Act, 1948, has not yet been initiated as certain other amendments are contemplated and the consolidated amending Bill will be brought before the Parliament at an early date.

The Mines Act, 1952, has, however, been passed. Section 46, which relates to the employment of women, and Section 34 of this Act, are reproduced below.

¹ Report examined by the Subcommittee.

"46. Employment of women. No woman shall be employed at any time of the day or night in any part of a mine which is below the adjacent ground level, and no woman shall be employed in any mine above ground except between the hours of 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. provided that the Central Government may, by notification in the *Official Gazette*, vary the hours of employment of women above ground in respect of any mine or class or description of mine, so however that no employment of any women between the hours of 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. is permitted thereby."

"34. Prohibition of employment of certain persons. No person shall be allowed to work in any mine who has already been working in any other mine within the preceding 12 hours."

The Committee took note of this information.

C. OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS IN NON-METROPOLITAN TERRITORIES

In reply to the observations of the Committee of Experts, the representatives of several Governments supplied additional information on the application of Conventions in their non-metropolitan territories.

Australia

The Committee noted that the Australian Government had not yet replied with regard to the application of ratified Conventions to non-metropolitan territories.

Belgium

The Committee noted that the reports, though somewhat delayed, had been received by the Office. The Committee expressed the wish that in future the reports on the Belgian non-metropolitan territories should arrive in time so that the Committee of Experts might take cognisance of these documents.

The Government representative stated that he would inform his Government, and in particular the Ministry of Colonies, of the wish expressed by the Committee. The delays which had occurred this year were due to a desire to include as much information as possible in reply to the questions asked by the Committee of Experts in 1951 concerning Conventions Nos. 50 and 64. None the less, the report regarding the latter text was not complete, due to the fact that the legislation on contracts of employment was being revised on the basis of the Convention itself. He hoped that with the adoption of this legislation full reports would be possible and that in particular the statistical information requested could be given.

The Committee took due note of this statement and expressed the hope that the legislation in question would shortly enter into force.

France

The Government supplied the following information in writing :

Extension of the Social Security Conventions to the Overseas Departments. The Committee of Experts expressed surprise that the reports submitted by France as regards social security indicated that, with the exception of old-age pensions, few measures had been taken to apply the French social security legislation to the French Overseas Departments, although this legislation was extended to these Departments in 1947.

This statement seems to be based on a misunderstanding. Because of obvious technical difficulties it has been decided to proceed by stages. The text in question has simply laid down the basis for the technical organisation of social security (administrative services and funds) and the provisions concerning benefits will be applied progressively through subsequent regulations. Thus, the first regulations were adopted as early as 1948 to apply provisions concerning old-age benefits for salaried workers.

An Act adopted in 1949 extended to the Overseas Departments coverage for the risk of industrial accidents. The actual entry into force of this Act was made dependent on the adoption of regulations which have now been issued and coverage for industrial accidents, through the social security funds, became effective as of 1 January 1952.

Finally, a Bill extending coverage to social insurance risks and in particular to the risk of sickness has been tabled in the National Assembly.

Convention No. 5 : Minimum Age (Industry), 1919. In Algeria 41 violations were reported by the labour inspectorate.

Convention No. 29 : Forced Labour, 1930. The Committee of Experts enquired whether the indications given in regard to *French Equatorial Africa* on the application of the general provisions contained in the Penal Code in cases of infringement of the provisions of the Act of 11 April 1946 were equally valid for the other territories of the French Union.

This question can be answered in the affirmative.

Convention No. 33 : Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment), 1932. The Committee of Experts indicates that Articles 2 and 3 of the Convention are not applied in *Algeria*.

The fact that Article 2 is not mentioned in the report is probably due to an omission as it is indicated under Point V that no violations were noted by the labour inspectorate.

As regards Article 3, the report indicates that manual work may not exceed three hours per day whereas this Article limits light work to two hours per day. This may in fact constitute an irregularity and during the meeting of inspectors the attention of the inspectorate was drawn to this point as well as to the more general question of the application of international labour Conventions.

In addition the Government representative made the following statement :

Some French territories which appeared in the report of the Committee of Experts amongst the non-metropolitan territories should in future not be classified in this way. Under the new Constitution, *Algeria* and the *Overseas Departments* are part of metropolitan France. The labour legislation applicable in *Algeria* and the *Overseas Departments* is in principle the metropolitan legislation, subject to the special conditions of application.

As for the non-metropolitan territories themselves, the Government regretted the delay in submitting the reports concerning the *French Establishments in India*, which had just reached the Office. In future the Government would do all in its power to have these reports despatched to the Office in time for submission to the Committee of Experts.

As for the observation of the Committee of Experts concerning the *Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3)*, the application of this text had not as yet been extended to the overseas territories. However, generally speaking, information would be supplied every year until the notification by the Government of the extension of the application of ratified Conventions.

As for the *Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919 (No. 5)* it was true that a small number of children under 14 years (seven or eight at the most) were employed in *St. Pierre and Miquelon*, but this was outside the school period, in the fishing industry which is of considerable importance to the economy of the territory. However, this was merely tolerated, and the French Government gave a formal undertaking to bring about the adoption of local regulations prohibiting such employment.

The Committee took note of this undertaking with satisfaction.

The Government representative added, as regards the application of the *Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925 (No. 17)* in *St. Pierre and Miquelon*, that the report had not been sufficiently detailed. In fact all the provisions of the Convention were applied through the Decree of 31 October 1949 which would be communicated to the Committee of Experts.

Turning to the *Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)*, by Decree of 30 April 1946 the Penal Code had been made applicable to all overseas territories, thus ensuring that the provisions of the Act of 11 April 1946 which prohibits forced labour were given full effect to. This Act provided, however, for the adoption of a special text containing new sanctions, which would not abolish the sanctions provided for in the Penal Code, and the judge would be able to choose between the application of these sanctions and those laid down by the special text.

The Committee took note of this information with interest, and expressed the wish that the Government would supply all the supplementary information next year.

Italy

The Government representative stated that the trusteeship agreement concerning the Trust Territory of *Somaliland* had been ratified in November 1951 only and his Government would fulfil scrupulously its obligations and supply full reports thereon. In fact, arrangements had already been made by the Ministries of Labour and of Foreign Affairs and the authorities of the Trust Territory with a view to avoiding any delay in the submission of these reports.

The Committee took note of this statement with interest.

Netherlands

The Government representative stated that the delay in submitting reports on *Surinam* and the *Netherlands Antilles* was due to the fact that under the new Constitutional rules the metropolitan Government was no longer able to force these territories to supply reports to it on the application of Conventions. The question of the responsibilities of the metropolitan countries in the social and economic affairs of their non-metropolitan territories was at present being examined.

The Committee took note of this statement and expressed the hope that a satisfactory solution would be reached shortly.

United Kingdom

The Government representative stated, as regards the general observations concerning non-metropolitan territories made by the Committee of Experts, that the Government had taken careful note of the Committee's remarks in this respect and the experts' report would be communicated in full to the Governments of all the territories for study. Their constitutional position differed of course from that of the French territories. The local governments and legislatures were becoming increasingly responsible for the management of their own affairs, and hence the adoption of measures to give effect to Conventions was very largely within their own competence. The obligations which rested on the United Kingdom Government had therefore to be exercised through this constitutional relationship with the territories and by the constitutional process of consultation.

With particular reference to two questions raised by the Committee of Experts, the latter had firstly drawn attention to the vague and unsatisfactory nature of some of the reasons given for the inapplicability of certain Conventions and had mentioned the case of *British Guiana* in this connection. The Government had set itself a very strict criterion in

deciding upon this question and considered as inapplicable only such provisions as related to matters which were quite unlikely to arise in a given territory. In all other cases, Conventions were considered to be potentially if not immediately applicable, with such modifications as local conditions might require. In the case of *British Guiana*, the report had only indicated that local circumstances did not yet permit even partial application of certain Conventions. However, his Government would bring this point to the notice of all the territorial Governments. It was their wish to provide full background information about conditions in the territories.

Another point stressed by the Committee of Experts was the communication of reports to employers' and workers' organisations in non-metropolitan territories. The experts' remarks, both in their general report and in Appendix I, Part C, would be brought to the notice of the authorities of the territories which in any case were attempting to discharge this obligation: in the absence of any representative central organisations reports were often communicated to individual organisations and to the labour advisory boards on which both employers and workers were represented. In any case, copies of the reports were always communicated to the representative organisations in the United Kingdom. In the case of *British Guiana*, the absence of central organisations had not been the sole reason for omitting to communicate copies but all the facts of the local situation had had to be taken into account. The United Kingdom Government was of the opinion that annual reports could not be fully understood by the organisations concerned if they did not have at their disposal the texts of Conventions, previous reports, and the report forms. It had therefore requested the Office to supply a sufficient quantity of these forms for this purpose.

The Government was fully aware of the tremendous task ahead in promoting social progress in its non-metropolitan territories, and was approaching it with a clear sense of its responsibilities. Its reports covered all the Conventions ratified and all its territories. It intended to make declarations in due course concerning the application to these territories of the Conventions which had been ratified recently. As the ratification of a Convention implied not only a promise of future action but an immediate obligation, so his Government saw the making of declarations in exactly the same light and hoped that when made they would always reflect progress already achieved. All the requests for supplementary information would be carefully examined by his Government and the necessary replies would be forthcoming with the next annual reports.

The Committee took note of this statement.

APPENDIX II

ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1950-1951

(ARTICLE 22 OF THE CONSTITUTION)

Received or Still Due, 23 June 1952

Total Requested : 907—Reports Received : 761—Reports Still Due : 146

Country	Reports received		Reports still due	
	Number received	Conventions Nos.	Number due	Conventions Nos.
Afghanistan	5	4, 13, 14, 41, 45	0	—
Argentina	33	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 41, 42, 45, 50, 52	0	—
Australia	12	7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 63, 88	0	—
Austria	18	2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 33, 42, 45, 81	0	—
Belgium.....	34	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 33, 41, 42, 43, 45, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 64	0	—
Brazil	11	3, 5, 6, 7, 16, 41, 42, 45, 52, 53, 58	0	—
Bulgaria	0	—	54	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 77, 78, 79, 81, 88
Burma	14	1, 2, 4, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 41	0	—
Canada	11	1, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 22, 26, 27, 32, 63	0	—
Ceylon	2	6, 7	0	—
Chile	34	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45	0	—
China	0	—	13	7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32, 45, 59
Colombia.....	22	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26	2	24, 25
Cuba	25	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 30, 33, 42, 45	0	—
Czechoslovakia.....	24	1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 49	0	—
Denmark.....	17	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 29, 42, 52, 53, 63	1	2

Country	Reports received		Reports still due	
	Number received	Conventions Nos.	Number due	Conventions Nos.
Dominican Republic	0	—	4	1, 5, 7, 10
Egypt	5	19, 41, 45, 53, 63	0	—
Finland	29	2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 42, 45, 52, 53, 62, 63, 81, 87	0	—
France	38	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58	0	—
Greece	16	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 27, 41, 45	0	—
Hungary	0	—	18	2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 41, 42, 45, 48
India	16	1, 4, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 32, 45, 81, 89	0	—
Iraq	5	18, 19, 41, 42, 58	0	—
Ireland	27	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 63	0	—
Italy	24	2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38	0	—
Liberia	0	—	1	29
Luxembourg	27	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28	0	—
Mexico	27	8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 42, 43, 45, 49, 52, 53, 55, 62, 63	3	6, 7, 87
Netherlands	27	2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 33, 41, 42, 45, 48, 58, 63, 87, 88	0	—
New Zealand	27	1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 21, 22, 26, 29, 30, 32, 42, 44, 45, 49, 50, 53, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 88	0	—
Nicaragua	0	—	30	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30
Norway	27	2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 26, 27, 29, 34, 42, 43, 49, 50, 53, 58, 59, 63, 81, 87, 88	0	—
Pakistan	14	1, 4, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 32, 45	0	—
Peru	0	—	11	1, 4, 11, 14, 19, 24, 35, 37, 39, 41, 45
Poland	32	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 48, 77, 78, 79	0	—
Portugal	9	1, 4, 6, 14, 17, 18, 19, 27, 45	0	—

Country	Number received		Reports still due	
	Reports received	Conventions Nos.	Number due	Conventions Nos.
Sweden	25	2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 27, 29, 32, 34, 42, 45, 58, 63, 81, 87, 88	0	—
Switzerland	15	2, 5, 6, 11, 14, 18, 19, 26, 27, 29, 44, 45, 62, 63, 81	0	—
Syria	0	—	1	89
Turkey	5	2, 14, 34, 42, 45	0	—
Union of South Africa ...	6	2, 19, 26, 45, 63, 89	0	—
United Kingdom.....	34	2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 56, 63, 64, 65, 81, 87, 88	0	—
United States	3	53, 55, 58	0	—
Uruguay	30	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33	0	—
Venezuela	9	1, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 27, 41, 45	8	2, 7, 11, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29
Yugoslavia	22	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 48	0	—

Ratifications Registered between 1921 and 1938 in respect of which no Reports were Requested for the Period 1950-1951¹

The ratifications in question are as follows :

	Number of ratifications		Number of ratifications
Albania	4	Latvia	17
Estonia	22	Lithuania	7
Germany	17	Rumania	17
Japan	14	Spain	34

¹ This table is given for statistical purposes only. Clearly a number of complicated legal and constitutional questions arise, varying from case to case, as to whether the reports are due in certain cases.

APPENDIX III

TABLES ORIGINALLY PRESENTED BY SIR JOHN FORBES WATSON SHOWING THE POSITION OF RATIFICATIONS AND VOTES CAST BY GOVERNMENT DELEGATES (as brought up to date by the International Labour Office)

TABLE A

Conventions 1919-1950—Total Adopted : 97¹ (Position of Ratifications on 1 June 1952)

Population: Latest available estimate ² (millions)	Country	Conventions ratified ³	Conventions not ratified		Remarks (membership)
			Total	Number of those Conventions which were adopted by the Conference at sessions outside period of participation in the Organisation of the country concerned	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(a) NON-FEDERAL STATES					
(1) 7.0	Bulgaria	62	35	—	Joined 1920
(2) 41.1	France	60	37	—	
(3) 50.3	United Kingdom	50	47	—	
(4) 8.5	Belgium ⁴	44	53	—	
(5) 9.9	Netherlands	38	59	—	
(6) 5.1	Cuba	36	61	—	
(7) 3.9	Finland	36	61	5	Joined 1920
(8) 5.7	Chile	34	63	—	
(9) 12.4	Czechoslovakia	34	63	—	
(10) 1.8	New Zealand	34	63	—	
(11) 3.1	Norway	34	63	—	
(12) 28.0	Spain	34	63	30	Withdrew 1941
(13) 23.9	Poland	33	64	—	
(14) 2.9	Ireland	32	65	4	Joined 1923
(15) 6.8	Sweden	32	65	—	
(16) 1.1	Nicaragua	30	67	35	Withdrew 1938
(17) 2.3	Uruguay	30	67	—	
(18) 0.3	Luxembourg	27	70	—	Joined 1920
(19) 45.7	Italy	25	72	4	Withdrew 1939 ; rejoined 1946
(20) 10.7	Colombia	24	73	—	
(21) 1.1 (1934)	Estonia	22	75	24	Joined 1921
(22) 4.1	Denmark	21	76	—	
(23) 9.1	Hungary	20	77	7	Joined 1922
(24) 4.4	Venezuela	18	79	—	
(25) 66.0	Germany (Fed. Rep. of Germany)	17	80	53	Withdrew 1935 ; rejoined (Fed. Rep. of Germany) 1951
(26) 7.7	Greece	17	80	—	
(27) 2.0 (1939)	Latvia	17	80	24	Joined 1921
(28) 15.8	Rumania	17	80	30	Withdrew 1942
(29) 15.6 (1936)	Burma	14	83	71	Joined 1948
(30) 82.6	Japan	14	83	30	Withdrew 1940 ; rejoined 1951
(31) 463.4	China	13	84	—	
(32) 3.7	Guatemala	13	84	5	Withdrew 1938 ; rejoined 1945
(33) 7.2	Ceylon	11	86	74	Joined 1948
(34) 7.2	Peru	11	86	—	
(35) 12.1	Union of South Africa	10	87	—	
(36) 8.4	Portugal	9	88	—	
(37) 19.5	Turkey	9	88	32	Joined 1932
(38) 4.8	Iraq	8	89	31	Joined 1932
(39) 2.4 (1939)	Lithuania	7	90	28	Joined 1921
(40) 7.0 (1939)	Afghanistan	5	92	44	Joined 1934
(41) 19.5	Egypt	5	92	49	Joined 1936
(42) 0.9	Israel	5	92	84	Joined 1949
(43) 1.1	Albania	4	93	13	Joined 1920
(44) 2.2	Dominican Republic	4	93	12	Joined 1924
(45) 2.6 (1939)	Haiti	4	93	—	
(46) 72.0	Indonesia	4	93	93	Joined 1950
(47) 0.1	Iceland	1	96	67	Joined 1945
(48) 2.5 (1939)	Liberia	1	96	—	
(49) 2.7 (1945)	Syria	1	96	85	Joined 1947
(50) 3.9	Bolivia	—	97	—	
(51) 0.8	Costa Rica	—	97	56	Joined 1920 ; withdrew 1926 ; rejoined 1944

¹ Final Articles Revision Convention, 1946 (No. 80) is a procedural Convention and as such is not included in the tables ; it has received 38 ratifications.

² Except where otherwise indicated, the figures given refer to the year 1947, 1948 or 1949.

³ All ratifications up to 1 June 1952 are listed, since the Office is not in a position to assess the effect of any changes in the status of countries which have ratified.

⁴ Ratification of Convention No. 100 (23.5.1952) is not included.

TABLE A (cont.)

Population : Latest available estimate (millions)	Country	Conventions ratified	Conventions not ratified		Remarks (membership)
			Total	Number of those Conventions which were adopted by the Con- ference at sessions outside period of participation in the Organisa- tion of the country concerned	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(52) 3.4	Ecuador	—	97	44	Joined 1934
(53) 5.5 (1939)	Ethiopia	—	97	39	Joined 1923
(54) 1.2	Honduras	—	97	26	
(55) 15.0 (1939)	Iran	—	97	—	
(56) 1.2 (1945)	Lebanon	—	97	89	Joined 1948
(57) 0.7	Panama	—	97	—	
(58) 1.2	Paraguay	—	97	31	
(59) 19.3	Philippines	—	97	85	Joined 1948
(60) 2.1	El Salvador	—	97	22	Withdrew 1939 ; rejoined 1948
(61) 17.9	Thailand	—	97	—	
(62) 18.5 (1939)	Viet-Nam	—	97	97	Joined 1950
(b) FEDERAL STATES					
(1) 16.1	Argentina	33	64	—	
(2) 24.4	Mexico	32	65	14	Joined 1931
(3) 7.1	Austria	25	72	19	Withdrew 1938 ; rejoined 1947
(4) 15.7	Yugoslavia ¹	24	73	12	Withdrew 1949 ; rejoined 1951
(5) 73.3	Pakistan	20	77	70	Joined 1947
(6) 342.1	India	19	78	—	
(7) 4.6	Switzerland	19	78	—	
(8) 13.5	Canada	17	80	—	
(9) 7.9	Australia	14	83	—	
(10) 49.3	Brazil	12	85	—	
(11) 149.2	United States	5	92	44	Joined 1934
(12) 193.0 (1946)	U.S.S.R.	—	97	74	Joined 1934 ; withdrew 1940
Total ...		1,251	5,927	1,656	

¹ Ratification of Convention No. 100 (21.5.1952) is not included

TABLE B

Conventions, 1919-1950—Total Adopted : 97¹ (Position of Conventions Voted for by Governments but not Ratified)

Population : Latest available estimate ² (millions)	Country	Conventions voted for but not ratified			Conventions ratified ⁴
		Total	Conventions of general application	Conventions not of general application ³	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(a) NON-FEDERAL STATES					
(1) 4.1	Denmark	68	43	25	21
(2) 3.1	Norway	58	39	19	34
(3) 7.7	Greece	55	34	21	17
(4) 6.8	Sweden	55	33	22	32
(5) 463.4	China	54	32	22	13
(6) 7.2	Peru	54	33	21	11
(7) 9.9	Netherlands	49	28	21	38
(8) 8.5	Belgium ⁵	51	35	16	44
(9) 5.7	Chile	52	31	21	34
(10) 23.9	Poland	50	26	24	33
(11) 45.7	Italy	47	32	15	25
(12) 0.3	Luxembourg	47	35	12	27
(13) 5.1	Cuba	43	28	15	36
(14) 8.4	Portugal	44	22	22	9
(15) 3.9	Finland	42	26	16	36
(16) 4.4	Venezuela	42	28	14	18
(17) 12.4	Czechoslovakia	39	21	18	34
(18) 2.3	Uruguay	37	27	10	30
(19) 3.4	Ecuador	36	22	14	—
(20) 2.0 (1939)	Latvia	36	24	12	17
(21) 41.1	France	35	22	13	60
(22) 15.0 (1939)	Iran	35	27	8	—
(23) 19.5	Turkey	34	21	13	9
(24) 10.7	Colombia	32	23	9	24
(25) 15.8	Rumania	32	21	11	17
(26) 19.5	Egypt	31	12	19	5
(27) 3.7	Guatemala	29	26	3	13
(28) 1.8	New Zealand	29	13	16	34
(29) 1.1 (1934)	Estonia	28	22	6	22
(30) 9.1	Hungary	28	19	9	20
(31) 50.3	United Kingdom	28	14	14	50
(32) 28.0	Spain	27	21	6	34
(33) 12.1	Union of South Africa	26	20	6	10
(34) 2.4 (1939)	Lithuania	26	21	5	7
(35) 0.7	Panama	26	14	12	—
(36) 2.2	Dominican Republic	25	15	10	4
(37) 2.9	Ireland	25	12	13	32
(38) 4.8	Iraq	19	11	8	8
(39) 7.0	Bulgaria	16	5	11	62
(40) 0.1	Iceland	16	9	7	1
(41) 17.9	Thailand	16	11	5	—
(42) 7.0 (1939)	Afghanistan	15	7	8	5
(43) 1.1	Albania	13	9	4	4
(44) 2.6 (1939)	Haiti	12	7	5	4
(45) 19.3	Philippines	12	9	3	—
(46) 66.0	Germany (Fed. Rep. of Germany)	11	9	2	17
(47) 2.5 (1939)	Liberia	11	10	1	1
(48) 1.2	Paraguay	11	11	—	—
(49) 3.9	Bolivia	10	6	4	—
(50) 82.6	Japan	10	5	5	14
(51) 15.6 (1936)	Burma	4	4	—	14
(52) 0.9	Israel	4	4	—	5
(53) 2.1	El Salvador	3	3	—	—
(54) 0.8	Costa Rica	2	2	—	—
(55) 7.2	Ceylon	1	1	—	11
(56) 2.7 (1945)	Syria	1	1	—	1
(57) 5.5 (1939)	Ethiopia	—	—	—	—
(58) 1.2	Honduras	—	—	—	—
(59) 72.0	Indonesia	—	—	—	4
(60) 1.2 (1945)	Lebanon	—	—	—	—
(61) 1.1	Nicaragua	—	—	—	30
(62) 18.5 (1939)	Viet-Nam	—	—	—	—

¹ Final Articles Revision Convention, 1946 (No. 80) is a procedural Convention and as such is not included in the tables; it has received 38 ratifications.² Except where otherwise indicated, the figures given refer to the years 1947, 1948 or 1949.³ This column includes 27 maritime Conventions (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 22, 23, 27, 28, 32, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 91, 92 and 93) and 8 non-metropolitan territories Conventions (Nos. 50, 64, 65, 82, 83, 84, 85 and 86), i.e., a total of 35 Conventions.⁴ All ratifications up to 1 June 1952 are listed, since the Office is not in a position to assess the effect of any changes in the status of countries which have ratified.⁵ Ratification of Convention No. 100 (23.5.1952) is not included.

TABLE B (cont.)

Population : Latest available estimate ^a (millions)	Country	Conventions voted for but not ratified			Conventions ratified ^a
		Total	Conventions of general application	Conventions not of general application ^a	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(b) FEDERAL STATES					
(1) 49.3	Brazil	63	46	17	12
(2) 13.5	Canada	61	41	20	17
(3) 7.9	Australia	53	31	22	14
(4) 16.1	Argentina	43	26	17	33
(5) 24.4	Mexico	43	25	18	32
(6) 149.2	United States	43	27	16	5
(7) 4.6	Switzerland	39	25	14	19
(8) 342.1	India	32	10	22	19
(9) 15.7	Yugoslavia ^a	32	20	12	24
(10) 7.1	Austria	24	16	8	25
(11) 193.0 (1946)	U.S.S.R.	13	8	5	—
(12) 73.3	Pakistan	3	0	3	20
Total ...		2,091	1,321	770	1,251

^a Ratification of Convention No. 100 (21.5.1952) is not included.

APPENDIX VII

Fourth Item on the Agenda : Holidays with Pay in Agriculture

(1) Text of Proposed Convention concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(2) Text of Proposed Recommendation concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

The text of the Proposed Convention and of the Proposed Recommendation is given in Report IV (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.

(3) Report of the Committee on Agriculture.¹

1. The Committee on Agriculture, set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 5 June 1952, consisted of 60 members (36 Government members, 12 Employers' members and 12 Workers' members). In keeping with a Conference decision designed to balance the inequality in the number of Government members and those of the Employers and Workers respectively, each Government member had one vote and each Employers' and each Workers' member three votes.

2. The officers appointed by the Committee were as follows :

Chairman : Mr. Afchar, Government member (Iran) ;

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Phillips, Employers' member (United Kingdom) and Mr. Niyazi, Workers' member (India) ;

Reporter : Mr. Larchevêque, Government member (France).

3. The Committee was charged with the examination of the reports concerning holidays with pay in agriculture, item IV on the agenda, which was before the Conference for second discussion.

4. In conformity with the provisions of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the following members were added to the Officers of the Committee to form the Drafting Committee : Mr. Paredes, Government member

(Ecuador) ; Mr. Conil-Lacoste, Employers' member (France) ; Mr. McAndrews, Workers' member (United Kingdom) ; and Mr. Decourcelle, Workers' member (Belgium).

5. The Committee decided to take as a basis for its discussions the texts of the proposed Convention and Recommendation, which were prepared by the International Labour Office after consultation with the Governments of the States Members and which appear in Chapter II of Report IV (2).

6. In the course of the examination of this question by the Committee, it was immediately apparent, as was the case during the first discussion of this question in 1951, that there was unanimous agreement on the part of the three groups regarding the necessity of international regulations recognising the right of agricultural workers to an annual holiday with pay after a period of continuous service with the same employer. However, the Employers' members of the Committee restated the position which they took up during the first discussion of this question in 1951, and insisted on the advisability of giving the international regulations the form of a Recommendation rather than that of a Convention, and this view was shared by some Government members. Having reserved their attitude at the beginning of the work of the Committee, so as to permit the latter to carry on with the consideration of the proposed texts, the Employers' members were able to revert at a later stage to the question of the form of the regulations.

7. Examining first the provisions contained in the proposed Convention, the Committee discussed at considerable length the question of whether or not to specify in the text of the Convention the minimum length of the annual holiday with pay and the required minimum period of service. Several Government members were in favour of the inclusion of such a specification while the Employers' members and the majority of Government members were opposed to it, stressing the procedural and practical difficulties which such provisions would raise in a large number of countries. The Workers' members, while in principle favouring the inclusion in the text of the Convention of a specific reference to the minimum length of the holiday and of the required period of service, finally accepted the

¹ See Second Part, pp. 254, 267.

point of view of those Government members who opposed such a course of action. After a long exchange of views the Committee rejected by 92 votes to 4 the inclusion in Article 3 of the text of a minimum figure for the length of the holiday. Similarly, the Committee decided not to specify in the text the length of the minimum period of service required for a worker to become entitled to a holiday. A similar decision was taken with respect to that part of Article 5 concerning holidays with pay for young workers and apprentices.

8. In the course of the discussion on Article 5 of the proposed Convention, which deals with holidays with pay for young workers and apprentices, the increase in the duration of the annual paid holiday with length of service, proportionate increase in the length of holidays under certain conditions, and the exclusion from the annual holiday with pay of certain public holidays and temporary absences from work, the Committee had before it in particular an amendment submitted by the Employers' members proposing that this Article be deleted and inserted in the Recommendation. If the deletion of the whole Article were not approved, the amendment called for the deletion of the first three clauses or, failing this, a modification of clause (c). After discussion the Committee rejected in succession the proposals contained in this amendment. Similarly, the Committee was not able to accept various other amendments on Article 5 dealing, *inter alia*, with temporary absences which should not be counted as part of the annual holiday with pay. In connection therewith the Committee deemed it sufficient to adopt a suggestion made by the French Government member to insert the words "to such causes as" towards the end of clause (d) of this Article.

9. Apart from these questions the various amendments which were presented to the Committee dealt with points of detail and, in the light of the explanations given from various sides, many of them were withdrawn by their authors, while others did not receive the support of the majority of the Committee. However, an amendment presented by the United Kingdom Government member was accepted; this made a change in the wording of the first part of Article 6. It will no doubt suffice as regards all these amendments to refer to the minutes of the Committee sittings.

10. Having thus completed the examination of the various proposals regarding the provisions of the proposed Convention, the Committee was able to resume the discussion on the form of the international regulations. On this point the Employers' members, as well as certain Government members, in particular those from India, Portugal and the United States, declared themselves in favour of a strong Recommendation, while the Workers' members, as well as the majority of the Government members, stressed the importance of having a rather flexible Convention, which should be supplemented by a Recommendation.

11. On a record vote the Committee finally rejected by 55 votes to 42, with 2 abstentions, the proposal made by the Employers' members to give the entire international regulations the form of a Recommendation, and decided that

the international regulations concerning holidays with pay in agriculture should take the form of a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation.

12. Turning next to the consideration of the proposed Recommendation, the Committee rejected one by one amendments relating in particular to the minimum length of the holiday for adults and for young workers and apprentices respectively, and to temporary interruptions of work. The Committee, however, accepted, on the understanding that it would be referred to the Drafting Committee, an amendment to the second part of Paragraph 6 of the Recommendation. This amendment proposed giving the worker the right to take at least one part of his holiday in an uninterrupted period which should not be less than a prescribed minimum.

13. Similarly, the Committee accepted an amendment—to be sent to the Drafting Committee for the establishment of the final wording—the purpose of which was to prevent holidays from interfering with peak work periods or from prejudicing agricultural production (Paragraph 7).

14. The texts of the Convention and of the Recommendation which were finally adopted by the Committee are appended to the present report and are submitted for the approval of the Conference.

15. During the course of the Committee discussions, members on several occasions stressed in a realistic manner the intimate relationship existing between the various social problems in agriculture, of which the question of holidays with pay is only one special aspect. The Committee as a whole underlined the importance which it attached to the effect which should be given in this connection to the resolution adopted by the Conference at its 33rd Session after the examination of the General Report which constituted an item on the agenda of that Conference. The Committee unanimously expressed the wish that the Governing Body take the steps necessary to ensure that the discussion of agricultural questions by the General Conference should not be subject to long delay after the present session.

16. By 77 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions, the Committee adopted the report and the texts appended thereto.

Geneva, 20 June 1952.

(Signed) H. AFCHAR,
Chairman.

R. LARCHEVÊQUE,
Reporter.

PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

¹ See Second Part, p. 270.

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to holidays with pay in agriculture, which is the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this day of of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Convention, which may be cited as the Holidays with Pay (Agriculture) Convention, 1952 :

Article 1

Workers employed in agricultural undertakings and related occupations shall be granted an annual holiday with pay after a period of continuous service with the same employer.

Article 2

1. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to decide the manner in which provision shall be made for holidays with pay in agriculture.

2. Such provision may be made, where appropriate, by means of collective agreement or by entrusting the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture to special bodies.

3. Wherever the manner in which provision is made for holidays with pay in agriculture permits—

- (a) there shall be full preliminary consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, and with any other persons, specially qualified by their trade or functions, whom the competent authority deems it useful to consult ;
- (b) the employers and workers concerned shall participate in the regulation of holidays with pay, or be consulted or have the right to be heard, in such manner and to such extent as may be determined by national laws or regulations, but in any case on a basis of complete equality.

Article 3

The required minimum period of continuous service and the minimum duration of the annual holiday with pay shall be determined by national laws or regulations, collective agreement, or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

Article 4

1. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to determine, after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, to which undertakings, occupations, and categories of persons referred to in Article 1 the provisions of the Convention shall apply.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention may exclude from the application of all or any of the provisions of the Convention categories of persons whose conditions of

employment render such provisions inapplicable to them, such as members of the farmer's family employed by him.

Article 5

Where appropriate, provision shall be made, in accordance with the established procedure for the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, for—

- (a) more favourable treatment for young workers and apprentices in cases which in the annual holiday with pay granted to adult workers is not considered adequate for young workers and apprentices ;
- (b) an increase in the duration of the annual paid holiday with the length of service ;
- (c) proportionate holidays or payment in lieu thereof, in cases where the period of continuous service of a worker is not of sufficient duration to qualify him for an annual holiday with pay but exceeds such minimum period as may be determined in accordance with the established procedure ;
- (d) the exclusion from the annual holiday with pay of public and customary holidays and weekly rest periods, and, to such extent as may be determined in accordance with the established procedure, temporary interruptions of attendance at work due to such causes as sickness or accident.

Article 6

The annual holiday with pay may be divided within such limits as may be laid down by national laws or regulations, collective agreement, or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

Article 7

1. Every person taking a holiday in virtue of this Convention shall receive, in respect of the full period of the holiday, not less than his usual remuneration, or such remuneration as may be prescribed in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The remuneration payable in respect of the holiday shall be calculated as prescribed by national laws or regulations, collective agreement, or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

3. Where the remuneration of the person taking a holiday includes payments in kind, provision may be made for the payment in respect of holidays of the cash equivalent of such payments in kind.

Article 8

Any agreement to relinquish the right to an annual holiday with pay, or to forgo such a holiday, shall be void.

Article 9

A person dismissed for a reason other than his own misconduct before he has taken a

holiday due to him shall receive in respect of every day of holiday due to him in virtue of this Convention the remuneration provided for in Article 7.

Article 10

Each Member which ratifies this Convention undertakes to maintain, or satisfy itself that there is maintained, an adequate system of inspection and supervision to ensure the application of its provisions.

Article 11

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall communicate annually to the International Labour Office a general statement indicating the manner in which the provisions of the Convention are implemented, and, in summary form, the occupations, categories and approximate number of workers covered, the duration of the holidays granted, and the more important of the other conditions, if any, established relevant to holidays with pay in agriculture.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals, with regard to holidays with pay in agriculture, which is the fourth item on the agenda, and

Having decided that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation supplementing the Holidays with Pay (Agriculture) Convention, 1952,

adopts this day of
of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Holidays with Pay (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1952 :

The Conference recommends that each Member should apply the following provisions as rapidly as national conditions allow and report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body concerning the measures taken to give effect thereto.

1. The minimum length of the holiday with pay should be one working week for a period of one year's continuous service, with propor-

tionate holidays for a lesser period of continuous service.

2. The competent authority should consider the possibility of making more favourable provisions for young workers under eighteen years of age, including apprentices, in order to ease the transition from school to farm life during the period of physical development.

3. For young workers under sixteen years of age, including apprentices, the minimum length of the holiday with pay should be two working weeks for a period of one year's continuous service, with proportionate holidays for a lesser period of continuous service.

4. The continuity of service required for a worker to become entitled to a holiday with pay should not be affected by temporary interruptions due to sickness or accident, family events, or other similar circumstances.

5. The competent authority should provide, where appropriate, for an increase in the length of the paid holiday with the duration of the service, this increase to begin to operate as soon as possible and to be effected by regular stages so that a prescribed minimum will be attained after a determined number of years.

6. Although it may be desirable that provision should be made, in exceptional cases, for holidays with pay to be divided, care should be exercised to ensure that such division does not run counter to the purpose of the holiday, which is to enable the worker to recuperate. With this end in view the worker should have the right to take at least one part of his holiday in an uninterrupted period which should not be less than a prescribed minimum.

7. Where appropriate, provision should be made, in accordance with the established procedure, to ensure that holidays with pay do not interfere with peak work periods or seriously prejudice agricultural production.

(4) Text of the Convention (No.) concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(5) Text of the Recommendation (No.) concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The texts of the Convention and of the Recommendation, as submitted by the Drafting Committee, were adopted unchanged by the Conference at its 23rd Sitting, on 26 June 1952. For the final texts see Appendix XVI, pp. 586 and 592.)

¹ See Second Part, p. 346.

APPENDIX VIII

Fifth Item on the Agenda : Objectives and Standards of Social Security

(1) Text of the Proposed Convention concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(The text of this Proposed Convention is given in the Report V (a) (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.)

(2) Report of the Committee on Social Security.¹

1. The Committee on Social Security was set up by the Conference at its third sitting, on 5 June 1952. It consisted of 90 members (40 Government members, 20 Employers' members and 30 Workers' members). It held 14 sittings. A system of voting was adopted giving equality of votes to each of the three groups ; each Government member had 3 votes, each Employers' member had 6 votes and each Workers' member had 4 votes.

2. The Officers appointed by the Committee were as follows :

Chairman : Mr. Doublet, Government member, France.

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Calhoun, Employers' member, United States, and Mr. Stark, Workers' member, Austria.

Reporter : Mr. Alexander, Government member, Norway.

3. The *Drafting Committee* consisted of Mr. Myers, Government member, United States ; Mr. Sánchez Covisa, Employers' member, Venezuela ; Mr. Texier, Workers' member, France ; and Mr. Alexander, the Reporter.

INTRODUCTION

4. The International Labour Conference, at its 34th Session, considered the report of the Committee appointed to examine " Objectives and Minimum Standards of Social Security ", and adopted that report, together with proposals for a Convention on Minimum Standards of Social Security. The Conference decided to place on the agenda of the 35th Session the

question of " Minimum Standards of Social Security " with a view to a final decision on a Convention on the subject. It also decided at its 34th Session to place on the agenda of the 35th Session the question of " Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security " for a first discussion of the item. In accordance with its terms of reference, the Committee on Social Security examined part (a) of Item V of the Agenda, Minimum Standards of Social Security.

5. The Committee had before it Report V (a) (2), *Minimum Standards of Social Security*, which contained the text of a proposed Convention, submitted by the Office as a basis for discussion. A motion by an Employers' member to discuss the text on the basis of a proposed Recommendation having been rejected by 141 votes to 194, with 3 abstentions, the Committee proceeded to discuss the text provisionally on the basis of a Convention. A final decision that the proposed instrument should be in the form of a Convention was taken at the end of the discussion by a record vote of 183 votes to 141, with no abstentions.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

6. The Employers' members maintained the points advanced in the first discussion, that they considered the Conference would be exceeding its competence in adopting provisions concerning the economically active population and all residents, and that it should confine its consideration to employees only. Since a Convention should impose the same obligations on ratifying Members, the proposals contained in the proposed Convention should be the subject of a series of separate Conventions, and that voluntary forms of protection against social risks should be recognised under the instrument.

7. At the conclusion of the first record vote (147 votes to 147, with 12 abstentions) an Employers' member raised a point of order, that in three instances two Workers' members from one and the same country had voted and that this was not in accordance with the Standing Orders. The Chairman over-ruled the point of order on the grounds that the Standing Orders allowed the Employers' and Workers' groups to define the conditions on

¹ See Second Part, pp. 305, 312, 320, 323, 324.

which their respective members might vote. On the occasion of each subsequent record vote, the member registered a similar objection.

8. The Workers' members supported the adoption of a single proposed Convention. They agreed that the discussion should be based on the Office text, although they indicated that it failed to take sufficient account of the conclusions adopted at the 34th Session and regretted that some of the changes were unfavourable to the Workers.

9. The Conference added to the Committee, as a technical expert without power to vote, Dr. Maystre, a representative of the World Medical Association. Dr. Maystre submitted to the Committee a statement of the views of the World Medical Association concerning the provision of health services under social security schemes.

10. An explanation of the text of the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security is contained in Report V (a) (2).

PREAMBLE

11. A proposal of the Employers' members to delete, in the Preamble, the words " (Minimum Standards) " and refer to the Convention as the Social Security Convention, was defeated.

PART I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Definitions

12. A definition of the term " benefit " in the Articles dealing with medical care in case of a morbid condition, maternity or employment injury, was added to the Office text on the proposal of the Employers' members : benefit in these contexts may mean direct benefit in the form of care or indirect benefit consisting of a reimbursement of the expenses borne by the person concerned.

13. The term " widow " was defined as meaning a woman who was maintained by her husband at the time of his death.

Mode of Ratification

14. Article 2 of the Office text proposed that ratification should be dependent on compliance with all the provisions common to the several Parts, to the extent that they are relevant, and with at least three of the Parts dealing with separate contingencies.

15. An Employers' member proposed that every one of Parts II to X should be dealt with as a separate Convention, but the majority of the Committee did not agree to this suggestion.

16. Proposals to change the basis of ratification were submitted by several Government members and by the Workers' members. One would have admitted ratification on the basis of any one of Parts II to X ; others required various combinations of short-term and long-term benefits or would have counted medical care and sickness cash benefits as one branch only. The Workers' proposal to require compliance with at least four of Parts II to X was carried

by 126 votes to 27, with 138 abstentions ; this obviated discussion of the other proposals.

17. An amendment, tabled by a Workers' member, purporting to oblige a country ratifying this Convention to undertake to ratify, within a period of four years, any Convention on advanced standards that might be adopted by the Conference, was rejected.

Temporary Exceptions

18. A motion put forward by a Workers' member to delete the Article dealing with temporary exceptions having been defeated, two proposals to limit the period during which a country could avail itself of this Article were made : the one, coming from a Workers' member who had previously proposed deletion of Article 3, and fixing a limit of four years, was rejected ; the other, submitted by a Government member, provided that insufficiently developed countries could not take advantage of the temporary exceptions for more than ten years : this addition was adopted by 153 votes to 121, with 21 abstentions.

19. Subsequently, the Legal Adviser of the Office pointed out that it would be difficult for a country under such circumstances to ratify the Convention unless it already had a law on its statute books which provided that the standard of the Convention would be satisfied within ten years. The view had been taken in the past that it was inappropriate to include provisions in a Convention which involved contingent commitments.

20. An exchange of views followed this statement, in the course of which several members declared that they did not consider this obstacle insuperable. Other members pointed out that Article 3 of the Office text provided that the exceptions should be of a temporary nature. It was therefore only a question of defining the duration of the temporary period. If, after the expiry of ten years, the country which had had recourse to the temporary exception did not find it possible to renounce the right to avail itself thereof, it would automatically cease to be a party to the Convention, in respect of the Part concerned. Others, moreover, pointed out that temporary solutions were also implied in some other clauses, such as the one contained in Article 26.

21. The Drafting Committee proposed to replace the addition to paragraph 1 by a new paragraph 3, to the effect that a country which has not been able to renounce the right to avail itself of a temporary exception within ten years of its acceptance in respect of a certain Part shall cease to be a party to the Convention in respect of that Part. The proposal of the Drafting Committee was rejected by 130 to 121 votes, with 33 abstentions, and the text of the Office was adopted with the addition of the words " but not for a longer period than 10 years ".

Attainment of Scope of Protection

22. The Office text required a Member ratifying on the basis of a system protecting prescribed classes of persons to satisfy itself,

before ratification of the Part concerned, that the relevant percentage of persons protected had been attained during the preceding year. On the proposal of a Government member, the specification "during the preceding year" was deleted.

Voluntary Insurance

23. The provisions concerning voluntary insurance contained in the Office text were amended, account being taken both of a proposal submitted by an Employers' member and of some proposals put forward by the Workers' members, as well as of the discussion at the 34th Session and the conclusions then adopted, with the following result :

Voluntary insurance is admitted on the following conditions : (1) that it is supervised by the public authorities, or that it is administered by joint operation of employers and workers, in accordance with standards prescribed by national laws or regulations ; (2) that it covers a substantial proportion of the persons whose earnings do not exceed those of the skilled manual male worker, and (3) that, alone or jointly with other forms of social security, such as compulsory insurance, social assistance or public service, it satisfies all the relevant provisions of the Convention.

24. The proposal of the Workers' members to require voluntary insurance to be subsidised by public authorities was rejected.

25. A proposal by a Government member to the effect that voluntary insurance should also be admitted under the Part dealing with maternity benefits, so far as medical care is concerned, was adopted.

26. The Committee rejected an amendment proposed by a Workers' member which would have obliged a country ratifying on the basis of voluntary insurance to render such insurance compulsory within three years.

PART II. MEDICAL CARE

27. The Committee having rejected, by a very large majority, a proposal to delete Part II altogether, the discussion centred chiefly on the definition of the contingencies covered, the scope of protection and the range of benefit.

Contingencies Covered

28. The Employers' members would have wished to confine Part II to morbid conditions, leaving maternity care to be dealt with in Part VIII, subject to co-ordination with the corresponding provisions of the proposed Convention on maternity protection. This proposal was not accepted by the Committee.

Persons Protected

29. The Employers' members, repeating an objection of principle that they had expressed at the first discussion, proposed that the text should be concerned with the protection of employees only, since the population generally and persons working on their own account were not specifically represented in the tripartite delegations. If, however, it should be necessary to protect classes other than employees, an

instrument for the general population might then be adopted later, if the I.L.O. were found to be competent to do so. The Employers' members, again on the ground of principle concerning temporary exceptions, proposed to delete the clause allowing the scope of protection to be temporarily restricted to 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial establishments of a certain size. Although the Employers' members moved formal amendments on these two points to Part II only, they desired it to be understood that their objections of principle were applicable equally to other Parts.

30. The Workers' members, on their part, would have desired to delete the alternative of "50 per cent. of all employees", since employees were already taken care of in the alternative providing for the protection of classes of the economically active population. The Government member of one of the lesser-developed countries, however, urged that the former alternative be retained, since its implementation would be easier for those countries which would have recourse to Article 3 than the implementation of the requirement to protect a certain part of all residents.

31. Neither proposals to reduce, nor those to increase, the minimum requirements for protection were approved by the Committee, which maintained the conclusions of the 34th Session of the Conference and approved the Office text of Article 9.

Range and Nature of Benefit

32. The Committee retained two proposals put forward by the Workers' members : (1) it decided to specify, in the introductory Article, that both preventive and curative medical care should be provided for the persons protected ; and (2) it added a provision specifically including domiciliary visits by the general practitioner among the benefits to be provided under Part II. The Workers' members had, in support of their proposals, referred to the opinion of the W.H.O. consultant group on these points.

33. The inclusion of dental care among the requirements of the Convention on minimum standards—even of such dental care only as might be prescribed by national laws or regulations—was not, however, deemed advisable by the Committee, nor did it approve a proposal by an Employers' member to omit pharmaceutical supplies.

34. As regards cost-sharing, the Workers' members would have wished to reintroduce the version adopted in 1951 : this version disallowed cost-sharing in respect not only of maternity but also of employment injury and curable disease likely to entail prolonged care ; it also restricted the extent of the patient's participation to one-third at most. The provisions actually applied by the different countries vary widely, and the fixing of a proportion of one-third did not seem practicable to the Committee.

Qualifying Period

35. The Committee did not retain a Government proposal to delete the qualifying period, nor an amendment put forward by the Em-

ployers' members to substitute "such qualifying period as may be necessary" for "such qualifying period as may be necessary to preclude abuse".

36. The Employers' members, in order to expedite the work of the Committee, refrained from proposing the same amendment to the corresponding articles of other Parts although they wished it to be made clear that their position on this point was, of course, the same as regards all Parts of the Convention containing a similar clause.

Definitions and Terminology

37. In the course of the debate, or as a result of the suggestions of the Drafting Committee, the meaning of certain terms used in the proposed Convention was elucidated. In Article 10 (1) (a) the term "hospitalisation" was deemed to include both maintenance and all supportive services required for the proper care of persons in hospital, as suggested by the W.H.O. consultant group, but not care by medical practitioners (whether general or specialist).

38. In Article 12 the term "case" was substituted for "case of treatment" and deemed to refer back to "morbid condition".

39. In paragraph 4 of Article 10 the term "general health services" was deemed to refer to community health services, such as maternity and child welfare, inoculation and vaccination, health education, and the like.

PART III. SICKNESS BENEFIT

40. The discussion of Part III was almost wholly devoted to Article 18, dealing with the duration of sickness benefit. The Office text allowed of two alternatives for the normal minimum standard: (a) a maximum benefit period of not less than 26 weeks with a waiting period of not more than three days; or (b) an unlimited benefit period, in which event the waiting period could be one calendar week.

41. A proposal to allow of a waiting period of one week with a maximum benefit period of 26 weeks, coming from the Employers' members, and another proposal, put forward by a Government member, to allow of such waiting period in the course of a year rather than in each case of sickness, were rejected. Another Government proposal to allow a limitation of the duration to 52 weeks where the waiting period is one week was also rejected, and the Committee, by a majority vote, decided, on the proposal of the Workers' members, to delete the alternative of one week's waiting period where the benefit period is otherwise unlimited. The main argument advanced against a seven-day waiting period (even where benefit is paid for an unlimited period, as in Australia and New Zealand) was that a long waiting period militates against early diagnosis and treatment.

42. The Committee thus retained the Office text of Part III, except for the deletion, in Article 18, of the alternative of one week's waiting period where benefit is otherwise unlimited.

43. It was made clear in the course of the debates that the term "suspension of earnings" implied that the person protected, if an employee, did not receive remuneration in respect of the period during which benefit was paid.

PART IV. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Contingencies Covered

44. It was made clear, in the course of the Drafting Committee's work, that the term "available for work" also implied the claimant's willingness to work and to accept suitable employment.

Scope of Protection

45. The requirement to protect at least 40 per cent. of all employees by unemployment insurance, or, alternatively, all employees whose means did not exceed prescribed limits during the contingency by social assistance, suggested in the Office report, was amended by the Committee to a requirement to protect at least 50 per cent. of all employees, or, alternatively, all residents—rather than all employees—whose means during the contingency did not exceed prescribed limits.

Duration of Benefit

46. A number of amendments were submitted on this point tending to take more fully into account the variety of systems of unemployment benefit obtaining in different countries, and especially those systems which relate the benefit period to the length of the contribution period. These amendments were referred to a subcommittee with a view to the elaboration of a revised text.

47. The version finally adopted by the Committee permits of three alternative solutions. Unemployment benefit may be limited to 13 weeks within a period of 12 months, under an insurance scheme or a public service (*i.e.*, schemes without a means test), and to 26 weeks within a period of 12 months, under a social assistance scheme (*i.e.*, a scheme with a means test); the longer benefit period required under a social assistance scheme was, in the opinion of the Committee, justified by the fact that a means test could be applied.

48. A third solution open to the Member is a benefit period depending on the length of the contribution period and the amount of benefit previously received in a given period, provided the average duration of benefit for all persons protected is at least 13 weeks.

49. As regards the waiting period, it is proposed that this should not exceed the first seven days in each case of suspension of earnings. Days of unemployment preceding and following a short spell of employment shall be counted as part of one and the same case.

50. Accordingly, the revised text adopted by the Committee requires a somewhat wider scope of protection than the text proposed in the Office report and stipulates a longer benefit period under social assistance (26 weeks) than under social insurance (13 weeks), but it admits of a waiting period of one week in both cases.

PART V. OLD-AGE BENEFIT

51. The discussion on Part V was chiefly concerned with the definition of the contingency to be covered and with the relation between the qualifying period and the benefit stipulated in the proposed Convention.

Contingency Covered

52. The Office text provided that the pensionable age for the benefit stipulated in the proposed Convention should be not more than 65 years, unless the proportion of aged persons in the country concerned is particularly high ; in that event, the pensionable age could be higher than 65 years, on condition that the ratio of the number of persons who had attained the pensionable age to the active population (*i.e.*, those over 15 years but under the pensionable age) is at least 10 per cent. A Government proposal to allow Members to fix a higher pensionable age than 65 years with due regard to the age distribution of the population and the working ability of elderly persons in the country concerned, without reference to a specified percentage, was rejected by 147 votes to 147, with 12 abstentions (record vote). However, the Committee approved of an exception to the 10 per cent. rule, proposed by another Government member, which takes account of the possibility that the proportion of persons of pensionable age may fluctuate ; for a period of not more than five years, a percentage of 9 per cent. would be deemed satisfactory.

53. Paragraph 3 of Article 26 of the Office text permitted the pension to be suspended where the person concerned was engaged in a specified occupation, or to be reduced if the pensioner earned a substantial amount fixed by national laws or regulations. As regards the latter provision, the word "substantial" was deleted by the Committee on the proposal of the Employers' members. The clause finally adopted permits of a reduction of the pension in respect of earnings under any system, and a reduction in respect of other means of the beneficiary under a social assistance scheme, *i.e.*, in respect of non-contributory pensions only.

Relation between Qualifying Period and Old-Age Benefit

54. The Committee approved of a formula, proposed by a Government member, to refer to a qualifying period completed in accordance with prescribed rules, rather than a qualifying period completed within a prescribed period preceding the contingency. This formula, in fact, gives greater latitude to national laws or regulations, more particularly as regards rules concerning the maintenance of acquired pension rights.

55. A debate then ensued on two Government proposals which purported to relate to some extent the rate of the pension stipulated in the proposed Convention to the length of the qualifying period. It was decided to allow a Member, as an exception from the rule, to ratify on the basis of a pension ten points lower than that required to be paid after 30 years

of contribution or employment or after 20 years of residence, as the case may be, *i.e.*, a pension of 30 per cent. of the individual or standard wage rather than 40 per cent., on condition that such lower pension is granted to all those who have completed a qualifying period of ten years of contribution or employment or, where appropriate, one of five years of residence.

56. Moreover, the pension required to be paid where the qualifying period for such pension is more than ten years of contribution or employment, but less than 30 years, is proportionately more than 30 per cent. of the individual or standard wage but less than 40 per cent. ; thus, a pension of 35 per cent. of individual or standard wages payable after 20 years of contribution or employment would meet the requirements of the proposed Convention.

57. Where the benefit corresponding to the requirements of the proposed Convention is paid after a qualifying period of more than 15 years of contribution or employment, under an insurance scheme, a reduced pension must also be paid to any person protected who has at least 15 years of contribution or employment on attainment of the pensionable age. The amount of such reduced pension is left to be determined by national laws or regulations.

PART VI. EMPLOYMENT INJURY BENEFIT

58. The Committee amended Part VI on four points :

(1) As a result of various proposals, an exchange of views and the work of a subcommittee, it admitted the commutation of the pension for a lump sum where the degree of incapacity is slight, and also, in other cases, where the competent authority is satisfied that the lump sum will be properly utilised.

(2) It added, on the proposal of the Employers' members, a new Article on vocational rehabilitation and retraining, which stipulates that the Government departments or institutions administering the medical care shall co-operate with the general vocational rehabilitation services, and may be authorised themselves to provide for the rehabilitation of handicapped persons.

(3) It deleted, at the instance of the Workers' members, the clause which had permitted cost-sharing by the beneficiaries in respect of employment injury where the full range of benefits required under Part VI was also secured to the persons protected in respect of morbid conditions not due to employment injury and had been intended chiefly to meet the case of a national health service.

(4) As regards the duration of cash benefit in case of temporary incapacity due to employment injury, it deleted the alternative which had admitted a waiting period of one week where compensation is paid retroactively from the first day.

59. The Committee did not accept a proposal to include the invalid widower among the beneficiaries of survivors' benefits, nor a motion to pay benefit irrespective of the place of residence of the beneficiaries.

PART VII. FAMILY BENEFIT

60. The Office text had provided for two alternative systems, either of which could be complied with by a Member wishing to ratify in respect of Part VII. The Committee, however, on the proposal of the Employers' members, decided to substitute in Article 39, for the definition of the contingency "responsibility for the maintenance of two or more children", the definition "responsibility for the maintenance of children, as prescribed". It would, accordingly, be possible to ratify in respect of family benefits on the basis of a great variety of systems providing such benefits.

61. In view of this decision, the Committee subsequently adopted an amendment, submitted by a Government member, which, combining Articles 39 and 40 of the Office text, requires the total value of the benefits granted to be either 3 per cent. of the wage of the typical ordinary labourer, multiplied by the total number of children of the persons protected, or 1.5 per cent. of such wage, multiplied by the total number of children of all residents. A proposal of the Employers' members to reduce the requirement of 3 per cent. to a requirement of 2 per cent., and a Government proposal to admit tax exemption as an alternative to periodical payments, did not prove acceptable to the Committee.

PART VIII. MATERNITY BENEFIT

62. The proposal of a Government member to withhold maternity benefit from a wife maintained by her husband having been rejected, the Committee adopted, subject only to drafting amendments, the Office text.

63. A meeting of the Officers of the Committee with those of the Committee on Maternity concluded that the two instruments under discussion were aimed at different purposes. The texts of the corresponding Parts were compared and found not to be contradictory but in conformity or complementary.

PART IX. INVALIDITY BENEFIT

Contingency Covered

64. The definition of invalidity gave rise to an exchange of views in which members of all three groups participated.

65. One Government member would have wished to restrict the contingency covered to inability to engage in any substantially gainful activity likely to be permanent where the inability had already lasted for six months, provided that sickness benefit or vocational rehabilitation, as appropriate, was available during such period. No agreement could, however, be reached on this basis.

66. The Workers' members, in particular, were strongly opposed to admitting of any waiting period in case of permanent invalidity. At the request of the Employers' members, the term "inability to engage in any substantially gainful activity" was redrafted so as to make it clearer that, while some gainful

activity by the invalid would have to be admitted, the extent of such activity, compatible with the right to invalidity benefit, would be left to be determined by national laws or regulations.

67. In reply to a wish expressed by a Government member that a longer qualifying period of residence should be allowed where the contingency occurred outside the Member's territory, it was pointed out that, as the text stood, the Member could require the qualifying period to precede the contingency.

Relation between Qualifying Period and Invalidity Benefit

68. The Committee decided, as in respect of old-age pensions, to adopt two amendments proposed by Government members as a result of which a country can comply with the requirements concerning the rate of the invalidity pension by granting a pension lower than that specified in the Schedule to Part XI after a qualifying period of less than 15 years of contribution or employment, or less than ten years of residence. If the pension is granted after five years of contribution or employment or five years of residence, it may be ten points lower than the percentage stipulated in the Schedule, *i.e.*, 30 per cent. instead of 40 per cent. If the pension is granted after less than 15 years of contribution or employment but after more than five years, it may be correspondingly lower than 40 per cent. but must be higher than 30 per cent., for instance, 35 per cent. after a ten-year qualifying period.

69. In any event, under an insurance scheme, a reduced invalidity pension of an amount determined by national laws or regulations must be paid after five years of contribution or employment where the pension corresponding to the rate required by the proposed Convention is secured after a qualifying period of more than five years.

70. The Workers' members stressed that the proposed text differed notably from the conclusions adopted in 1951 and that the prolongation of the qualifying period was a step backward.

71. A Government proposal to require such reduced pension to be at least one-half of the rate stipulated in the proposed Convention was not accepted by the Committee.

Duration of Invalidity Benefit

72. It was specified that the invalidity pension may eventually be replaced by an old-age pension.

PART X. SURVIVORS' BENEFIT

Contingencies Covered

73. The Committee adopted a Government proposal to allow the survivor's pension to be suspended if the widow or orphan is engaged in a gainful activity determined by national laws or regulations or to allow the pension to be reduced if the beneficiary earns more than an amount prescribed by national laws or regulations. In the case of social assistance

pensions, means other than earnings may also be taken into account. A similar clause is contained in the provisions of old-age benefits.

*Relation between Qualifying Period and
Rate of Benefit*

74. As for old-age and invalidity pensions, a rate of benefit ten points lower than that prescribed in the Schedule is admitted where such benefit is paid after a qualifying period of five years of contribution or employment instead of 15 years, or after five years of residence instead of ten years.

75. As regards a scheme protecting in principle all economically active persons, the Committee did not agree to a proposal of the Employers' members to leave the determination of the minimum qualifying period to national laws and regulations, requiring it instead to be limited to three years.

76. A proposal to authorise the Member to make a social assistance pension conditional upon the completion of a period of residence by the widow as well as by the husband was not accepted. It was, however, pointed out by the representative of the Secretary-General that normally the widow with children would have resided in the country with her husband for a number of years, and that a childless widow could, under the proposed text, be required to have been married for a prescribed period.

PART XI. STANDARDS TO BE COMPLIED WITH
BY PERIODICAL PAYMENTS

Methods of Calculating Benefit

77. The Articles of the Office text dealing with the calculation of cash benefits, other than family benefits, were adopted by the Committee with three modifications, the implications of which are set out below.

Benefit Proportionate to Previous Earnings.

78. It may be recalled that the standard wage is decisive for determining whether the maximum benefit for a standard beneficiary under a system granting benefits proportionate to individual earnings conforms to the requirements of the proposed Convention. This standard wage would be the normal rate of wages for a typical skilled worker chosen by the Member according to one or other of the following methods :

(a) first, the typical worker may be a fitter or turner in the manufacture of machinery, other than electrical (alternative already contained in the Office text) ;

(b) second, the typical worker may be a skilled male worker in the industry with the largest number of men protected in the contingency in the branch (division) of economic activity with the largest number of men so protected. In the Office text the typical worker had to be selected from the division and industry with the largest number of persons, both men and women, protected, but as the author of the amendment, a Government

member, pointed out, since the typical worker has to be a male worker, it would be incongruous to select him from an industry employing predominantly women, where such industry happened to be the one with the largest number of persons protected ;

(c) third, the typical worker may be a person whose earnings are such as to be equal to or greater than 75 per cent. of the earnings of all the persons protected. This alternative was added by the Committee to alternatives (a) and (b) of the Office text ;

(d) finally, the typical worker may be a person whose earnings are equal to 125 per cent. of the average earnings of all the persons protected. This alternative, too, was added by the Committee.

79. Amendments submitted by an Employers' member which tended to simplify the text of the Article dealing with the calculation of benefits proportionate to earnings were not retained by the Committee because they did not take account of family allowances and were not deemed adequate to the complexity of the problems involved.

Uniform Benefit.

80. The only change made by the Committee in the provisions dealing with the calculation of benefits under systems providing uniform benefits, as proposed in the Office text, was similar to that made in the provisions dealing with benefits proportionate to earnings : for the purpose of determining the wage of the typical ordinary labourer which serves as the basis for determining whether national rates are in conformity with those stipulated in the proposed Convention, the division and industry with the largest number of men protected was substituted for the division and industry with the largest number of persons protected.

Social Assistance Benefit.

81. As regards the rules for calculating benefits under social assistance schemes, that is, benefits subject to a means test, the Office text was adopted, but a new provision was added, on the proposal of a Government member.

82. The clause inserted by the Committee takes account of the fact that a social assistance scheme covering sickness, old-age, invalidity or death must provide benefits to all residents whose means during the contingency are insufficient for maintenance, whereas an insurance scheme need only cover 20 per cent. of all residents. It was accordingly decided to consider that a social assistance scheme meets the requirements of the proposed Convention if the total amount of benefit paid under the scheme attains a certain amount ; this amount must be at least 30 per cent. higher than the amount that would have been spent if the Member had elected to ratify on the basis of an insurance scheme covering 20 per cent. of the population and providing uniform benefits at rates conforming to the percentages stipulated in the Convention. Accordingly, under this provision, the maximum rate of the social assistance benefit may be below the percentage of the typical ordinary labourer's wage stipu-

lated in the Schedule, provided the total expenditure on benefits satisfies the above condition.

Rates of Benefit.

83. When the Committee was about to examine Part XI, the Employers' members observed that the Office had on its own initiative altered most of the percentages that had appeared in the Schedule comprised in the conclusions of the first discussion, as adopted by the 34th Session of the Conference. In their view, the Office had acted improperly: to change such important details as these percentages was a serious matter. The Committee should therefore take as the basis of discussion the Schedule as adopted last year by the Conference instead of that now proposed in the Office report. They asked for a ruling from the Chairman and from the Legal Adviser on the matter. The Chairman quoted the relevant Article (Article 39, paragraph 6) of the Standing Orders of the Conference; the Legal Adviser explained how this provision was applied in accordance with the usual practice, with a view to facilitating the work of the Conference, for reasons fully set out in the Office report, but that it was for the Committee to decide on what basis it would proceed with its discussions. A Workers' member noted that in earlier parts of the present text there also appeared changes which the Office had introduced, but which were not favourable to the Workers, and that the Employers' members had not raised objections to those changes. A Government member stated that the discussion seemed to show that the Office had acted in accordance with the Standing Orders.

84. The Committee then decided, by 156 votes to 134, with 6 abstentions, to take the Schedule as comprised in the conclusions adopted by the 34th Session of the Conference as a basis of discussion. Amendments by a number of Government members tending to reduce the percentages proposed in the Office text were thereupon withdrawn. The Workers' members then proposed to substitute, for the percentages comprised in the 1951 conclusions, the percentages proposed in the Office text. One Government member submitted a proposal to increase both unemployment and invalidity benefit to 45 per cent. Another Government member proposed to increase survivors' pensions to 40 per cent.; he recalled that the Committee had adopted a provision allowing a Member to ratify on the basis of a pension ten points lower than that stipulated in the Schedule, where such pension is granted after a qualifying period of not more than five years; in this event, therefore, a survivor's pension of 40 per cent. after 15 years would mean a survivor's pension of 30 per cent. after five years, which had been the solution adopted last year at the 34th Session of the Conference.

85. Separate votes were taken on the percentages relating to each type of benefit. The percentages comprised in the 1951 conclusions, those proposed in the Office text and those adopted by the Committee compare as follows:

Benefit	1951	Office Text	1952 Committee
Sickness	40	50	45
Unemployment	40	40	45
Old Age	30	40	40
Employment injury:			
Incapacity for work	40	50	50
Invalidity	30	50	50
Survivors	30	40	40
Maternity	40	50	45
Invalidity	30	40	40
Survivors	30	30	40

86. The votes for the rates finally adopted were distributed as follows (the number of abstentions are shown in brackets):

Sickness (record vote)	45 per cent.	159 to 147 (6)
Unemployment (record vote)	45 per cent.	139 to 138 (18)
Old Age	40 per cent.	150 to 144 (9)
Employment injury:		
Incapacity for work	50 per cent.	153 to 138 (12)
Invalidity	50 per cent.	146 to 141 (9)
Survivors	40 per cent.	162 to 135 (12)
Maternity	45 per cent.	165 to 132 (18)
Invalidity	40 per cent.	168 to 132 (15)
Survivors	40 per cent.	144 to 141 (24)

87. The percentages adopted by the Committee relate to individual earnings or standard wages and have to be complied with in the case of standard beneficiaries. Thus, at least 45 per cent. of individual earnings or of the standard wage, as the case may be, has to be paid to a man with a dependent wife and two children in the event of sickness or unemployment and to a woman protected in case of maternity, irrespective of her family responsibilities. In the event of employment injury the percentage must be at least 50 for a man with a dependent wife and two children where temporary incapacity for work or permanent total loss of earning capacity results. The pension for the widow with two children of the victim of an employment injury must be at least 40 per cent. of her husband's previous earnings or of the standard wage.

88. An old-age pension of at least 40 per cent. of previous earnings or of the standard wage must be secured, under an insurance scheme, to a pensioner with a dependent wife of pensionable age, or, under a social assistance scheme, to a married couple, both of whom are pensioners; an invalid with a dependent wife and two children receives a similar benefit. The general survivors' pension for a widow with two children must also be 40 per cent. However, as regards old-age, invalidity and survivors' pensions, the percentages may be lower, by not more than ten points, than those specified in the Schedule if paid after a qualifying period shorter than that stipulated in the proposed Convention for the rates of benefit laid down in the Schedule. Thus, a Member paying an old-age pension of 30 per cent. after a qualifying period of ten years of contribution or employment, or five years of residence (instead of 30 or 20 years respectively) or an invalidity or survivors' pension after five years of contribution or employment or residence (instead of 15 years of contribution or employ-

ment or ten years of residence), would comply with the requirements of the proposed Convention.

89. Two Government motions purporting also to stipulate in the Schedule separate percentages for full orphans were lost.

PART XII. EQUALITY OF TREATMENT OF NON-NATIONAL RESIDENTS

90. As was the case at the 34th Session of the Conference, in 1951, the situation of non-national residents was the subject of thorough discussion. The Workers' members stated that their position of principle was that, in the field of social security, non-nationals should have the same rights as nationals, particularly under a scheme financed by the contributions of the insured persons or of the employers. However, in view of the fact that they were dealing with a Convention concerning minimum standards, they could allow certain restrictions for non-national residents in respect of non-contributory benefits. The Employers' members stressed the point that the difficulties were largely due to the fact that the instrument was not confined to employees only, as they had wished. If their point of view had been accepted by the Committee, it would not have been so difficult to find a solution satisfying all the interested parties.

91. Several Government members were in favour of equality of treatment between nationals and non-nationals in the field of social security. Others, while favouring equality of treatment on as wide a scale as possible, stressed the fact that the special nature of certain social security schemes made it difficult to establish complete equality; the social security schemes deriving their resources exclusively, or in a large measure, from public funds, as well as transitional schemes granting pensions so high that they were actually non-contributory, required protection so that the financial situation of the scheme concerned would not be endangered.

92. Since the Committee had before it numerous amendments concerning the question of equality of treatment, a subcommittee was set up to seek a solution.

93. The Article finally adopted (the basic provision by 198 votes to 13, with 51 abstentions), while establishing in principle equality between the rights of non-nationals and of nationals, was in the nature of a compromise which admitted some exceptions:

(a) in the case of a scheme financed wholly or mainly by public funds and transitional schemes, special rules concerning benefits may be prescribed for non-national residents and nationals born outside the territory of the Member;

(b) in the case of a contributory scheme applying to employees, the treatment of non-nationals on a basis of equality with nationals may be made conditional on the ratification of the corresponding part of the Convention by the country of origin as well as on the existence of a bilateral or multilateral agreement providing for reciprocity.

94. The Committee stated that the Convention concerning minimum standards of social security could not fully solve the problem, which was very complicated and difficult. Consequently, it proposed to the Conference that it should adopt a resolution inviting the Governing Body to consider any appropriate measures for the establishing of an international instrument which would deal with the situation of aliens and migrant workers in the field of social security.

PART XIII. COMMON PROVISIONS

Suspension of Social Security Benefits

95. Several changes were made by the Committee in the Article dealing with the suspension of a social security benefit where the beneficiary is in receipt of another social security benefit, or for other reasons.

Absence from Country.

96. On the proposal of a Government member, a clause was inserted permitting suspension of benefit as long as the person concerned is absent from the territory of the Member.

Maintenance at Public Expense.

97. The Committee agreed to specify that where the person concerned is maintained at public expense or at the expense of a social security institution or service, any part of the benefit in excess of the value of such maintenance shall be paid to the dependants.

Cumulation of Social Security Benefits.

98. The clause permitting suspension of a social security benefit while the person concerned is in receipt of another social security cash benefit (other than family benefit) or of an indemnity by a third party, was amended at the instance of the Workers' members, to the effect that the part of the benefit which is suspended shall not exceed the other benefit or the indemnity.

Neglect to Make Use of Medical Services.

99. A clause permitting suspension of benefit where the person concerned neglects to make use of the medical services placed at his disposal was, on the suggestion of two Government members, amplified so as to include neglect of rehabilitation services, or failure to comply with rules prescribed for verifying the occurrence and continuance of the contingency and for the conduct of beneficiaries.

Beneficiaries of Social Security Cash Benefits

100. The proposal made by a Workers' member to extend medical care to the beneficiaries of unemployment benefit or pensions and their dependants, and to include in the calculation of the qualifying period periods of unemployment, was rejected.

Principles of Medical Care Organisation

101. An Employers' member submitted a proposal to add a new Article establishing

general principles to be observed in the provision of medical care. These included notably : free choice of doctor and hospital by the patient ; non-intervention of a third party between physician and the patient ; freedom of medication and mode of treatment by the physician except in case of abuse ; right of the doctor to participate in the service ; appropriate representation of physicians in administrative and advisory bodies, and a guarantee that there should be no exploitation of the physician or the physician's services.

102. The author explained that this amendment was based on the statement made by the World Medical Association, which represented medical associations in 43 countries and some 700,000 doctors. It seemed reasonable that the proposed instrument should contain not only quantitative but also qualitative provisions ; if this had been done in the Medical Care Recommendation, No. 69, adopted in 1944, there seemed to be no reason for not including such an important matter in the instrument under consideration.

103. The Committee, however, by a large majority comprising members of all three groups, did not deem it advisable to do so, more particularly in view of the fact that, to many members, the principles formulated in the amendment would not be acceptable without modification. Moreover, this subject would require careful examination and was, in any case, not within the competence of this Committee.

Right of Appeal

104. On this subject, an amendment proposed by a Government member was adopted without opposition, as regards the right of complaint under a national health service : the revised text stressed the right of the patient to have the complaint investigated by the appropriate authority, rather than the right to submit any complaint, however trivial or serious, to a superior authority.

Finance

105. On the proposal of the Workers' members, the Committee agreed to exclude an employment injury scheme for the purpose of proving that the total of the insurance contributions borne by the employees does not exceed 50 per cent. of the total of the financial resources allocated to the protection of employees and their wives and children. It also amended the text to relieve Members from the obligation to carry out periodical actuarial studies where not appropriate. The Committee rejected a proposal submitted by an Employers' member to delete the provision that the scheme should be financed in a manner to avoid hardship to persons of small means and to take account of national economic conditions and the economic conditions of the classes of persons protected.

Administration

106. The Article dealing with administration was altered so that the direct participation of the insured persons would not be required in the management of an insurance institution

regulated by public authorities. The Committee rejected a proposal by an Employers' member to substitute a mandatory clause concerning the representation of employers in the management where the benefits are financed by contributions on wages, for the permissive clause contained in the text.

PART XIV. FINAL PROVISIONS

Federal States

107. The Government member of one of the Federal States represented in the Committee proposed the deletion of the Article providing special treatment for Federal States in respect of ratification, on the grounds that such an Article would raise serious questions as to its relation to the provisions regarding the obligations of Federal States contained in the Constitution of the I.L.O. Two other Government members of Federal States indicated that they would not require such a provision for ratification, and the Committee agreed, by a vote of 161 to 9, with 131 abstentions, to delete the Article.

108. The Committee adopted the other final provisions of the proposed Convention without discussion.

Geneva, 23 June 1952.

(Signed) LEONARD CALHOUN,
Acting Chairman.

FINN ALEXANDER,
Reporter.

PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum standards of social security, which are included in the fifth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this day of of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Convention, which may be cited as the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 :

PART I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1

In this Convention—

(a) the term "prescribed" means determined by or in virtue of national laws or regulations ;

¹ See Second Part, p. 409.

- (b) the term "residence" means ordinary residence in the territory of the Member and the term "resident" means a person ordinarily resident in the territory of the Member;
- (c) the term "wife" means a wife who is maintained by her husband; the term "widow" means a woman who was maintained by her husband at the time of his death;
- (d) the term "child" means a child under school-leaving age or under 15 years of age, as may be prescribed;
- (e) the term "qualifying period" means a period of contribution, or a period of employment, or a period of residence, or any combination thereof, as may be prescribed;
- (f) the term "benefit" occurring in Articles 10, 34 and 49 means either direct benefit in the form of care or indirect benefit consisting of a reimbursement of the expenses borne by the person concerned.

Article 2

Each Member for which this Convention is in force—

- (a) shall comply with—
 - (i) Part I;
 - (ii) at least four of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X;
 - (iii) the relevant provisions of Parts XI, XII and XIII;
 - and
 - (iv) Part XIV; and
- (b) shall specify in its ratification in respect of which of Parts II to X it accepts the obligations of the Convention.

Article 3

1. A Member whose economy and medical facilities are insufficiently developed may, if and for so long as the competent authority considers necessary, but not for a longer period than ten years, avail itself, by a declaration appended to its ratification, of the temporary exceptions provided for in the following Articles: 9 (d); 12, paragraph 2; 15 (d); 18, paragraph 2; 21 (c); 27 (d); 33 (b); 34, paragraph 3; 41 (d); 48 (c); 55 (d); and 61 (d).

2. Each Member which has made a declaration under paragraph 1 of this Article shall include in the annual report upon the application of this Convention submitted under Article 22 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation a statement, in respect of each exception of which it avails itself—

- (a) that its reason for doing so subsists; or
- (b) that it renounces its right to avail itself of the exception in question as from a stated date.

Article 4

1. Each Member which has ratified this Convention may notify the Director-General of the International Labour Office that it

accepts the obligations of the Convention in respect of one or more of Parts II to X not already specified in its ratification.

2. The undertakings referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be an integral part of the ratification and to have the force of ratification as from the date of notification.

Article 5

Where, for the purpose of compliance with any of the Parts II to X of this Convention which are to be covered by its ratification, a Member is required to protect prescribed classes of persons constituting not less than a specified percentage of employees or residents, the Member shall satisfy itself, before undertaking to comply with any such Part, that the relevant percentage is attained.

Article 6

For the purpose of compliance with Parts II, III, IV, V, VIII (in so far as it relates to medical care), IX or X of this Convention, a Member may take account of protection effected by means of insurance which, although not made compulsory by national laws or regulations for the persons to be protected—

- (a) is supervised by the public authorities or administered, in accordance with prescribed standards, by joint operation of employers and workers;
- (b) covers a substantial part of the persons whose earnings do not exceed those of the skilled manual male employee; and
- (c) complies, in conjunction with other forms of protection, where appropriate, with the relevant provisions of the Convention.

PART II. MEDICAL CARE

Article 7

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of benefit in respect of a condition requiring medical care of a preventive or curative nature in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 8

The contingencies covered shall include any morbid condition, whatever its cause, and pregnancy and confinement and their consequences.

Article 9

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees, and also their wives and children; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents, and also their wives and children; or
- (c) prescribed classes of residents, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all residents; or

- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more, and also their wives and children.

Article 10

1. The benefit shall include at least—
 - (a) in case of a morbid condition—
 - (i) general practitioner care, including domiciliary visiting ;
 - (ii) specialist care at hospitals for in-patients and out-patients, and such specialist care as may be available outside hospitals ;
 - (iii) the essential pharmaceutical supplies as prescribed by medical or other qualified practitioners ; and
 - (iv) hospitalisation where necessary ; and
 - (b) in case of pregnancy and confinement and their consequences—
 - (i) pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care either by medical practitioners or by qualified midwives ; and
 - (ii) hospitalisation where necessary.

2. The beneficiary or his breadwinner may be required to share in the cost of the medical care the beneficiary receives in respect of a morbid condition ; the rules concerning such cost-sharing shall be so designed as to avoid hardship.

3. The benefit provided in accordance with this Article shall be afforded with a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the person protected and his ability to work and to attend to his personal needs.

4. The institutions or Government departments administering the benefit shall, by such means as may be deemed appropriate, encourage the persons protected to avail themselves of the general health services placed at their disposal by the public authorities or by other bodies recognised by the public authorities.

Article 11

The benefit specified in Article 10 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who has completed, or whose breadwinner has completed, such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse.

Article 12

1. The benefit specified in Article 10 shall be granted throughout the contingency covered, except that, in case of a morbid condition, its duration may be limited to 26 weeks in each case, but benefit shall not be suspended while a sickness benefit continues to be paid, and provision shall be made to enable the limit to be extended for prescribed diseases recognised as entailing prolonged care.

2. Where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the duration of the benefit may be limited to 13 weeks in each case of treatment.

PART III. SICKNESS BENEFIT

Article 13

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of sickness benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 14

The contingency covered shall include incapacity for work resulting from a morbid condition and involving suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations.

Article 15

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 16

1. Where classes of employees or classes of the economically active population are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66.

2. Where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 17

The benefit specified in Article 16 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who has completed such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse.

Article 18

1. The benefit specified in Article 16 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that the benefit may be limited to 26 weeks in each case of sickness, in which event it need not be paid for the first three days of suspension of earnings.

2. Where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the duration of the benefit may be limited—

- (a) to such period that the total number of days for which the sickness benefit is

granted in any year is not less than ten times the average number of persons protected in that year ; or

- (b) to 13 weeks in each case of sickness, in which event it need not be paid for the first three days of suspension of earnings.

PART IV. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Article 19

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of unemployment benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 20

The contingency covered shall include suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations, due to inability to obtain suitable employment in the case of a person protected who is capable of, and available for, work.

Article 21

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (c) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 22

1. Where classes of employees are protected the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66.

2. Where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 23

The benefit specified in Article 22 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who has completed such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse.

Article 24

1. The benefit specified in Article 22 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that its duration may be limited—

- (a) to 13 weeks within a period of 12 months where the benefit is calculated according to paragraph 1 of Article 22, or
- (b) to 26 weeks within a period of 12 months where the benefit is calculated according to paragraph 2 of Article 22.

2. Where national laws or regulations provide that the duration of the benefit shall vary with the length of the contribution period and/or the benefit previously received within a prescribed period, the provisions of subparagraph (a) of paragraph 1 shall be deemed to be fulfilled if the average duration of benefits is at least 13 weeks within a period of 12 months.

3. The benefit need not be paid during a waiting period of the first seven days in each case of suspension of earnings, counting days of unemployment before and after temporary employment lasting not more than a prescribed period as part of the same case of suspension of earnings.

4. In the case of seasonal workers the duration of the benefit and of the waiting period may be adapted to their conditions of employment.

PART V. OLD-AGE BENEFIT

Article 25

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of old-age benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 26

1. The contingency covered shall be survival beyond a prescribed age.

2. The prescribed age shall be not more than 65 years or than such higher age that the number of residents having attained that age is not less than 10 per cent. of the number of residents under that age but over 15 years ; provided that this requirement shall be deemed to be complied with during any period not exceeding five years in duration, if during that period the number of residents having attained the prescribed age is not less than 9 per cent. of the number of residents under that age but over 15 years.

3. National laws or regulations may provide that the benefit of a person otherwise entitled to it may be suspended if he is engaged in any prescribed gainful activity or that the benefit, if contributory, may be reduced where the earnings of the beneficiary exceed a prescribed amount, and, if non-contributory, may be reduced on account of other means also.

Article 27

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 28

The benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated as follows :

- (a) where classes of employees or classes of the economically active population are protected, the benefit shall be calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 29

1. The benefit specified in Article 28 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period which may be 30 years of contribution or employment, or 20 years of residence, as may be prescribed ; or
- (b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a prescribed qualifying period of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, the prescribed yearly average number of contributions has been paid.

2. Where the benefit referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected who has completed prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period of 15 years of contribution or employment as may be prescribed ; or
- (b) where in principle all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a prescribed qualifying period of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, half the yearly average number of contributions prescribed in accordance with subparagraph (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article has been paid.

3. The requirements of paragraph 1 of this Article shall also be deemed to be satisfied where a benefit calculated in conformity with the requirements of Part XI but at a percentage of ten points lower than shown in the Schedule appended to Part XI for the standard beneficiary concerned is secured at least to a person protected who has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, ten years of contribution or employment or five years of residence.

4. A proportional reduction of the percentage indicated in the Schedule appended to Part XI may also be effected where the qualifying period for the benefit corresponding to the reduced percentage exceeds ten years of contribution or employment but it less than 30 years of contribution or employment ; if such qualifying period exceeds 15 years, a reduced benefit shall be payable in conformity with paragraph 2 of this Article.

5. Where the benefit referred to in paragraphs 1, 3 or 4 of this Article is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be payable also, under prescribed conditions, to a person protected who, by reason only of his advanced age when the provisions concerned in the application of this Part come into force, has not satisfied the conditions prescribed in accordance with paragraph 2 of this Article, unless a benefit in conformity with the provisions either of paragraphs 1, 3 or 4 of this Article is secured to such person at an age higher than the normal age.

Article 30

The benefits specified in Articles 28 and 29 shall be granted throughout the contingency.

PART VI. EMPLOYMENT INJURY BENEFITS

Article 31

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of employment injury benefits in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 32

The contingencies covered shall include the following where due to accident or prescribed diseases resulting from employment :

- (a) a morbid condition ;
- (b) incapacity for work resulting from (a) and involving suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations ;
- (c) total loss of earning capacity, or partial loss thereof in excess of a prescribed degree, which are likely to be permanent, or corresponding loss of faculty ; and
- (d) the loss of support suffered by the widow or child as the result of the death of the breadwinner ; in the case of a widow, the right to benefit may be made conditional on her being presumed, in accordance with national laws or regulations, to be incapable of self-support.

Article 33

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees and, for benefit in respect of death of the breadwinner, also their wives and children ; or
- (b) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more, and, for benefit in respect of death of the breadwinner, also their wives and children.

Article 34

1. In respect of a morbid condition, the benefit shall be medical care as specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The medical care shall comprise—

- (a) general practitioner and specialist in-patient care and out-patient care, including domiciliary visiting ;
- (b) dental care ;
- (c) nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions ;
- (d) maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria or other medical institutions ;
- (e) dental, pharmaceutical and other medical or surgical supplies, including prosthetic appliances, kept in repair, and eyeglasses ; and
- (f) the care furnished by members of such other professions as may at any time be legally recognised as allied to the medical profession, under the supervision of a medical or dental practitioner.

3. Where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the medical care shall include at least—

- (a) general practitioner care, including domiciliary visiting ;
- (b) specialist care at hospitals for in-patients and out-patients, and such specialist care as may be available outside hospitals ;
- (c) the essential pharmaceutical supplies as prescribed by a medical or other qualified practitioner ; and
- (d) hospitalisation where necessary.

4. The medical care provided in accordance with the preceding paragraphs shall be afforded with a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the person protected and his ability to work and to attend to his personal needs.

Article 35

1. The institutions or Government departments administering the medical care shall co-operate, wherever appropriate, with the general vocational rehabilitation services, with a view to the re-establishment of handicapped persons in suitable work.

2. National laws or regulations may authorise such institutions or departments to ensure provision for the vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons.

Article 36

1. In respect of incapacity for work, total loss of earning capacity likely to be permanent or corresponding loss of faculty, or the death of the breadwinner, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66.

2. In case of partial loss of earning capacity likely to be a permanent, or corresponding loss of faculty, the benefit, where payable, shall be a periodical payment representing a suitable proportion of that specified for total loss of earning capacity or corresponding loss of faculty.

3. The periodical payments may be commuted for a lump sum—

- (a) where the degree of incapacity is slight ; or
- (b) where the competent authority is satisfied that the lump sum will be properly utilised.

Article 37

The benefits specified in Articles 34 and 36 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who was employed in the territory of the Member, if the injury is due to accident, at the time of the accident, or, if the injury is due to a disease, at the time of contracting the disease, and, for periodical payments in respect of death of the breadwinner, to the widow and children of such person.

Article 38

The benefits specified in Articles 34 and 36 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that, in respect of incapacity for work, the benefit need not be paid for the first three days in each case of suspension of earnings.

PART VII. FAMILY BENEFITS

Article 39

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of family benefits in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 40

The contingency covered shall be responsibility for the maintenance of children as prescribed.

Article 41

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 42

The benefit shall be—

- (a) a periodical payment granted to any person having completed the prescribed qualifying period ; or
- (b) the provision to or in respect of children, of food, clothing, housing, holidays or domestic help ; or
- (c) a combination of (a) and (b).

Article 43

The benefit specified in Article 42 shall be secured at least to a person protected who, within a prescribed period, has completed a qualifying period which may be three months of contribution or employment, or one year of residence, as may be prescribed.

Article 44

The total value of the benefits granted in accordance with Article 42 to the persons protected shall be such as to represent—

- (a) 3 per cent. of the wage of an ordinary adult male labourer as determined in accordance with the rules laid down in Article 66 multiplied by the total number of children of persons protected ; or
- (b) 1.5 per cent. of the said wage multiplied by the total number of children of all residents.

Article 45

The benefit consisting of a periodical payment shall be granted throughout the contingency.

PART VIII. MATERNITY BENEFITS

Article 46

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of maternity benefits in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 47

The contingencies covered shall include pregnancy and confinement and their consequences, and suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations, resulting therefrom.

Article 48

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) all women in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees, and, for maternity medical benefit, also the wives of men in these classes ; or
- (b) all women in prescribed classes of the economically active population, which classes constitute not less than 20 per cent. of all residents, and, for maternity medical benefits, also the wives of men in these classes ; or
- (c) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, all women in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more, and for maternity medical benefit, also the wives of men in these classes.

Article 49

In respect of pregnancy and confinement and their consequences, the maternity medical benefit shall be medical care as specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The medical care shall include at least—

- (a) pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care either by medical practitioners or by qualified midwives, and
- (b) hospitalisation where necessary.

3. The medical care specified in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be afforded with

a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the woman protected and her ability to work and to attend to her personal needs.

4. The institutions or Government departments administering the maternity medical benefit shall, by such means as may be deemed appropriate, encourage the women protected to avail themselves of the general health services placed at their disposal by the public authorities or by other bodies recognised by the public authorities.

Article 50

In respect of suspension of earnings resulting from pregnancy and from confinement and their consequences, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66. The amount of the periodical payment may vary in the course of the contingency, subject to the average rate thereof complying with these requirements.

Article 51

The benefits specified in Articles 48 and 50 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a woman in the classes protected who has completed such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse, and the benefit specified in Article 49 shall also be secured to the wife of a man in the classes protected where the latter has completed such qualifying period.

Article 52

The benefits specified in Articles 49 and 50 shall be granted throughout the contingency except that the periodical payment may be limited to 12 weeks, unless a longer period of abstention from work is required or authorised by national laws or regulations, in which event it may not be limited to a period less than such longer period.

PART IX. INVALIDITY BENEFIT

Article 53

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of invalidity benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 54

The contingency covered shall include inability to engage in any gainful activity, to an extent prescribed, which inability is likely to be permanent or persists after the exhaustion of sickness benefit.

Article 55

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or

- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 56

The benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated as follows :

- (a) where classes of the economically active population or classes of employees are protected, the invalidity benefit shall be calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 57

1. The benefit specified in Article 56 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period which may be 15 years of contribution or employment, or 10 years of residence ; or
- (b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, the prescribed yearly average number of contributions has been paid.

2. Where the benefit referred to in paragraph 1 is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment a reduced benefit shall be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period of five years of contribution or employment ; or
- (b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, half the yearly average number of contributions prescribed in accordance with subparagraph (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article has been paid.

3. The requirements of paragraph 1 of this Article shall also be deemed to be satisfied where a benefit calculated in conformity with the requirements of Part XI but at a percentage of ten points lower than shown in the Schedule appended to Part XI for the standard beneficiary concerned is secured at least to a person protected who has completed, in

accordance with prescribed rules, five years of contribution or employment or five years of residence.

4. A proportional reduction of the percentage indicated in the Schedule appended to Part XI may also be effected where the qualifying period for the pension corresponding to the reduced percentage exceeds five years of contribution or employment but is less than 15 years of contribution or employment. A reduced pension shall be payable in conformity with paragraph 2 of this Article.

Article 58

The benefits specified in Articles 56 and 57 shall be granted throughout the contingency or until an old-age benefit becomes payable.

PART X. SURVIVORS' BENEFITS

Article 59

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of survivors' benefits in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 60

1. The contingency covered shall include the loss of support suffered by the widow or child as the result of the death of the breadwinner ; in the case of a widow, the right to benefit may be made conditional on her being presumed, in accordance with national laws or regulations, to be incapable of self-support.

2. National laws or regulations may provide that the benefit of a person otherwise entitled to it may be suspended if such person is engaged in any prescribed gainful activity, or that the benefit, if contributory, may be reduced where the earnings of the beneficiary exceed a prescribed amount, and, if non-contributory, may be reduced on account of other means also.

Article 61

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) the wives and the children of breadwinners in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) the wives and the children of breadwinners in prescribed classes of the economically active population, which classes constitute not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all resident widows and resident children who have lost their breadwinner and whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the wives and the children of breadwinners in prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in

industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 62

The benefit shall be periodical payment calculated as follows :

- (a) where classes of employees or classes or the economically active population are protected, the benefit shall be calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 63

1. The benefit specified in Article 62 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period which may be 15 years of contribution or employment, or 10 years of residence ; or
- (b) where, in principle, the wives and children of all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whose breadwinner, while he was of working age, the prescribed yearly average number of contributions has been paid.

2. Where the benefit referred to in paragraph 1 is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period of five years of contribution or employment ; or
- (b) where, in principle, the wives and children of all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, half the yearly average number of contributions prescribed in accordance with subparagraph (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article has been paid.

3. The requirements of paragraph 1 of this Article shall also be deemed to be satisfied where a benefit calculated in conformity with the requirements of Part XI but at a percentage of 10 points lower than shown in the Schedule appended to that Part of the standard beneficiary concerned is secured at least to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, five years of contribution or employment or five years of residence.

4. A proportional reduction of the percentage indicated in the Schedule appended to Part XI may be effected where the qualifying period for the benefit corresponding to the reduced percentage exceeds five years of contribution

or employment but is less than 15 years of contribution or employment. A reduced benefit shall be payable in conformity with paragraph 2 of this Article.

5. In order that a childless widow presumed to be incapable of self-support may be entitled to a survivor's benefit, a minimum duration of the marriage may be required.

Article 64

The benefits specified in Articles 62 and 63 shall be granted throughout the contingency.

PART XI. STANDARDS TO BE COMPLIED WITH BY PERIODICAL PAYMENTS

Article 65

1. In the case of a periodical payment to which this Article applies, the rate of the benefit, increased by the amount of any family allowances payable during the contingency, shall be such as to attain, in respect of the contingency in question, for the standard beneficiary indicated in the Schedule appended to this Part, at least the percentage indicated therein of the total of the previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner and of the amount of any family allowances payable to a person protected with the same family responsibilities as the standard beneficiary.

2. The previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner shall be calculated according to prescribed rules, and, where the persons protected or their breadwinners are arranged in classes according to their earnings, their previous earnings may be calculated from the basic earnings of the classes to which they belonged.

3. A maximum limit may be prescribed for the rate of the benefit or for the earnings taken into account for the calculation of the benefit, provided that the maximum limit be fixed in such a way that the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article are complied with where the previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner are equal to or lower than the wage of a skilled manual male employee.

4. The previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner, the wage of the skilled manual male employee, the benefit and any family allowances shall be calculated on the same time basis.

5. For the other beneficiaries, the benefit shall bear a reasonable relation to the benefit for the standard beneficiary.

6. For the purpose of this Article, a skilled manual male employee shall be—

- (a) a fitter or turner in the manufacture of machinery other than electrical machinery ; or
- (b) a person deemed typical of skilled labour selected in accordance with the provisions of the following paragraph ; or
- (c) a person whose earnings are such as to be equal to or greater than the earnings of 75 per cent. of all the persons protected, such earnings to be determined on the

basis of annual or shorter periods as may be prescribed ; or

- (d) a person whose earnings are equal to 125 per cent. of the average earnings of all the persons protected.

7. The person deemed typical of skilled labour for the purposes of subparagraph (b) of the preceding paragraph shall be a person employed in the major group of economic activities with the largest number of economically active male persons protected in the contingency in question, or of the breadwinners of the persons protected, as the case may be, in the division comprising the largest number of such persons or breadwinners ; for this purpose, the international standard industrial classification of all economic activities, adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its Seventh Session on 27 August 1948, and reproduced in the Annex to this Convention, or such classification as at any time amended, shall be used.

8. Where the rate of benefit varies by region, the skilled manual male employee may be determined for each region in accordance with paragraphs 6 and 7 of this Article.

9. The wage of the skilled manual male employee shall be determined on the basis of the rates of wages for normal hours of work fixed by collective agreements, by or in pursuance of national laws or regulations, where applicable, or by custom, including cost-of-living allowances if any ; where such rates differ by region but paragraph 8 of this Article is not applied, the median rate shall be taken.

10. The rates of current periodical payments in respect of old age, employment injury (except in case of incapacity for work), invalidity, and death of breadwinner, shall be reviewed following substantial changes in the general level of earnings where these result from substantial changes in the cost of living.

Article 66

1. In the case of a periodical payment to which this Article applies, the rate of the benefit, increased by the amount of any family allowances payable during the contingency, shall be such as to attain, in respect of the contingency in question, for the standard beneficiary indicated in the Schedule appended to this Part, at least the percentage indicated therein of the total of the wage of an ordinary adult male labourer and of the amount of any family allowances payable to a person protected with the same family responsibilities as the standard beneficiary.

2. The wage of the ordinary male adult labourer, the benefit and any family allowances shall be calculated on the same time basis.

3. For the other beneficiaries, the benefit shall bear a reasonable relation to the benefit for the standard beneficiary.

4. For the purpose of this Article, the ordinary adult male labourer shall be—

- (a) a person deemed typical of unskilled labour in the manufacture of machinery other than electrical machinery ; or

- (b) a person deemed typical of unskilled labour selected in accordance with the provisions of the following paragraph.

5. The person deemed typical of unskilled labour for the purpose of subparagraph (b) of the preceding paragraph shall be a person employed in the major group of economic activities with the largest number of economically active male persons protected in the contingency in question, or of the breadwinners of the persons protected, as the case may be, in the division comprising the largest number of such persons or breadwinners ; for this purpose the international standard industrial classification of all economic activities, adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its Seventh Session on 27 August 1948, and reproduced in the Annex to this Convention, or such classification as at any time amended, shall be used.

6. Where the rate of benefit varies by region, the ordinary adult male labourer may be determined for each region in accordance with paragraphs 4 and 5 of this Article.

7. The wage of the ordinary adult male labourer shall be determined on the basis of the rates of wages for normal hours of work fixed by collective agreements, by or in pursuance of national laws or regulations, where applicable, or by custom, including cost-of-living allowances if any ; where such rates differ by region but paragraph 6 of this Article is not applied, the median rate shall be taken.

8. The rates of current periodical payments in respect of old age, employment injury (except in case of incapacity for work), invalidity, and death of breadwinner, shall be reviewed following substantial changes in the general level of earnings, where these result from substantial changes in the cost of living.

Article 67

In the case of a periodical payment to which this Article applies—

- (a) the rate of the benefit shall be determined according to a prescribed scale or a scale fixed by the competent public authority in conformity with prescribed rules ;
- (b) such rate may be reduced only to the extent by which the other means of the family of the beneficiary exceed prescribed substantial amounts or substantial amounts fixed by the competent public authority in conformity with prescribed rules ;
- (c) the total of the benefit and any other means, after deduction of the substantial amounts referred to in subparagraph (b), shall be sufficient to maintain the family of the beneficiary in health and decency, and shall be not less than the corresponding benefit calculated in accordance with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (d) the provisions of subparagraph (c) shall be deemed to be satisfied if the total amount of benefits paid under the Part concerned exceeds by at least 30 per cent. the total amount of benefits which would be obtained by applying the provisions of Article 61 and the provisions of :

- (i) Article 15 (b) for Part III ;
- (ii) Article 27 (b) for Part V ;
- (iii) Article 55 (b) for Part IX ;
- (iv) Article 61 (b) for Part X.

SCHEDULE : PERIODICAL PAYMENTS TO STANDARD BENEFICIARIES

Part	Contingency	Standard beneficiary	Percent-age
III	Sickness	Man with wife and two children . .	45
IV	Unemployment .	Man with wife and two children . .	45
V	Old age	Man with wife of pensionable age .	40
VI	Employment injury : Incapacity for work	Man with wife and two children . .	50
	Invalidity . .	Man with wife and two children . .	50
	Survivors . .	Widow with two children	40
VIII	Maternity . . .	Woman	45
IX	Invalidity . . .	Man with wife and two children . .	40
X	Survivors . . .	Widow with two children	40

PART XII. EQUALITY OF TREATMENT OF NON-NATIONAL RESIDENTS

Article 68

1. Non-national residents shall have the same rights as national residents : provided that special rules concerning non-nationals, or concerning nationals born outside the territory of the Member, may be prescribed in respect of benefits, or portions of benefits which are payable wholly or mainly out of public funds, or in respect of transitional schemes.

2. Under contributory social security schemes which protect employees, the persons protected who are nationals of another Member which has accepted the obligations of the relevant Part of the Convention shall have, under that Part, the same rights as those who are nationals of the Member concerned : provided that the application of this paragraph may be made subject to the existence of a bilateral or multilateral agreement providing for reciprocity.

PART XIII. COMMON PROVISIONS

Article 69

A benefit to which a person protected would otherwise be entitled in compliance with any of Parts II to X of this Convention may be suspended to such extent as may be prescribed—

- (a) as long as the person concerned is absent from the territory of the Member ;
- (b) as long as the person concerned is maintained at public expense, or at the expense of a social security institution or service,

subject to the portion, if any, of the benefit in excess of the value of such maintenance being granted to the dependants of the beneficiary ;

- (c) as long as the person concerned is in receipt of another social security cash benefit, other than a family benefit, and during any period in respect of which he is indemnified for the contingency by a third party, subject to the part of the benefit which is suspended not exceeding the other benefit or the indemnity by a third party ;
- (d) where the person concerned has made a fraudulent claim ;
- (e) where the contingency has been caused by a criminal offence committed by the person concerned ;
- (f) where the contingency has been caused by the wilful misconduct of the person concerned ;
- (g) in appropriate cases, where the person concerned neglects to make use of the medical or rehabilitation services placed at his disposal or fails to comply with rules prescribed for verifying the occurrence and continuance of the contingency and for the conduct of beneficiaries ;
- (h) in the case of unemployment benefit, where the person concerned has failed to make use of employment services placed at his disposal ;
- (i) in the case of unemployment benefit, where the person concerned has lost his employment as a direct result of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute, or has left it voluntarily without just cause ; and
- (j) in the case of a survivor's benefit, as long as the widow is living with a man as his wife.

Article 70

1. Every claimant shall have a right of appeal in case of refusal of the benefit or complaint as to its quality or quantity.

2. Where, in the application of Part II of this Convention, a Government department responsible to a legislature is entrusted with the administration, the right of appeal provided for in paragraph 1 of this Article may be replaced by a right to have a complaint concerning the refusal of medical care or the quality of the care received investigated by the appropriate authority.

3. Where a claim is settled by a special tribunal established to deal with social security questions and on which the persons protected are represented, no right of appeal shall be required.

Article 71

1. The cost of any benefits provided in compliance with any of Parts II to X of this Convention and the cost of the administration of such benefits shall be borne collectively by way of insurance contributions or taxation or both, in a manner which avoids hardship to persons of small means and takes into account the economic situation of the Member and of the classes of persons protected.

2. The total of the insurance contributions borne by the employees protected shall not exceed 50 per cent. of the total of the financial resources allocated to the protection of employees and their wives and children. For the purpose of ascertaining whether this condition is fulfilled, all the benefits provided by the Member in compliance with the Convention, except family benefits and, if provided by a special branch, employment injury benefits, may be taken together.

3. The Member shall accept general responsibility for the due provision of the benefits provided in compliance with any of Parts II to X of the Convention, and shall take all measures required for this purpose; it shall ensure, where appropriate, that the necessary actuarial studies and calculations concerning the financial equilibrium are made periodically and, in any event, prior to any change in benefits, the rate of insurance contributions, or the taxes allocated to covering the contingencies in question.

Article 72

1. Where the administration is not entrusted to an institution regulated by the public authorities or to a Government department responsible to a legislature, representatives of the persons protected shall participate in the management, or be associated therewith in a consultative capacity, under prescribed conditions; national laws or regulations may likewise decide as to the participation of representatives of employers and of the public authorities.

2. The Member shall accept general responsibility for the proper administration of the institutions and the services concerned in the application of the Convention.

PART XIV. FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 73

This Convention shall not apply to—

- (a) contingencies which occurred before the coming into force of the relevant Part of the Convention for the Member concerned;
- (b) benefits in contingencies occurring after the coming into force of the relevant Part of the Convention for the Member concerned in so far as the rights to such benefits are derived from periods preceding that date.

Article 74

This Convention shall not be regarded as revising any existing Convention.

Article 75

If any Convention which may be adopted subsequently by the Conference concerning any subject or subjects dealt with in this Convention so provides, such provisions of this Convention as may be specified in the said Convention shall cease to apply to the Member having ratified the said Convention as from the date at which the said Convention comes into force for that Member.

Article 76

1. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall include in the annual report upon the application of this Convention submitted under Article 22 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation—

- (a) full information concerning the laws and regulations by which effect is given to the provisions of the Convention; and
- (b) evidence, conforming in its presentation as closely as is practicable with any suggestions for greater uniformity of presentation made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, of compliance with the statistical conditions specified in—
 - (i) Articles 9 (a), (b), (c) or (d); 15 (a), (b) or (d); 21 (a) or (c); 27 (a), (b) or (d); 33 (a) or (b); 41 (a), (b) or (d); 48 (a), (b) or (c); 55 (a), (b) or (d); 61 (a), (b) or (d), as regards the number of persons protected;
 - (ii) paragraph 2 of Article 26, where the prescribed age for the award of an old-age benefit exceeds 65 years;
 - (iii) Articles 44, 65, 66 or 67, as regards the rates of benefit;
 - (iv) subparagraph (a) of paragraph 2 of Article 18, as regards duration of sickness benefit; and
 - (v) paragraph 2 of Article 71, as regards the proportion of the financial resources constituted by the insurance contributions of employees protected.

2. Each Member which ratifies the Convention shall report to the Director-General of the International Labour Office at appropriate intervals, as requested by the Governing Body, on the position of its law and practice in regard to any of Parts II to X of the Convention not specified in its ratification.

Article 77

1. This Convention does not apply to seamen or seafishermen; provision for the protection of seamen and seafishermen has been made by the International Labour Conference in the Social Security (Seafarers) Convention, 1946, and the Seafarers' Pensions Convention, 1946.

2. A Member may exclude seamen and seafishermen from the number of residents or employees, when calculating the percentage of residents or employees which is protected in compliance with any of the Parts II to X covered by its ratification.

ANNEX

International standard industrial classification of all economic activities

LIST OF DIVISIONS AND MAJOR GROUPS

Division 0. Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing :

- 01. Agriculture and livestock production.
- 02. Forestry and logging.
- 03. Hunting, trapping and game propagation.
- 04. Fishing.

Division 1. Mining and Quarrying :

11. Coal mining.
12. Metal mining.
13. Crude petroleum and natural gas.
14. Stone quarrying, clay and sand pits.
19. Non-metallic mining and quarrying not elsewhere classified.

Divisions 2-3. Manufacturing :

20. Food manufacturing industries, except beverage industries.
21. Beverage industries.
22. Tobacco manufactures.
23. Manufacture of textiles.
24. Manufacture of footwear, other wearing apparel and made-up textile goods.
25. Manufacture of wood and cork, except manufacture of furniture.
26. Manufacture of furniture and fixtures.
27. Manufacture of paper and paper products.
28. Printing, publishing and allied industries.
29. Manufacture of leather and leather products, except footwear.
30. Manufacture of rubber products.
31. Manufacture of chemicals and chemical products.
32. Manufacture of products of petroleum and coal.
33. Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products, except products of petroleum and coal.
34. Basic metal industries.
35. Manufacture of metal products, except machinery and transport equipment.
36. Manufacture of machinery, except electrical machinery.
37. Manufacture of electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies.
38. Manufacture of transport equipment.
39. Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.

Division 4. Construction :

40. Construction.

Division 5. Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services :

51. Electricity, gas and steam.
52. Water and sanitary services.

Division 6. Commerce :

61. Wholesale and retail trade.
62. Banks and other financial institutions.
63. Insurance.
64. Real estate.

Division 7. Transport, Storage and Communication :

71. Transport.
72. Storage and warehousing.
73. Communication.

Division 8. Services :

81. Government services.
82. Community and business services.
83. Recreation services.
84. Personal services.

Division 9. Activities not Adequately Described :

90. Activities not adequately described.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION¹

The Conference,

Having considered the report of the Committee on Social Security concerning minimum standards of social security, and

Having taken note that the provisions in the proposed Convention on minimum standards of social security concerning equality of treatment of non-national residents do not deal fully with the complex problem which the status of non-national residents and migrant workers raises in the social security field ;

Invites the Governing Body to consider any appropriate measures for the establishment of an international instrument which would deal with the situation of aliens and migrant workers in the field of social security.

(3) Text of the Convention (No.) concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text of the Convention, as submitted by the Drafting Committee, was adopted by the

¹ See Second Part, p. 334.

Conference at its 27th Sitting, on 28 June 1952, without change except as regards Article 2 (a) (ii), which was amended.¹

In the text as submitted by the Drafting Committee Article 2 (a) (ii) read as follows : at least four of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X ;

For the final text of the Convention see Appendix XVI, pp. 594.)

(4) Supplementary Report of the Committee on Social Security.²

The social security item on the agenda of the Conference comprises two parts : (a) Minimum Standards, and (b) Objectives and Advanced Standards.

The Committee on Social Security discussed the first part of the item in its report.³ Time did not allow the Committee to examine Report V (b) concerning Objectives and Advanced Standards, but the Committee discussed what further consideration might be given to point (b).

The following proposals for draft resolutions on the subject were submitted by (1) the Workers' members, (2) the French and Belgian Government members and (3) the United Kingdom Government member.

**DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED
BY THE WORKERS' MEMBERS**

"The Workers' members of the Committee on Social Security deeply regret that the Committee was unable to adopt conclusions on the second item on its agenda 'Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security' (Report V (b)).

"The Workers' members,

(a) Emphasising the close and necessary link between the two international instruments dealing with minimum standards and advanced standards ;

(b) Recalling the important concessions made by the Workers with a view to reaching constructive solutions adapted to certain laws and regulations or to certain States ;

(c) Regretting some important changes of principle (in particular the extension of the waiting period in cases of invalidity) as compared with the original text and with the conclusions adopted by the Committee of the Conference in 1951,

"Stress the urgency of drawing up an instrument laying down 'Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security', and propose that the Committee adopt the following resolution :

"The Committee,

"Regretting that it was unable to complete its work at the present session and that it could consequently not adopt conclusions on Report V (b), dealing with 'Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security',

¹ See Second Part, p. 408.

² See Second Part, p. 386.

³ See above, point (2).

"Requests the Conference to include this question on the agenda of its next general session for a first discussion."

DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED
BY THE BELGIAN AND FRENCH GOVERNMENT
MEMBERS

"The Conference,

"Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to examine the fifth item on its agenda; and

"Having taken note that the Committee has been unable to examine the question concerning 'Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security',

"Decides to include this question on the agenda of its next general session for a first discussion."

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE UNITED
KINGDOM GOVERNMENT MEMBER

"The Conference,

"Having taken note of the problems which have been encountered in the preparation of the proposed Convention on the minimum standards of social security;

"And considering that the preparation of an instrument dealing with the objectives and advanced standards of social security is likely to involve additional problems of even greater complexity,

"Is of the opinion that the latter require further expert examination before the matter is again brought before the Conference, and accordingly

"Invites the Governing Body to remit the question to the Committee of Social Security Experts with that end in view."

The Workers' members withdrew their proposal in favour of the draft resolution submitted jointly by the Belgian and French Government members.

The United Kingdom Government member then asked the Committee to consider the last paragraph of his proposed draft resolution as a subamendment to the last paragraph of the draft resolution proposed by the Belgian and French Government members.

An Employers' member proposed the following text as a subamendment to the revised proposal of the United Kingdom Government member:

"The Conference,

"Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to examine the fifth item on its agenda,

"And considering that the preparation of an instrument dealing with the objectives and advanced standards of social security is likely to involve problems of even greater complexity,

"Invites the Governing Body to consider the matter further at the appropriate time in the light of the experience gained of the working of the instrument adopted at the present Conference."

This version was accepted by the United Kingdom Government member on the understanding that it did not prejudice a decision by the Governing Body to seek the advice of the Committee of Social Security Experts.

After an exchange of views in which members of all three groups took part, a record vote was taken on the draft resolution presented by the French and Belgian Government members, on the definite understanding that the members voting against accepted the text jointly moved by the United Kingdom Government member and the Employers' member as a draft resolution to be submitted to the Conference.

On being put to the vote, the draft resolution presented by the French and Belgian Government members was rejected by 155 votes to 156, with no abstentions. Accordingly, the draft resolution submitted jointly by the United Kingdom Government member and the Employers' member was adopted. The text is appended hereto.

Geneva, 24 June 1952.

(*Signed*) JACQUES DOUBLET,
Chairman.

FINN ALEXANDER,
Reporter.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING
OBJECTIVES AND ADVANCED
STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY ¹

The Conference,

Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to examine the fifth item on its agenda,

And considering that the preparation of an instrument dealing with the objectives and advanced standards of social security is likely to involve problems of even greater complexity,

Invites the Governing Body to consider the matter further at the appropriate time in the light of the experience gained of the working of the instrument adopted at the present session of the Conference.

¹ See Second Part, p. 386.

APPENDIX IX

Sixth Item on the Agenda :

Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations

(1) Text of Proposed Recommendation concerning Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organisations at the Level of the Undertaking, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(2) Guiding Principles of the Regulations concerning Co-operation between Employers and Workers at the Level of the Undertaking: Text Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(The text of the Proposed Recommendation and the text of the Proposed Guiding Principles are given in Report VI (a) (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.)

(3) Report of the Committee on Industrial Relations.¹

1. The Committee on Industrial Relations, set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 5 June 1952, consisted of 94 members (40 Government members, 24 Employers' members and 30 Workers' members). Each Government member had three votes, each Employers' member had five votes and each Workers' member had four votes.

2. The Committee elected the following officers :

Chairman : Mr. Dreyer, Government member, Denmark.

Vice-Chairmen : Mr O'Brien, Employers' member, Ireland, and Mr. Beard, Workers' member, United Kingdom.

Reporters : Miss Raffalovich, Government member, France; Mr. French, Employers' member, United States; and Mr. Keenan, Workers' member, United States.

3. The *Drafting Committee* included, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the Reporters, Mr. Morgan, Government member, United Kingdom, Mr. Battendieri, Government member, Brazil, and Mr. Leblanc, Employers' member, France.

4. The Committee had to consider the sixth item on the agenda of the Conference: Co-operation between public authorities and employers' and workers' organisations.

5. Under this head the agenda comprised :

(a) the problem of co-operation at the level of the undertaking, which was the subject—

(i) of a proposed Recommendation, submitted for second discussion ;

(ii) of a proposed text containing as guiding principles examples of good practice, submitted to the Committee for first discussion (these two documents being set forth in Report VI (a) (2));

(b) the problem of co-operation at the level of the industry and at the national level, which was to come before the Committee for first discussion.

I. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DISCUSSION

6. The Committee held only a short general discussion, which was concerned essentially with the procedure which should be followed in considering the texts submitted to the Committee, with the desirability of determining principles or examples of good practice, and with the possible methods which might enable the proposed Recommendation and these principles or examples to be joined together.

7. In this connection various members of the Committee explained their points of view and their position with regard to the scope and contents of the texts envisaged—points of view which were again taken up in connection with the various amendments submitted.

8. Some of these amendments, although not examined owing to the trend followed in the proceedings of the Committee, nevertheless influenced the course of the discussions—a course which, furthermore, was guided by the decision taken by the Conference itself (see paragraph 15 below)—so that it has been deemed useful to refer first of all to the general development of the Committee's work.

General Attitudes Adopted

9. The various members of the Committee declared themselves in favour of the principle of co-operation between employers and work-

¹ See Second Part, p. 294.

ers at the level of the undertaking, but wished to accord varying degrees of scope to this general principle.

10. The Employers' members indicated that co-operation was, in their view, desirable in so far as it was based on a mutual desire for understanding and where its institution was the result of voluntary agreement.

11. The Workers' members urged the need to develop real co-operation between employers and workers in all countries and, to this end, to take account of the national practice and the different systems adopted in various countries.

12. The United States Government member was in favour of extremely flexible provisions which would not prejudice the methods of implementation which the different countries might adopt, but which would indicate a preference for a system of voluntary agreements, even though in certain cases it might be found desirable to combine a legislative system with a system of voluntary agreements.

13. The Government members of the Netherlands, France and Belgium declared themselves in favour of a text which would take equally into account systems of voluntary agreements and legislative systems, according to the national practice in force, and which would make express provision, at least as regards the latter systems, for the institution of bodies for consultation and co-operation between employers and workers.

14. Finally, the representatives of under-developed countries explained the difficulties which were peculiar to them and urged that the text adopted might be one applicable to their particular conditions.

Course of the Discussions

15. At the beginning of its work, the Committee was informed of the adoption by the Conference of the following report presented by the Selection Committee¹:

Co-operation between Employers and Workers.

At its 117th Session (November 1951) the Governing Body, anxious to lighten the agenda of the Conference in 1953, authorised the Director-General to suggest to the Conference that it should not carry over beyond the 35th Session its consideration of questions relating to industrial relations, including co-operation.

The Selection Committee has considered this suggestion and recommends the Conference to adopt it.

The Selection Committee recommends the Conference to decide that the Committee on Industrial Relations should take as its basis for discussion the proposed Recommendation concerning co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, which appears on page 82 of Report VI (a) (2), it being understood that the Committee may also discuss the guiding principles concerning co-operation at the level of the undertaking set out on pages 80 and 81 of Report VI (a) (2).

16. The result of the decision taken by the Conference was, on the one hand, that the discussion of this question should end at the present session and, on the other, that the Committee should take as a basis for its discussions the proposed Recommendation set forth on page 82 of Report VI (a) (2).

17. Consequently, no discussion took place on the amendment already presented by the Netherlands Government member proposing

to replace the proposed Recommendation and the text relating to examples of good practice by a single text.

18. The Workers' members expressed their disappointment at seeing the discussion limited to co-operation at the level of the undertaking, which, in their view, considerably diminished the importance of the problem examined.

19. The Committee agreed to take the proposed Recommendation as the basis for its discussions, and had before it a number of amendments, some relating to the scope and content of the two Paragraphs of the proposed Recommendation, others relating to the inclusion of, or references to, the guiding principles or examples of good practice.

20. The first series of amendments was intended essentially to render the text of the Recommendation more flexible by limiting Paragraph 1 to an affirmation of the general principle and by including in Paragraph 2 references to voluntary methods of application and to the encouragement or assistance which might be given by national laws or regulations.

21. While the new draft of Paragraph 1 was adopted by only a small majority, the Committee endeavoured, on the other hand, to seek through reciprocal concessions general agreement on Paragraph 2. The new text of Paragraph 2 was referred to a working party, and it was adopted unanimously by the Committee.

22. The second series of amendments (presented by the Netherlands Government member and by the Workers' members) proposed the inclusion of the guiding principles in the text of the Recommendation.

23. In view of the opposition which was manifested to the insertion of detailed provisions in the Recommendation and having regard to the considerations which were put forward in the Committee and which are summarised in Part III below, the Committee finally agreed that there should be a proposed resolution comprising the principles or examples of good practice, and once again referred to its working party the text which had been submitted to it.

24. The proposed resolution, amended by the working party and containing the essential parts of the provisions set forth in Report VI (a) (2), gained general agreement in the Committee.

25. In order to make it possible to appreciate the importance of the reciprocal concessions made in order to reach general agreement, it has appeared necessary to refer in greater detail to the amendments successively adopted or rejected, and to the main arguments which were advanced in connection therewith. Such is the purpose of Parts II and III of the present report, which relate respectively to the discussion of the proposed Recommendation and to the discussion of the guiding principles.

II. DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION

26. The text of the proposed Recommendation submitted to the Committee, which had

¹ See above, Appendix II, p. 443.

been drawn up by a working party of the Committee during the 34th Session, was as follows :

1. Appropriate steps should be taken either for the encouragement or for the establishment by laws or regulations of machinery for consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern not within the scope of collective bargaining machinery.

2. In accordance with national custom or practice, effect may be given to such consultation and co-operation by voluntary agreement or by laws or regulations, which would determine the scope, functions, structure and methods of operation which may be appropriate to the conditions in the various industries and undertakings.

27. The Committee first had to consider the following amendment presented by the United States Government member proposing the replacement of the text of the proposed Recommendation by a new text :

The Conference,

Considering that, in the interest of promoting the most effective co-operation and democratic relationships between employers and workers, primary consideration should be given to the encouragement of voluntary arrangements,

adopts this day of of the year one thousand and nine hundred and fifty-two the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Co-operation between Employers and Workers Recommendation, 1952 :

1. Arrangements for co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern are desirable.

2. In each country steps appropriate to its social, economic and institutional precepts and practices should be undertaken to promote this objective.

3. Voluntary means should be utilised to the maximum extent possible in determining the structure, scope, functions and methods of co-operation which may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings.

28. The United States Government member argued that, in view of the different stages of development reached in the various countries and of the many divergences of opinion as to suitable methods of co-operation, it was desirable to enable the different countries to adopt measures corresponding to their needs and to their national practice.

29. The Workers' members declared themselves to be opposed to this amendment, the text of which appeared to them to be less satisfactory than that of the proposed Recommendation, and the Indian Workers' member, in particular, spoke of the need for legislative measures in underdeveloped countries.

30. The French and Australian Government members also spoke against the amendment, the former pointing out that the two systems in operation were not placed sufficiently on an equal footing, and the latter indicating that the proposed text did not precisely define the nature and scope of the obligations involved and did not contain directives which might serve as a guide to the different countries.

31. The Employers' members, on the other hand, supported the amendment, explaining that they wished the greatest possible measure of agreement to be reached on the text, but demanded that it should once again be made clear that "matters of mutual concern" would not include matters within

the scope of collective bargaining. The Indian Employers' member added that in several underdeveloped countries the administrative authorities did not have the appropriate machinery available for applying national laws or regulations on the question and that understanding between employers and workers could be achieved only by gradual stages.

32. The United States Workers' member observed that, even in his country, laws had had to be promulgated before labour relations had reached their present high stage of development.

33. The amendment was rejected by 127 votes to 152.

34. An amendment was then presented by the Brazilian Government member, again with the object of rendering the text more flexible, and this amendment was rejected by 117 votes to 158.

35. Finally, the Employers' members presented an amendment proposing the following text :

1. Appropriate steps should be taken for the encouragement of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern as may be jointly determined by the parties and not within the scope of collective bargaining machinery.

2. Effect may be given to such consultation and co-operation by voluntary agreement which would determine the scope, functions, structure and methods of operation which may be appropriate to the conditions in the various industries and undertakings.

36. The Employers' members indicated that it was impossible to define in legislation the scope of the co-operation envisaged and that the implementation of the measures prescribed should be subordinated to the conclusion of a voluntary agreement, just as matters of mutual concern should be defined by agreement between the two parties.

37. The Workers' members opposed the amendment, pointing out that, although the United Kingdom workers fully appreciated the value of the tradition of voluntary negotiation, they could nevertheless not fail to recognise the need for legislative intervention in certain cases or in certain countries.

38. The amendment relating to the first paragraph was rejected by 121 votes to 160.

39. The Committee then examined two further amendments presented by the United States Government member, one of which related to Paragraph 1 and the other to Paragraph 2, and which proposed that these two Paragraphs be replaced by the following text :

1. Appropriate steps should be taken to promote consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern.

2. In accordance with national custom and practice the structure, scope, functions and methods of such consultation and co-operation may be realised by voluntary means, or by laws or regulations encouraging or assisting such consultation or co-operation as may be appropriate to the various undertakings.

40. The United States Government member explained that the two amendments supplemented one another and should be considered together ; the first of these amendments reproduced the text of the proposed Recommendation.

tion, but with the omission of any reference to national laws or regulations or to voluntary methods; its only purpose was to enunciate the principle of co-operation, it being left to Paragraph 2 to define the methods of its implementation.

41. The amendment to Paragraph 1 was supported by the Irish Government member, who nevertheless asked that a clause should be added to it to exclude matters of mutual concern "within the scope of collective bargaining". Similarly, the Government members of Australia and New Zealand, as well as the Workers' members, proposed the exclusion also of matters "normally dealt with by other machinery concerned with the determination of terms and conditions of employment".

42. The Employers' members expressed their agreement with the amendment under consideration, emphasising the need for the Committee to reach agreement quickly on the text of the Recommendation, in order to be able afterwards to have a fruitful discussion on the guiding principles. To this end, they withdrew the part of their amendment relating to Paragraph 2.

43. The Workers' members, while recognising the need for an early agreement being reached, emphasised that such agreement would not be achieved on the basis of the two amendments proposed, which, in fact, reproduced in another form the earlier amendment which had already been rejected. They reminded the Committee that the proposed Recommendation had been adopted in 1951 by a majority of 140 votes to 2, and that it was not enough to state that co-operation should be encouraged or assisted but that it should also be possible for it to be instituted in certain countries by laws or regulations.

44. The French Government member pointed out that, while a Recommendation imposed only limited obligations, those obligations should nevertheless be clearly defined. The text of the two amendments proposed did not sufficiently take into consideration the position of countries which had legislated on this question; she could not agree to accept the amendments in their present form, although she expressed her willingness to help in securing the flexibility desired by certain members.

45. The United States Government member objected by stating that any Government might, if it so desired, go beyond the provisions laid down.

46. The amendment to Paragraph 1 was adopted, by 151 votes to 149, in the following terms:

1. Appropriate steps should be taken to promote consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern not within the scope of collective bargaining machinery or not normally dealt with by other machinery concerned with the determination of terms and conditions of employment.

47. The Committee then proceeded to consider the amendment to Paragraph 2 presented by the United States Government member; he indicated that this represented an attempt to effect a compromise which would enable each country to adopt the system most appropriate

to it, by way of voluntary agreement, or by laws or regulations, or by a combination of these two methods, as was the case in the United States. The text of the proposed Recommendation seemed to him to imply that, if voluntary methods achieved no result, recourse should be had to legislative measures.

48. The Irish Government member stressed that the adoption of an entirely new text of Paragraph 1 entailed the modification of the text of Paragraph 2, but that the amendment proposed should define more clearly the existing alternatives, some Governments favouring the encouragement of voluntary co-operation while others considered it desirable to institute machinery for co-operation by laws or regulations. He therefore urged that it would be desirable to try to reach agreement on this point.

49. The Netherlands Government member stated that the amendment, which made no provision at all for the possibility of machinery for co-operation being instituted by laws or regulations, did not satisfy him. He requested, with the support of the United Kingdom and French Government members, that a working party should be set up to seek a compromise solution.

50. The Committee then decided to set up a working party, consisting of three Government members, three Employers' members and three Workers' members, presided over by the Chairman of the Committee.

51. The working party submitted the following text to the Committee:

2. In accordance with national custom or practice such consultation and co-operation should be assisted either (a) by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties, or (b) by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for co-operation and consultation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings, or (c) by a combination of these methods.

52. A long discussion took place in the Committee with regard to the word "assisted", the Workers' members considering that it weakened all the more the text of the proposed Recommendation by reason of the fact that the force of Paragraph 1 had already been appreciably reduced.

53. The Workers' members and the Belgian Government member proposed the insertion of the word "implemented" instead of "assisted" and the Employers' members suggested the adoption of the word "facilitated". Agreement was finally reached by adopting a proposal by the Australian Government member made with a view to drawing a clearer distinction between the three methods envisaged. The Employers' members accepted the proposed new draft after the United Kingdom Government member had pointed out that the word "implemented", in the case of a legislative system, did not imply that the parties could be constrained to co-operate, but that legislation should establish the framework within which such co-operation could develop, as was the case with regard to legislation concerning collective agreements.

54. The United States Government member, who had sought an addition to subparagraph

(c) which would cover certain forms of action which in his country contributed to the promotion of co-operation, by encouraging, in particular, apprenticeship, occupational re-education or the prohibition of the employment of adolescents, withdrew his amendment.

55. The text of Paragraph 2, as unanimously adopted by the Committee by 301 votes, was as follows :

2. In accordance with national custom or practice such consultation and co-operation should be either (a) facilitated by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties, or (b) promoted by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for consultation and co-operation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings, or (c) by a combination of these methods.

56. Several amendments presented by the Polish Workers' member, with the object of replacing the word "co-operation" by the words "industrial relations", were rejected by the Committee.

III. DISCUSSION ON THE PRINCIPLES WHICH MIGHT SERVE AS EXAMPLES OF GOOD PRACTICE

57. Several opposing points of view were put forward on the question whether the principles should be attached to the text of the Recommendation.

58. The Netherlands Government member submitted an amendment proposing the inclusion of certain of the essential principles in a further paragraph to be added to the proposed Recommendation, observing that it seemed undesirable to him that there should be two separate texts on the same question and that, on the contrary, the text of the Recommendation should be clarified by including certain essential rules which might serve as a guide to the parties or to legislators when implementing the Recommendation.

59. His amendment proposed the insertion in the Recommendation of a third paragraph providing that, in applying the principle of co-operation as defined in Paragraph 1, the parties concerned or those making laws or regulations might be guided by the examples of good practice taken from the text set forth on pages 80 and 81 of Report VI (a) (2).

60. The Workers' members also presented an amendment proposing the inclusion of these principles in the Recommendation.

61. These proposals met with complete opposition on the part of the Employers' members and of certain Government members, in particular the United States Government member.

62. In a spirit of conciliation, the United Kingdom Government member, while not opposing the inclusion of the principles, submitted an amendment intended to have regard both to the concept followed in his country, which did not admit of the idea of guiding principles being imposed on voluntary agreements but only of the idea of examples of good practice, and to the concepts held in those countries which had legislated on the question.

63. In the former case the provisions set forth would be in the nature of suggestions by which the parties might choose to be guided when drawing up their agreements; in the latter case the public authorities might take account of the provisions when preparing legislation on the question. He added that, whatever final form the examples of good practice might take, the distinction between the two systems in operation would still retain its purpose.

64. The Employers' members, without questioning the principle underlying this distinction, stated that, in their view, the two paragraphs already adopted constituted a complete Recommendation which appeared capable of being accepted unanimously by the Conference, and that they did not support the inclusion of detailed principles or methods in an international instrument, which should remain as flexible as possible in order to allow all countries to take such course as they deemed most appropriate. In order to have regard to the wish expressed by the Workers' members and certain Government members, they were not, however, opposed to a discussion of these principles, but only in so far as this might result in the adoption of a resolution which would safeguard the unanimous agreement reached on Paragraph 2 of the Recommendation.

65. The United States Government member pointed out that, as these principles were on the agenda for a first discussion, it might be questioned whether amendments proposing their inclusion in the Recommendation were receivable.

66. In reply to the question raised, the Representative of the Secretary-General pointed out that it was necessary to draw a distinction between the form and the substance of the question. With regard to the form, the various possible solutions had been set forth in Report VI (a) (2) and amendments to paragraphs of the Recommendation were certainly receivable. A problem was involved, however, which was more complex than those being dealt with by other Conference committees, and, while it might be possible from a formal point of view, there appeared to be difficulties in the way of the adoption of mandatory rules in the field of co-operation between employers and workers unless the consent thereto of the two groups concerned could be obtained. Very different methods were in operation in various countries and experience in this field was still very new; it would be preferable therefore to discuss these methods freely and to crystallise them in a resolution, which, while not having the force of a Recommendation, might still have great influence. In this connection, it should be remembered that the Declaration of Philadelphia, adopted in the form of a resolution, had achieved considerable importance, whereas some international Conventions had so far had very limited effect.

67. The Committee, having regard to the considerations thus expressed, decided to close its discussion on the proposed Recommendation and to examine the principles or examples of good practice on the basis of a proposed resolu-

tion presented to it by the Australian Government member and which took into account the observations referred to above.

68. The Netherlands Government member, with whose remarks the French and Belgian Government members associated themselves, expressed his regret at seeing excluded from the discussion the amendments which had been presented and stated that, in his view, a Recommendation which affirmed a general principle without indicating the essential rules governing its application could not be of much value even though adopted unanimously. Without in any way failing to recognise the need for conciliation and the greatest possible measure of agreement, he would have preferred to see this achieved after, rather than before, a discussion and a previous presentation of the opposing points of view.

69. However, in a spirit of conciliation, he declared that he was prepared to join in the consideration of a resolution which might give effect to the points with which he was concerned and leave the door open for the problem to be studied and for more constructive solutions to be sought at a later date; his vote in the Conference, nevertheless, would depend both on the final content of the resolution and on the attitude to be adopted by the different groups.

70. The Belgian Government member emphasised his desire to see the democratic character of the machinery under consideration affirmed and to avoid the possibility of bodies for co-operation in which the representatives of the workers were not freely chosen by the latter being within the scope of the texts adopted, which would be contrary to the wish of all the members of the Committee.

71. In order that it might conclude its work within the time it had been asked to do so, the Committee decided to reconstitute its working party, requesting it to submit to the Committee a proposed resolution on examples of good practice, having regard to amendments already submitted and to the points of view expressed by the different groups.

72. The working party presented the following text to the Committee :

The Conference,

Considering that the International Labour Conference, at its 35th Session, adopted a Recommendation enunciating the principle of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking,

Considering that the Declaration of Philadelphia recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve 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,

Considering that employers and workers recognise that consultation and co-operation on a basis of mutual confidence renders an essential contribution to the efficiency and productivity of an undertaking, and also contributes to the social and economic well-being of the workers, and considering that Governments also recognise that it is in the national interest to encourage consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking,

Realising that the wide diversity of national practices and the different stages of development attained by the various countries make it difficult to frame precise or universal standards which should govern the principles

and practice of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking.

Desiring, however, to further the efforts being made in different countries by the parties concerned towards consultation and co-operation between employers and workers, at the level of the undertaking,

Decides to embody in the present resolution the provisions set out in paragraphs 1 to 7 below by which the parties concerned, acting on a voluntary basis, or the public authority making laws or regulations, may be guided when making arrangements for consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking :

1. The representatives of the workers on bodies for consultation and co-operation should be freely appointed or recalled by the workers themselves in the undertaking.

2. The different categories of workers employed in the undertaking should be represented on an appropriate basis on the bodies for consultation and co-operation.

3. (1) Bodies for consultation and co-operation should have the essential function of increasing understanding of each other's point of view between all parties in the undertaking on a basis of real equality of discussion, and of assisting management by giving advice, information, and suggestions on matters relating to production and the comfort and well-being of the workers.

(2) In accordance with national custom or practice, such consultation and co-operation should be either--

(a) facilitated by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties ; or

(b) promoted by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for consultation and co-operation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings ; or

(c) facilitated or promoted by a combination of these methods.

4. The managements of undertakings should take appropriate measures to facilitate the proper functioning of bodies for consultation and co-operation such as --

(a) placing at the disposal of the body for consultation and co-operation the premises, material, and, in appropriate cases, the staff essential to its meetings or indispensable for its secretariat ;

(b) informing the body for consultation and co-operation, at regular intervals, and not less than once a year, regarding the activity of the undertaking and the plans for the coming twelve months, and to give general information regarding the economic and technical situation of the undertaking ;

(c) allowing the representatives of the workers the necessary time to perform their functions without loss of pay.

5. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure that members of bodies for consultation and co-operation should not disclose confidential information which may be brought to their knowledge during the performance of their functions.

6. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure the adequate protection of the representatives of the workers against discrimination because of the exercise of their functions.

7. All parties concerned with the activities of bodies for consultation and co-operation should take special measures to keep the whole of the personnel informed of such activities subject to the non-disclosure of confidential information referred to in paragraph 5 above.

The Conference asks the Governing Body to instruct the Office to follow the developments in the different countries in this matter very closely and to report thereon to the Governing Body.

73. The Workers' members and the Employers' members stated that they were willing to accept the text proposed. The Netherlands Government member requested that, with regard to Paragraph 1, it should be made clear that the methods of applying the principle enunciated should be defined by national laws or regulations or by voluntary agreement. The Indian Government member, while regretting that the guiding principles had not been included in the proposed Recommendation, asked that reference should be made in Paragraph 3 to the idea of mutual respect and con-

fidence in discussions and that the word "productivity" should be added. The Australian Government member declared that, in his view, the text was not perfect but that the document represented mutual concessions and should, accordingly, receive general agreement.

74. In these circumstances, the Government members of the Netherlands, India and Pakistan withdrew the proposals they had made to modify the text. The Swiss Government member expressed his regret that the working party had not retained point 4 (b) in the draft prepared by the Office, which, in his view, was a more flexible text.

75. The text submitted by the working party was finally adopted, without opposition, by 258 votes to 0, the Employers' members of Israel, Switzerland and the United Kingdom abstaining.

IV

76. At the conclusion of the Committee's work a brief discussion took place concerning the effect of the decision adopted by the Conference with regard to the second point of the sixth item on its agenda (Co-operation at the level of the industry and at the national level).

77. The Employers' members stated very clearly that, in view of the attitude adopted by the Conference, they considered that the only question to be discussed was that of co-operation at the level of the undertaking, the Committee's mandate as a whole being limited to examination of this question.

78. The Workers' members declared that, in their view, even if the Committee could not examine the problem of co-operation at the level of the industry and at the national level this year, it could nevertheless consider a proposed resolution asking that this question should be placed on the agenda of a future session of the Conference. They suggested that the point should be submitted to the Selection Committee and said that they would abide by its decision.

79. The Netherlands Government member observed that it ensued from the decision of the Conference that the discussion of this problem could not take place next year but that he nevertheless felt it desirable to ensure that the Office might follow developments in this field and that the Governing Body might bring the matter before the Conference at an opportune time.

80. However, it was not possible for the Committee to reach any agreement on this point after the Employers' members had formally opposed the continuation of the discussion on this matter for the reasons indicated above.

* * *

81. The texts of the proposed Recommendation and of the proposed resolution, as revised by the Drafting Committee of the Committee

on Industrial Relations are appended to this report.

82. The Committee adopted the report unanimously.

Geneva, 23 June 1952.

(Signed) E. DREYER,
Chairman.

O. RAFFALOVICH,
C. E. FRENCH,
J. D. KEENAN,
Reporters.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING CONSULTATION AND CO- OPERATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS AT THE LEVEL OF THE UNDERTAKING¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its 35th Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, which is included in the sixth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation designed to be implemented by the parties concerned or by the public authorities as may be appropriate under national conditions,

adopts this day of of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Co-operation at the Level of the Undertaking Recommendation, 1952 :

1. Appropriate steps should be taken to promote consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern not within the scope of collective bargaining machinery, or not normally dealt with by other machinery concerned with the determination of terms and conditions of employment.

2. In accordance with national custom or practice, such consultation and co-operation should be—

- (a) facilitated by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties, or
- (b) promoted by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for consultation and co-operation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings, or
- (c) facilitated or promoted by a combination of these methods.

¹ See Second Part, p. 303.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING CONSULTATION AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS AT THE LEVEL OF THE UNDERTAKING¹

The Conference,

Considering that the International Labour Conference, at its 35th Session, adopted a Recommendation enunciating the principle of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking;

Considering that the Declaration of Philadelphia recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve 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;

Considering that employers and workers recognise that consultation and co-operation on a basis of mutual confidence render an essential contribution to the efficiency and productivity of an undertaking, and also contribute to the social and economic well-being of the workers, and considering that Governments also recognise that it is in the national interest to encourage consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking;

Realising that the wide diversity of national practices and the different stages of developments attained by the various countries make it difficult to frame precise or universal standards which should govern the principles and practice of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking;

Desiring however to further the efforts being made in different countries by the parties concerned towards consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking,

Decides to embody in the present resolution the provisions set out in paragraphs 1 to 7 below by which the parties concerned, acting on a voluntary basis, or the public authority making laws or regulations, may be guided when making arrangements for consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking:

1. The representatives of the workers on bodies for consultation and co-operation should be freely appointed or recalled by the workers themselves in the undertaking.

2. The different categories of workers employed in the undertaking should be represented on an appropriate basis on the bodies for consultation and co-operation.

3. (1) Bodies for consultation and co-operation should have the essential function of increasing understanding of each other's point of view between all parties in the undertaking on a basis of real equality of discussion, and of assisting management by giving advice, information and suggestions on matters relating to

production and the comfort and well-being of the workers.

(2) In accordance with national custom or practice such consultation and co-operation should be—

- (a) facilitated by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties, or
- (b) promoted by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for consultation and co-operation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings, or
- (c) facilitated or promoted by a combination of these methods.

4. The managements of undertakings should take appropriate measures to facilitate the proper functioning of bodies for consultation and co-operation such as—

- (a) placing at the disposal of the body for consultation and co-operation the premises, material, and, in appropriate cases, the staff essential to its meetings or indispensable for its secretariat;
- (b) informing the body for consultation and co-operation, at regular intervals, and not less than once a year, regarding the activity of the undertaking and the plans for the coming twelve months, and giving general information regarding the economic and technical situation of the undertaking;
- (c) allowing the representatives of the workers the necessary time to perform their functions without loss of pay.

5. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure that members of bodies for consultation and co-operation should not disclose confidential information which may be brought to their knowledge during the performance of their functions.

6. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure the adequate protection of the representatives of the workers against discrimination because of the exercise of their functions.

7. All parties concerned with the activities of bodies for consultation and co-operation should take special measures to keep the whole of the personnel informed of such activities subject to the non-disclosure of confidential information referred to in paragraph 5 above.

The Conference requests the Governing Body to invite the Director-General to follow the developments in the different countries in this matter very closely and to report thereon to the Governing Body.

(3) Text of the Recommendation (No.) concerning Consultation and Co-operation Between Employers and Workers at the Level of the Undertaking.

(The text of the Recommendation, as submitted by the Drafting Committee, was adopted unchanged by the Conference at its 23rd Sitting, on 26 June 1952. For the final text, see Appendix XVI, p. 634.)

¹ See Second Part, p. 348.

APPENDIX X

Seventh Item on the Agenda : Revision of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3)

(1) Text of Proposed Convention concerning Maternity Protection (Revised), Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(2) Text of Proposed Recommendation concerning Maternity Protection, Prepared by the International Labour Office,

(The texts of the proposed Convention and of the proposed Recommendation are given in Report VII prepared by the International Labour Office for the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.)

(3) Report of the Committee on Maternity Protection.¹

1. The Committee on Maternity Protection consisted of 51 members (36 Government members, six Employers' members and nine Workers' members) voting under a modified form of the Riddell system. Each Government member had one vote, each Employers' member six votes and each Workers' member four votes.

2. The Committee elected the following Officers :

Chairman : Mr. Jumelle, Government member, Haiti, who was obliged to leave the Conference shortly after his nomination. The Committee then elected a new Chairman, Mr. de Sandoval, Government member, Cuba.

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Boccardi, Employers' member, Italy, and Dame Florence Hancock, Workers' member, United Kingdom.

Reporter : Miss Stenberg, Government member, Netherlands.

3. The *Drafting Committee* included, in addition to the officers of the Committee, Mr. Singh, Government member, India, Mr. Saintigny, Employers' member, France, and Mr. Bouladoux, Workers' member, France.

4. The Committee on Maternity Protection had to examine the question of the revision in whole of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), with a view to the adoption of one or more Conventions and, if desirable, a supplementary Recommendation.

REVISION OF THE CONVENTION CONCERNING MATERNITY PROTECTION

General Discussion

5. The Committee proceeded to a short general discussion of the purpose of the revision. The Pakistani Government member urged the Committee, when studying this question, to take a realistic attitude so that the revised Convention could be ratified by a large proportion of States Members of the Organisation. The Italian Employers' member, on behalf of the Employers' members of the Committee, pointed out that there was a danger of a contradiction between measures of maternity protection and the principles adopted in 1951 by the International Labour Conference, in respect of equal remuneration for men and women workers ; he stated also that it was necessary to take into account the differences which exist in the state of development of the various countries and that texts should be established which could be applied. The Polish Government member stated that the Polish Government was in favour of adopting a Convention into which certain points included in the proposed Recommendation should be transferred. The Convention should apply to women in agriculture and should provide protective measures such as security of employment, 100 per cent. compensation for loss of earnings during maternity leave, free medical and hospital care, allowances for layette, paid nursing breaks, and nurseries for children of working mothers.

The United States Government member stated that in her country the proposed regulation appeared to involve matters appropriate for action by the constituent States and that, while her country would probably not consider ratification, it was supporting the Convention under the alternate requirements of Article 19, paragraph 7 (b) of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

6. The Committee decided to take the Office text as proposed in Report VII : *Revision of the Maternity Convention, 1919 (No. 3)*, as a basis for discussion.

7. As the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security dealt also

¹ See Second Part, pp. 337, 348.

with maternity protection, the Committee agreed, as was decided by the Selection Committee of the Conference, to consult the Committee on Social Security on points of common interest in order to provide for suitable relationship in the decisions of the two Committees.

8. The texts finally adopted by the Committee are appended to this report.

Article 1

9. Seven amendments to Article 1 were proposed.

10. The Workers' members proposed to extend the scope of the proposed Convention to all agricultural occupations and to industrial homeworkers, as they felt that the broad aim of the proposed Convention should be to assure maternity protection to all women workers. The Israeli Government member also proposed the inclusion of agricultural occupations within the scope of the Convention. It was pointed out in support of these proposals that Article 7 would provide a solution to the problems faced by countries which found it impossible to apply all the provisions of Article 1. The Indian Government member proposed the inclusion of women employed in plantations, which were more closely organised and where it would be possible to introduce, at present, effective welfare schemes.

11. The proposed inclusion of agricultural occupations met with the approval of some Government members. It was opposed by the Employers' members and by other Government members, who considered that the widening of the scope of the Convention would make it difficult for many States Members to ratify the Convention and that it would be preferable to provide in the proposed Recommendation for an extension of the fields of employment in which measures of maternity protection should be promoted and applied where practicable.

12. The inclusion of industrial homeworkers within the scope of the proposed Convention was supported by some Government members and by the Employers' members. It was opposed, on the same grounds as the inclusion of agriculture, by other Government members.

13. A proposal of the Pakistan Government member to postpone the vote on Article 1 until the Committee had considered Article 7, providing for exemptions from the scope of the proposed Convention, was opposed by the Workers' members, by one Government member and by the Employers' members, and was rejected by 72 votes to five, with three abstentions.

14. The inclusion of agricultural occupations within the scope of the proposed Convention was then adopted by 46 votes to 39, with eight abstentions, and the proposal to extend the scope of the proposed Convention to women wage earners working at home was adopted by 57 votes to four, with 32 abstentions. Paragraph 1, as amended, was adopted.

15. The Workers' members suggested that paragraph 3 should contain a specific reference to domestic work for wages in private households. This proposal was supported by some

Government members and opposed by one Government member and by the Employers' members. It was adopted by 46 votes to 40, with six abstentions. Paragraph 3, as amended, was then adopted.

16. The Workers' members proposed to add a new paragraph to define the term "agricultural occupations", referred to in paragraph 1, as including (a) plantations and large-scale industrialised agricultural undertakings, and (b) other agricultural undertakings. This proposal, supported by some Government members, was adopted by 44 votes to 30, with 16 abstentions.

17. The Australian Government member proposed that the words "most representative" should be added before the word "organisations" in paragraph 4, in order to bring the drafting of this Article into line with the form used in other instruments adopted by the International Labour Organisation. The Netherlands Government member suggested the addition of the term "representative" as being more appropriate and this proposal was adopted by 51 votes to 41, with no abstentions, after having been supported by some Government members and by the Employers' members, and opposed by the Workers' members.

18. The Workers' members proposed the deletion of paragraph 5 concerning the exclusion of members of the employer's family on the grounds that the Office text might permit the exclusion of a large number of women from the scope of the proposed Convention. The deletion of paragraph 5 was opposed by the Employers' members and by some Government members, and was rejected by 47 votes to 31, with 11 abstentions. The Committee, however, felt that some definition of the term "members of the employer's family" should be added to this paragraph. As it was difficult to find a solution which would take into account the different concepts of "family" in the various countries, a working party consisting of the Netherlands and Pakistan Government members, the Swedish Employers' member and the United Kingdom Workers' member was appointed to consider the matter. On the proposal of this working party, the following phrase was added at the end of paragraph 5: "the term 'members of the employer's family' to be defined by national laws or regulations," and paragraph 5, as amended, was adopted.

19. Article 1, as amended, was then adopted.

Article 2

20. Two amendments to this Article were proposed.

21. The Israeli Government member, considering that the Office text might give rise in its application to difficulties of a legal nature, proposed that the Office text should be replaced by the following: "For the purpose of this Convention, the term 'woman' applies to any female person, irrespective of age, to whom this Convention applies". On the proposal of the Cuban Government member, the words "irrespective of age", and, on the proposal of the Danish Government member, the words "to whom this Convention applies", were

deleted from this text, which was supported by some Government members. The Employers' and Workers' members, however, preferred the Office text, which specified that there should be no discrimination against an unmarried woman. The Israeli Government member's proposal was also opposed by the Polish Government member, who suggested maintaining the Office text with the addition of the words "race or creed" after the word "nationality", in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Israeli Government member's proposal was rejected by 73 votes to ten, with one abstention, and the Polish Government member's proposal was adopted by 45 votes to 0 with 38 abstentions.

22. The Pakistan Government member suggested using the words "born of marriage or not" instead of "legitimate or illegitimate", as being more appropriate in defining the word "child". This proposal was adopted by 84 votes to 0, with one abstention.

23. Article 2, as amended, was adopted. The Israeli Government member pointed out that the ratification of the Convention by Governments would not make it necessary for them to insert in the national laws the terms of this Article so long as it was applied *de facto*.

Article 3

24. Paragraph 1 was adopted without discussion.

25. Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 concerning maternity leave, and which were closely related, were dealt with together. The Workers' members proposed amendments which were intended essentially to clarify the Office text without altering appreciably its substance. The term "optional" was considered ambiguous in this context, and the expression "at least 12 weeks" of maternity leave was preferred to the Office text.

26. The Polish Government member proposed that provision should be made for a period of compulsory leave before and after confinement, specifying that the period of compulsory leave should consist of two weeks, at least, before confinement and eight weeks after confinement, the remaining two weeks to be taken either before or after confinement. She emphasised that the decision of a working woman with regard to her maternity leave was not dependent on her own free will but on the conditions of compensatory payments which were attached to the leave. These latter should, therefore, consist of an allowance equivalent to her full wage so that she could take full advantage of maternity leave.

27. The Workers' members, on the suggestion of the Polish Government member, who then withdrew her own proposals, agreed to modify their proposal in order to provide for an unspecified period of compulsory leave before confinement, with a view to maintaining a fair measure of flexibility in the text.

28. Some Government members pointed out that, while women workers should have a right to maternity leave, they should be

left free to decide, in particular, on the length and timing of their pre-natal leave; other Government members stressed that the text should be as flexible as possible, making provision for minimum standards and allowing for adaptation to fit the circumstances in the different countries. These members supported the Office text.

29. The Employers' members suggested that the period of maternity leave should be fixed at 12 weeks and not, as in the Workers' members' proposed text, at "12 weeks at least". This proposal was rejected by 43 votes to 36, with two abstentions. The Workers' members' proposal that provision should be made for a period of compulsory leave before as well as after confinement was also rejected by 51 votes to 38, with no abstentions. The original proposals of the Workers' members on paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 were then put to the vote, paragraph by paragraph, and adopted respectively by 42 votes to 40, with six abstentions, 72 votes to 0, with 14 abstentions and 45 votes to 36, with five abstentions.

30. As regards paragraph 5, a proposal of the Employers' members, who agreed that pre-natal leave should be extended when confinement takes place after the presumed date but suggested limitation of this extension to two weeks, was rejected by 39 votes to 36, with ten abstentions. The Workers' members proposed that it should be stipulated that the period of leave to be taken after confinement should not be reduced when confinement takes place after the presumed date. This suggestion, as a substitution for the Office text, was rejected by 39 votes to 35, with ten abstentions, but, on the proposal of the Yugoslav Government member, was adopted as an addition to the Office text by 42 votes to 36, with seven abstentions.

31. Paragraph 6 was adopted after a proposal by the Indian Government member to substitute the expression "national laws and regulations may provide for" for the expression "the woman shall be entitled to" had been rejected by 48 votes to 26, with four abstentions.

32. A proposal by the Belgian Government member to make paragraph 7 mandatory instead of permissive was adopted by 50 votes to 30 with 11 abstentions. The Israeli Government proposed that this paragraph should state that a woman should have a right of absence from work for reasons medically certified as arising out of pregnancy or confinement. This proposal was opposed by some Government members on the ground that it was essential to provide that absence from work in those particular circumstances should be considered as part of maternity leave, and was finally withdrawn.

33. The Israeli Government member suggested the insertion of a new paragraph stipulating that a woman on maternity leave should not be employed by any employer knowing that she was on such leave. Against this proposal it was argued that it was the responsibility of national authorities to take the necessary measures of control and the proposal was rejected by 79 votes to two, with four abstentions.

34. The Polish Government member suggested the insertion of three new paragraphs based on paragraphs 2 (2), (3) and (4) of the proposed Recommendation, concerning further extension of maternity leave. This proposal was opposed as not suitable for the text of a Convention, and on being put to the vote, paragraph by paragraph, was rejected by 50 votes to two, with 34 abstentions, 48 votes to 31, with nine abstentions, and 50 votes to three, with 40 abstentions.

35. Article 3, as amended, was then adopted.

Article 4

36. After a discussion on the relationship between the section on maternity in the proposed Convention concerning minimum standards of social security and the proposed Convention concerning maternity protection, and after a discussion with the Representative of the Secretary-General on the Committee on Social Security and a report by the Chairman on a consultation between the officers of the two Conference Committees concerned, the Committee proceeded to the consideration of Article 4. It then presented its conclusions to the Committee on Social Security which, in turn, informed the Committee on Maternity Protection of its relevant decisions.

37. Twenty-two amendments to Article 4 were proposed.

38. With regard to paragraph 1, proposals were made to define the rate of cash benefits. One by the Polish Government member—that the benefit should amount to 100 per cent. of the woman's wages, in order to enable the woman to take full advantage of her leave—and another by the Australian Government member—that these benefits should be in accordance with the proposed Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, as the Office text appeared too vague—were rejected. The first proposal was rejected, by 48 votes to two, with 40 abstentions, as setting a standard too high to be applicable in a large number of countries, and the second, which was opposed on the grounds that reference could not be made to a Convention which was not yet adopted and that the draft text on minimum standards of social security set standards within the framework of a comprehensive system of social security, fell as a consequence of a previous vote.

39. The Australian Government member proposed that maternity benefits should not be paid to a woman where the wage system provides for a man and his wife and where the husband is able adequately to support her, and the Indian Government member suggested that the payment of cash benefits should not be compulsory if the extension of maternity leave as provided for in paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of Article 3 exceeded the maximum period for which maternity benefits are payable under existing law. Both proposals were rejected. The first proposal was opposed as not suitable to all countries and as being discriminatory; it was rejected by 48 votes to 37, with four abstentions. The second proposal, which aimed at introducing a limitation with regard to the payment of benefits,

was also rejected, by 83 votes to three, with five abstentions.

40. The Committee adopted subparagraph (a) of the Office text, having added, in accordance with a proposal by the Indian Government member, adopted by 42 votes to five, with 44 abstentions, a clause to the effect that the cash benefits should be in accordance with rates fixed by the national laws and regulations. It also adopted subparagraph (b) of the Office text, with the additional provision, suggested by the Employers' members and adopted by 42 votes to five, with 43 abstentions, that the choice of a doctor should be on a voluntary basis and that the hospital might be a public or a private one.

41. As regards paragraphs 2 and 3, the United States Government member suggested, for the purpose of clarification, that the Office text should be replaced by two new paragraphs covering (a) women workers who were entitled to benefits under a system of compulsory social insurance or provided for by public funds, and (b) women workers who failed to qualify as of right for such benefits and who should be entitled to adequate benefits under social assistance funds. The new text proposed for paragraph 2 was adopted by 80 votes to one, with four abstentions, with a modification proposed by the Netherlands Government member that the list of the prescribed conditions should be deleted, as limiting the scope of the text. The new text for paragraph 3 was adopted by 47 votes to 29, with seven abstentions. The Swiss Government member emphasised that the benefits would have to be provided under a system of compulsory insurance whereas the 1919 Convention allowed implicitly a form of voluntary insurance; an obligatory provision will make it more difficult for certain countries like Switzerland to ratify the Convention.

42. By 47 votes to four, with 33 abstentions, the Committee included in Article 4, on the proposal of the Danish Government member, the principle that the employer should not be individually liable for the cost of cash and medical benefits due to the women employed by him. In the course of the discussion on this point, some Government members and the Workers' members declared that requiring the individual employer to pay maternity benefits to women employed by him would have a detrimental effect on women's employment opportunities and would prejudice the application of the principle of equal pay. Other Government members considered that, where no social security scheme existed or where public funds were not available for maternity benefits, the payment of benefits by the employer was the only possible method for providing maternity protection, and that this method should not be excluded from the proposed Convention. On account of a negative decision of the Committee on this question, a proposal submitted by the Pakistan Government member to allow the payment of benefits by the employer fell, but it was agreed that this proposal would be considered again in relation to certain countries, in connection with Article 8.

43. A proposal by the Polish Government

member, defining the medical benefits in greater detail, was rejected by 75 votes to one, with seven abstentions, as setting requirements which might prove impossible to meet. A suggestion by the Pakistan Government member that benefits should be paid from social assistance funds "where such funds existed" was rejected by 76 votes to three, with five abstentions, as weakening the purpose of the text.

44. Paragraph 4 of the Office text was adopted by 52 votes to 36, with two abstentions, after various proposals concerning the level of the benefits had been considered and rejected. The Workers' members suggested providing for 100 per cent. compensation of the woman's earnings. This proposal was opposed by many Government members and by the Employers' members, as setting a standard which might as yet prove difficult to apply in many countries, and was rejected by 47 votes to 40, with four abstentions. The Indian Government member and the Employers' members considered that the rate of benefit should be 50 per cent. of the woman's earnings, but this proposal was rejected by 48 votes to 39, with four abstentions. Similarly, a proposal by the Belgian Government member to refer in this paragraph to the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention was rejected by 47 votes to seven, with 38 abstentions.

45. On the proposal of the United States Government member, a new paragraph, based on the second sentence of paragraph 3 (1) of the Office text of the proposed Recommendation, was added to the text, having been adopted by 87 votes to one, with three abstentions; it specifies that contributions to social security schemes or a tax based on payrolls should be paid irrespective of sex on behalf of all workers employed in the undertakings concerned, after a suggestion by the Workers' members to delete from the text a reference to a possibility of the contributions or tax being paid by the employees only had been accepted.

46. Article 4, as amended, was then adopted.

Article 5

47. Six amendments to Article 5 were proposed.

48. Some Government members, including the United States and the Belgian Government members, considered that the subject matter of this Article would be more suitably dealt with in the proposed Recommendation. The Committee thought, however, and these two Government members agreed, that the right of women to nursing breaks should be established in the proposed Convention. As there was some difference of opinion as to the length and distribution of these breaks, the Committee adopted, by 88 votes to 0, with six abstentions, a proposal of the Swedish and Israeli Government members that women should have the necessary time off for the purpose of nursing their children. By 54 votes to 20, with 20 abstentions, it adopted also a proposal by the same members that the duration of the nursing break or breaks should be determined by national laws and regulations. A proposal by the Polish Government member, supported

by the Workers' members and by some Government members, that nursing breaks be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly, was adopted by 48 votes to 28, with 18 abstentions.

49. The Polish Government member also proposed to include in this Article a provision requiring undertakings employing more than 100 women to establish nurseries in or near their premises. This proposal was opposed by the Workers' members, who stated that in principle they were against establishing nurseries on the premises of undertakings, and was rejected by 69 votes to one, with 20 abstentions.

50. Article 5, as amended, was then adopted.

Article 6

51. Only one amendment was proposed to Article 6.

52. The Polish Government suggested that a new paragraph be added, providing for security of employment during pregnancy and until the end of the maternity leave. In connection with this proposal, the Workers' members considered that it should be specified that the woman should not be dismissed "on account of pregnancy". This proposed new paragraph was rejected by 40 votes to 30, with 18 abstentions, after the Office text had been adopted by 71 votes to six, with eight abstentions.

Article 7

53. Two amendments to Article 7 were suggested.

54. The Belgian Government member proposed the deletion of this Article, which, in his opinion, included provisions for limiting the intended fields of application provided for in Article 1 of the proposed Convention and which might lower the standards established by the 1919 Convention in respect of women employed in commercial undertakings. The Workers' members, considering that the Office text, which "excluded" certain occupations, was too drastic, presented a new text for Article 7, specifying that measures of progressive application of the Convention be taken in respect of certain categories of non-industrial occupations and in respect of transport by sea, such categories to be specified in the declaration accompanying the ratification. The Workers' members modified their original text on the suggestion of the Belgian Government member, who then withdrew his proposal, in order to provide specifically that such exceptions may affect certain categories of non-industrial occupations, agricultural occupations other than plantations, and domestic employment. Some Government members opposed this proposal and supported the Office text on legal and constitutional grounds, considering that it would be difficult to control a provision requiring progressive application of the Convention and that national legislatures could not bind other legislatures than the one in session.

55. In the course of the discussion the Workers' members agreed to modify further their proposal, and suggested that Article 7 should provide for temporary exceptions from

the application of the Convention in respect of the categories of occupations already mentioned. The United States Government member proposed to specify, among the possible exceptions, women wage earners working at home, as control of conditions in this field was difficult.

56. The Polish Government member, however, supported the Workers' members' original proposal and further suggested that it should be specified that the Article would apply to Members whose economic and medical facilities were insufficiently developed and to fix a time limit of five years for the progressive application of the Convention. This proposal was rejected by 52 votes to one, with 36 abstentions. The Workers' members' final proposal concerning the first part of paragraph 1 was adopted by 42 votes to 36, with eight abstentions, and the one concerning subparagraph (a) of paragraph 1, by 74 votes to 0, with 10 abstentions. The inclusion of industrial homeworkers among permitted exceptions was adopted by 49 votes to 33, with three abstentions. The remainder of the Workers' members' proposal was put to the vote, point by point, and adopted without opposition. Article 7, as amended, was then adopted by 47 votes to 0, with 39 abstentions.

57. The Belgian Government member, considering that women should be protected particularly against fatigue and health hazards during the critical period of pregnancy and nursing of the child, proposed the inclusion of a new paragraph based on paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the Recommendation. This proposal, supported by some Government members and by the Workers' members and opposed by the Employers' members, who thought that the matter was one which should be left to national legislation or collective agreements, was rejected by 44 votes to 40, with two abstentions. The Belgian Government member stated that a committee of experts should be convened by the I.L.O. to establish a model list of occupations which are dangerous for pregnant and nursing women.

Article 8

58. Three amendments to Article 8 were suggested.

59. The United States Government member and the Workers' members suggested the deletion of this Article which, in their opinion, would be a step backwards compared with the Convention concerning maternity protection adopted in 1919. The proposal was opposed by the Pakistan Government member, who considered that the Office text would facilitate ratification of the Convention by underdeveloped countries. This proposal was adopted by 82 votes to three, with three abstentions, and, as a result, the amendment proposed by the Pakistan Government member in connection with Article 4, to allow payment of benefits by the employer, was dropped.

60. The Indian Government member, supported by the Pakistan Government member, suggested the inclusion of an Article which would provide that countries where the liability for payment of maternity benefits was placed

on the employers under existing national laws and regulations could, when ratifying the Convention, substitute, by a declaration accompanying its ratification, this method of payment for those provided for in Article 4. This proposal was opposed by some Government members and by the Workers' members on the grounds that the payment of benefits by individual employers had proved detrimental to women's employment opportunities and was rejected by 76 votes to nine, with five abstentions.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION ON MATERNITY PROTECTION

61. The Office text was adopted as a basis for discussion.

Paragraph 1

62. Paragraph 1 was deleted as a result of the extension of the scope of the proposed Convention.

Paragraph 2

63. A Swedish Government Member's proposal to delete subparagraph (1), as it expressed the desirability for a certain amount of leave before confinement, was adopted by 61 votes to three, with three abstentions.

64. A Swedish Government Member's proposal to delete from subparagraph (2) the provisions specifying the distribution of maternity leave was adopted by 63 votes to one, with eight abstentions, and an Employers' members' suggestion to delete the words "not less than" was also adopted by 36 votes to 34, with eight abstentions. Subparagraph (2), as amended, was adopted by 36 votes to 27, with 10 abstentions.

65. Subparagraph (3) failed of adoption by a vote of 36 to 36, with 3 abstentions.

66. An Indian Government Member's suggestion to introduce the words "wherever practicable" at the beginning of subparagraph (4) was rejected by 38 votes to four, with 41 abstentions, and subparagraph (4) of the Office text was adopted by 41 votes to 36, with four abstentions.

Paragraph 3

67. Subparagraph (1) was deleted as it had been introduced in substance into the text of the proposed Convention, and the Office text for the paragraph concerning maternity benefits, as thus modified, was adopted by 47 votes to 36 with three abstentions. The Employers' members voted against this paragraph because they felt that this question should be dealt with in connection with social security.

Paragraph 4

68. Subparagraph (1) was deleted as it had been incorporated in substance in the proposed Convention. Subparagraph (2) was adopted without amendment by 48 votes to 36 with no abstentions. With regard to subparagraph (3), a Workers' members' proposal to the effect that it should be specified that nursing and

day-care facilities should preferably be established outside the undertakings was adopted by 48 votes to 0, with 37 abstentions. The Indian Government member suggested the deletion of the second part of this subparagraph as impractical for some countries, but this proposal was rejected by 41 votes to 38, with six abstentions. Subparagraph (3), as amended, was then adopted by 46 votes to 36, with three abstentions.

69. Subparagraph (4) of the Office text was adopted by 48 votes to 12, with 25 abstentions.

Paragraph 5

70. The Swedish Government member proposed that subparagraph (1) be replaced by a new text which would specify that women should not be dismissed on account of pregnancy or childbirth if they had been constantly employed for at least one year in an undertaking or occupation covered by the Maternity Protection Convention; she considered that women workers should be protected against dismissal on account of pregnancy or childbirth under these conditions. This proposal was rejected by 35 votes to 40, with nine abstentions. A Workers' members' suggestion to extend the period of protection up to at least one month after the end of the period of maternity leave provided for in Article 3 of the Convention was adopted by 48 votes to 36, with one abstention. Subparagraph (1), as amended, was adopted by 47 votes to 30, with 7 abstentions.

71. Subparagraph (2) of the Office text was adopted by 46 votes to 30, with eight abstentions.

72. Subparagraph (3) of the Office text was adopted by 48 votes to 36, with one abstention.

Paragraph 6

73. The Indian Government member suggested that the right of the woman to rescind her contract of employment should be conditional upon production of a medical certificate to the effect that continuation in the particular employment would be prejudicial to her health. This proposal was opposed by some Government members and by the Workers' members on the grounds that the right of the woman in this respect should be unconditional, and it was rejected by 40 votes to 32, with 13 abstentions. Subparagraph (1) of the Office text was rejected by 33 votes to 0, with 51 abstentions.

74. Subparagraphs (2) to (6) of the Office text were adopted by 41 votes to 36, with two abstentions.

* * *

75. This report was adopted unanimously. The proposed Convention concerning maternity protection (revised), 1952, was adopted by 47 votes to 37, with 6 abstentions and the proposed Recommendation concerning maternity protection by 47 votes to 36, with 6 abstentions.

Geneva, 23 June 1952.

(Signed) J. E. de SANDOVAL,
Chairman.

G. J. STEMBERG,
Reporter.

PROPOSED CONVENTION CONCERNING MATERNITY PROTECTION (REVISED, 1952)¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to maternity protection, which is the seventh item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an International Convention,

adopts this day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Convention, which may be cited as the Maternity Protection (Revised) Convention, 1952.

Article 1

1. This Convention applies to women employed in industrial undertakings, and non-industrial and agricultural occupations, including women wage earners working at home.

2. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "industrial undertaking" comprises public and private undertakings and any branch thereof and includes particularly—

- (a) mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth;
- (b) undertakings in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including undertakings engaged in shipbuilding, or in the generation, transformation or transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind;
- (c) undertakings engaged in building and civil engineering work, including constructional, repair, maintenance, alteration and demolition work;
- (d) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods by road, rail, sea, inland waterway, or air, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, warehouses or airports.

3. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "non-industrial occupations" includes all occupations which are carried on in or in connection with the following undertakings or services, whether public or private:

- (a) commercial establishments;
- (b) postal and telecommunication services;
- (c) establishments and administrative services in which the persons employed are mainly engaged in clerical work;
- (d) newspaper undertakings;
- (e) hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, clubs, cafés and other refreshment houses;
- (f) establishments for the treatment and care of the sick, infirm or destitute and of orphans;

¹ See Second Part, p. 350.

- (g) theatres and places of public entertainment ;
- (h) domestic work for wages in private households ;

and any other non-industrial occupations to which the competent authority may decide to apply the provisions of the Convention.

4. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "agricultural occupations" includes all occupations carried on in agricultural undertakings, including plantations and large-scale industrialised agricultural undertakings.

5. In any case in which it is doubtful whether this Convention applies to an undertaking, branch of an undertaking or occupation, the question shall be determined by the competent authority after consultation with the representative organisations of employers and workers concerned where such exist.

6. National laws or regulations may exempt from the application of this Convention undertakings in which only members of the employer's family, as defined by national laws or regulations, are employed.

Article 2

For the purpose of this Convention, the term "woman" means any female person, irrespective of age, nationality, race or creed, whether married or unmarried, and the term "child" means any child whether born of marriage or not.

Article 3

1. A woman to whom this Convention applies shall, on the production of a medical certificate stating the presumed date of her confinement, be entitled to a period of maternity leave.

2. The period of maternity leave shall be at least twelve weeks, and shall include a period of compulsory leave after confinement.

3. The period of compulsory leave after confinement shall be prescribed by national laws or regulations, but shall in no case be less than six weeks ; the remainder of the total period of maternity leave may be provided before the presumed date of confinement or following expiration of the compulsory leave period or partly before the presumed date of confinement and partly following the expiration of the compulsory leave period as may be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

4. The leave before the presumed date of confinement shall be extended by any period elapsing between the presumed date of confinement and the actual date of confinement and the period of compulsory leave to be taken after confinement shall not be reduced on that account.

5. In case of illness medically certified arising out of confinement, the woman shall be entitled to an extension of the leave after confinement, the maximum duration of which may be fixed by the competent authority.

6. In case of illness medically certified arising out of pregnancy, national laws or regulations shall provide for additional leave before confinement, the maximum duration of which may be fixed by the competent authority.

Article 4

1. While absent from work on maternity leave in accordance with the provisions of Article 3, the woman shall be entitled to receive cash and medical benefits.

2. The rates of cash benefits shall be fixed by national laws or regulations so as to ensure benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child in accordance with a suitable standard of living.

3. Medical benefits shall include pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care by qualified midwives or medical practitioners as well as hospitalisation care where necessary ; freedom of choice of doctor and freedom of choice between a public and private hospital shall be respected.

4. The cash and medical benefits shall be provided either by means of compulsory social insurance or by means of benefits from public funds ; they shall be provided as a matter of right to all women to whom this Convention applies, who comply with the prescribed conditions.

5. Women who fail to qualify for benefits provided as of right shall be entitled, subject to the means test required for social assistance, to adequate benefits out of social assistance funds.

6. Where cash benefits provided under compulsory social insurance are based on previous earnings they shall be at a rate of not less than two-thirds of the woman's previous earnings taken into account for the purposes of computing benefits.

7. Any contribution due under a compulsory social insurance scheme providing maternity benefits and any tax based upon payrolls which is raised for the purpose of providing such benefits shall, whether paid both by the employer and the employees or by the employer, be paid in respect of the total number of men and women employed by the undertakings concerned, without distinction of sex.

8. In no case shall the employer be individually liable for the cost of such benefits due to women employed by him.

Article 5

1. If a woman is nursing her child she shall be entitled to interrupt her work for this purpose at a time or times to be prescribed by national laws and regulations.

2. Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly.

Article 6

While a woman is absent from work on maternity leave in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 of this Convention, it shall not be lawful for her employer to give her notice of dismissal during such absence, or to give her notice of dismissal at such a time that the notice would expire during such absence.

Article 7

1. Any Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention

may, by a declaration appended to its ratification, provide for temporary exceptions from the application of the Convention in respect of—

- (a) certain categories of non-industrial occupations ;
- (b) agricultural occupations, other than plantations ;
- (c) domestic work for wages in private households ;
- (d) women wage earners working at home ;
- (e) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods by sea.

2. The categories of occupations or undertakings for which use is made of the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article, shall be specified in the declaration.

3. Any Member which has made such a declaration may at any time cancel that declaration, in whole or in part, by a subsequent declaration.

4. Every Member for which a declaration made under paragraph 1 of this Article is in force, shall indicate each year in its annual report upon the application of this Convention the position of its law and practice in respect of the occupations or undertakings to which paragraph 1 of this Article applies in virtue of this declaration and the extent to which effect has been given or is proposed to be given to the Convention in respect of such occupations or undertakings.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING MATERNITY PROTECTION ¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to maternity protection, which is the seventh item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation supplementing the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised) 1952,

adopts this day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952.

I. MATERNITY LEAVE

1. (1) Where necessary to the health of the woman and wherever practicable, the maternity leave provided for in Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, should be extended to a total period of 14 weeks.

(2) The supervisory bodies should have power to prescribe in individual cases, on the basis of a medical certificate, a further extension of the ante-natal and post-natal leave, as

indicated in paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of Article 3 of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, if such an extension seems necessary for safeguarding the health of the mother and the child, and, in particular, in the event of actual or threatening abnormal conditions, such as miscarriage and other ante-natal and post-natal complications.

II. MATERNITY BENEFITS

2. (1) Wherever practicable the cash benefits to be granted in conformity with Article 4 of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, should be fixed at a higher rate than the minimum standard provided in the Convention, equalling, where practicable, 100 per cent. of the woman's previous earnings taken into account for purposes of computing benefits.

(2) Wherever practicable the medical benefits to be granted in conformity with Article 4 of the said Convention should comprise general practitioner and specialist out-patient and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting ; dental care ; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital ; nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions ; maintenance in hospitals or other medical institutions ; pharmaceutical, dental or other medical or surgical supplies ; and the care furnished under appropriate medical supervision, by members of such other profession as may at any time be legally recognised as competent to furnish services associated with maternity care.

(3) The medical benefit should be afforded with a view to restoring, maintaining or improving the health of the woman protected and her ability to work and to attend to her personal needs.

(4) The institutions or government departments administering the medical benefit should encourage, by such means as may be deemed appropriate, the women protected to avail themselves of the general health services placed at their disposal by the public authorities or by other bodies recognised by the public authorities.

(5) In addition, national laws or regulations may authorise such institutions or government departments to make provision for the promotion of the health of the women protected and their infants.

(6) Other benefits in kind or in cash, such as layettes or payment for the purchase of layettes, the supply of milk or of nursing allowance for nursing mothers, etc., might be usefully added to the benefits mentioned in subparagraphs (1) and (2) of this paragraph.

III. FACILITIES FOR NURSING MOTHERS AND INFANTS

3. (1) Wherever practicable nursing breaks should be extended to a total period of at least one-and-a-half hours during a working day and adjustments in the frequency and length of the nursing periods should be permitted on medical certificate.

(2) Provision should be made for the establishment of facilities for nursing or day care,

¹ See Second Part, p. 356.

preferably outside the undertakings where the women are working; wherever possible provision should be made for the financing or at least subsidising of such facilities at the expense of the community or by compulsory social insurance.

(3) The equipment and hygienic requirements of the facilities for nursing and day care and the number and qualifications of the staff of the latter should comply with adequate standards laid down by appropriate regulations, and they should be approved and supervised by the competent authority.

IV. PROTECTION OF EMPLOYMENT

4. (1) Wherever possible the period before and after confinement during which the woman is protected from dismissal by the employer in accordance with Article 6 of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, should be extended to begin as from the date when the employer of the woman has been notified by medical certificate of her pregnancy and to continue until one month at least after the end of the period of maternity leave provided in Article 3 of the Convention.

(2) Among the legitimate reasons for dismissal during the protected period to be defined by law should be included cases of serious fault on the part of the employed woman, shutting down of the undertaking or expiry of the contract of employment. Where works councils exist it would be desirable that they should be consulted regarding such dismissals.

(3) During her legal absence from work before and after confinement, the seniority rights of the woman should be preserved as well as her right to reinstatement in her former work or in equivalent work paid at the same rate.

V. PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF EMPLOYED WOMEN DURING THE MATERNITY PERIOD

5. (1) Night work and overtime work should be prohibited for pregnant and nursing women and their working hours should be planned so as to ensure adequate rest periods.

(2) Employment of a woman on work prejudicial to her health or that of her child, as defined by the competent authority, should

be prohibited during pregnancy and up to at least three months after confinement and longer if the woman is nursing her child.

(3) Work falling under the provisions of subparagraph (3) should include, in particular—

(a) any hard labour involving—

(i) heavy weight-lifting, pulling or pushing, or

(ii) undue and unaccustomed physical strain, including prolonged standing;

(b) work requiring special equilibrium; and

(c) work with vibrating machines.

(4) A woman ordinarily employed at work defined as prejudicial to health by the competent authority, should be entitled without loss of wages to a transfer to another kind of work not harmful to her condition.

(5) Such a right of transfer should also be given for reasons of maternity in individual cases to any woman who presents a medical certificate stating that a change in the nature of her work is necessary in the interest of her health and that of her child.

(4) Text of the Convention (No.) concerning Maternity Protection (Revised, 1952), Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text of the Convention, as submitted by the Drafting Committee, was adopted by the Conference at its 27th Sitting, on 28 June 1952, without change except as regards Article 5, paragraph 2, which was amended.¹)

In the text as submitted by the Drafting Committee Article 5, paragraph 2, read as follows :

Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly.

For the final text of the Convention see Appendix XVI, p. 636.)

(5) Text of the Recommendation (No.) concerning Maternity Protection, Submitted by the Drafting Committee.

(The text of the Recommendation, as submitted by the Drafting Committee, was adopted without change by the Conference at its 27th Sitting, on 28 June 1952. For the final text see Appendix XVI, p. 644.)

¹ See Second Part, p. 410.

APPENDIX XI

Eighth Item on the Agenda : Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment

(1) Text of the Proposed Conclusions concerning Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(The text of the proposed conclusions is given in Report VIII (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 35th Session of the Conference.)

(2) Report of the Committee on Workers' Health.¹

1. The Committee appointed to examine the question of the protection of the health of workers in places of employment and set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 5 June 1952, was composed of 63 members, as follows : 35 Government members ; 14 Employers' members ; 14 Workers' members. The Committee applied the Riddell voting system, modified to give each Government member two votes and each Employers' and Workers' member five votes ; each group thus disposed of the same total number of votes.

2. The Committee elected the following Officers :

Chairman : Miss Perkins, Government member, United States ;

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Bourdon, Employers' member, France, and Mr. Vermeulen, Workers' member, Netherlands ;

Reporter : Mr. Willot, substitute Government member, Belgium.

3. In accordance with the provisions of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the following members were attached to the Officers of the Committee to constitute the *Drafting Committee* : Mr. Eichholzer, Government member, Switzerland ; Mr. Chapman, Employers' member, United Kingdom.

4. The Committee took as a basis for its deliberations the proposed conclusions prepared by the Office and contained in Chapter II of Report VIII (2).

5. From the beginning all members of the Committee recognised the need for international regulations on the protection of the health of workers in places of employment. At its 15th sitting the Committee re-examined the question whether a Recommendation or a Convention should be adopted. The Committee had before it two proposals : the first, contained in the Office text, was for a Recommendation ; the second, included in an amendment proposed by the Belgian Government member, was for a Convention. The Workers' members proposed that the question of the form of the international regulations should be referred to the Conference for decision at its next session and that the Office should prepare a proposed Recommendation and a proposed Convention supplemented by a Recommendation. Towards the end of the discussion the amendment proposing a Convention was withdrawn in favour of the proposal of the Workers' members. A record vote was taken on the proposal of the Workers' members, and it was adopted by 88 votes to 85. The Employers' members subsequently raised the question whether the Office text should not be put to the vote and whether the proposal of the Workers' members on which a record vote was taken had been properly presented. The Chairman ruled that the motion was one of procedure and that as no objection had been raised to the taking of a record vote on the Workers' proposal, the question could not be reopened ; in view of the fact that that proposal had been adopted it was unnecessary to consider further the Office text.

6. The Committee discussed a number of amendments to the Office text in regard to the provisions of the notification of occupational diseases. The Employers' members considered that the schedule of notifiable diseases to be included in the regulations should serve only as a guide to the Governments concerned ; they did not wish it to be obligatory. The Workers' members were of the opinion that all occupational diseases should be notified ; they insisted that the draft regulations should include a minimum schedule of notifiable diseases. The Committee adopted by 100 votes to 67 a text corresponding to this point

¹ See Second Part, p. 356.

of view which replaced the original text contained in the Office report.

7. On the request of the Employers' members, amendments proposed by the Government members of Belgium and France and intended to complete the international schedule were withdrawn. These additions are to be taken into consideration by a technical committee when the revision of the schedule is included in the agenda of a future session of the Conference. The Committee adopted the schedule drawn up by the Office.

8. To complement the international schedule, the Committee adopted an amendment proposed by the Workers' members to make the establishment of a national list of diseases and their symptomatology obligatory; this list is to be prepared after consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned and is to be communicated to the International Labour Office.

9. The Committee decided unanimously to include the provisions concerning the permissible delay and the periodicity of notification in the methods of notification prescribed by national legislation.

10. The Committee discussed the details to be included in the notification and made certain drafting changes to the Office texts; an amendment proposed by the Yugoslav Government member was adopted; this stipulated that the information on the worker's occupation should apply to that in which he was exposed to risk and not only to that in which he was employed at the time of notification.

11. The Committee discussed at length a proposal of the Employers' members that a medical certificate should form the basis of the notification of occupational diseases; a copy of the notification and of the medical certificate should be sent to the employer. Some Government members warned against the danger of violating medical secrecy. The amendment was rejected by 60 votes to 95 and the Office text was maintained.

12. The Committee adopted the Office text proposing to include in the regulations technical measures for the control of health hazards.

13. In its discussion on the general measures of health protection applying to all workplaces the Committee adopted the proposal made by the Workers' members to delete the word "reasonable" from the Office text on the grounds that it did not add anything of substance and that the term "adequate protection" was sufficiently clear. The Employers' members were of the opinion that as protection could not always be adequate the words "reasonable and adequate" were necessary.

14. The United Kingdom Government member proposed, in connection with the general principles of protective measures, that the provisions on the cleanliness of workplaces should be replaced by a new text requiring that the accumulation of dirt and refuse should be avoided. It would be easier to detect the accumulation of dirt and refuse and in addition many workplaces could not be considered clean although they presented no health risk. The Committee adopted this amendment.

15. The Employers' members proposed that the provisions for the control of atmospheric conditions should be rendered less rigid by adding the words "as far as shall be practicable" and by deleting the words "vitiating air" since complete control of certain atmospheric conditions cannot be achieved in practice. This proposal was rejected and the Office text maintained.

16. The Committee unanimously adopted the proposal of the Italian Government member to include provisions relating to the reduction of noise and vibration.

17. The Committee discussed at length the proposed conclusion concerning the measures of protection to be applied where special health risks exist. It was decided to adopt the Office text containing the principles of technical measures of protection and to avoid any reference in the proposed Recommendation to the methods used in applying these principles.

18. The Office text specifying the special measures to be taken to reduce the health risks of the workers was adopted with drafting changes.

19. An amendment was adopted to the provisions on personal protective clothing and equipment to the effect that these should be provided and cleaned for the workers at the expense of the employer.

20. The Committee adopted an amendment proposed by the Workers' members stipulating that national authorities should promote the study of methods of protection and should encourage the application of its results.

21. The provisions of the Office text concerning instruction in the use of these means of personal protection were extended to apply to all means of protection.

22. The Committee adopted an amendment submitted by the French Government member which proposed the inclusion of provisions on the posting of warning notices and notices dealing with measures of prevention, and on other appropriate methods of instruction and propaganda.

23. The Office text was further extended by the adoption of an amendment providing for consultation between the labour inspectorate and the employers' and workers' organisations in the application of the technical measures specified in this part of the regulations.

24. The Committee adopted the general principles of medical examinations specified in the Office text for the prevention of occupational diseases.

25. The Committee adopted an amendment proposed by the Belgian Government member and modified by the United States Government member laying down the general principles of medical examinations for workers exposed to special health risks. This amendment, which stipulated that the risks and circumstances making these examinations necessary should be determined by national laws and regulations, replaced the Office text; the list of occupational diseases included in the latter was therefore deleted.

26. The provisions of the Office text concerning pre-employment and periodical medical examinations were adopted by the Committee. An amendment submitted by the United Kingdom Government member and specifying the types of risks and circumstances in which periodical and pre-employment examinations should be carried out and those in which the latter were not needed was rejected.

27. The provisions on the cost of the medical examinations were extended in order that they should not result in any loss of wages to the worker.

28. It was laid down that medical certificates should refer only to the risk of occupational disease. In addition, an amendment proposed by the Italian Government member and the Workers' members added to the Office text provisions intended to safeguard medical secrecy.

29. The Committee examined an amendment proposed by the Government members of Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia to add to the Office text a chapter on emergency first-aid services in case of accident, poisoning and illness in workplaces. This proposal was considered to fall outside the scope of the subject under discussion by the Committee and it was decided to refer it to the Governing Body for appropriate action.

30. The Committee adopted the Proposed Conclusions and also three resolutions, the text of which is appended to the present report. The first of these concerns the agenda of the next session of the Conference. In the second, proposed by the United Kingdom Government member, the Conference calls upon Governments to encourage employers and other persons concerned to consider certain methods of applying preventive measures. In the third, proposed by the Italian Government member, the Conference invites the Governing Body to instruct the Office to promote the exchange of information on the substitution of harmless for harmful substances and, when appropriate, to place the question of substitution on the agenda of the International Labour Conference.

31. The Committee adopted the report unanimously.

Geneva, 23 June 1952.

(Signed) FRANCES PERKINS,
Chairman.

H. WILLOT,
Reporter.

PROPOSED CONCLUSIONS¹

I. FORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS

1. International regulations concerning protection of the health of workers in places of employment to be adopted in the form either of a Recommendation or of a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation.

¹ See Second Part, p. 361.

II. NOTIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

2. With a view to—

- (a) initiating measures of protection and prevention and checking their effective application,
- (b) investigating the working conditions and other circumstances which have caused or are suspected to have caused occupational diseases, and
- (c) compiling statistics of occupational diseases,

national laws or regulations to require the notification of cases and suspected cases of occupational disease. Such notification to be made to the labour inspectorate or other authority concerned with measures for the protection of workers in connection with their work.

3. The requirements concerning the notification of occupational diseases to be applied to all diseases which may be considered to arise as a result of employment.

4. At least the diseases specified in the following schedule to be considered to arise as a result of employment:

- (i) poisoning and ulceration by arsenic or its compounds;
- (ii) poisoning by beryllium or its compounds;
- (iii) poisoning, ulceration and other pathological manifestations due to chromium or its compounds;
- (iv) poisoning by fluorine or its compounds;
- (v) poisoning by lead, its alloys or compounds;
- (vi) poisoning by manganese or its compounds;
- (vii) poisoning by mercury, its amalgams or compounds;
- (viii) poisoning by phosphorus or its compounds;
- (ix) poisoning by benzene or its homologues and their nitro- and amido-derivatives;
- (x) poisoning by carbon bisulphide;
- (xi) poisoning by carbon monoxide;
- (xii) poisoning by halogen derivatives of hydro-carbons of the aliphatic series;
- (xiii) silicosis with or without pulmonary tuberculosis;
- (xiv) asbestosis with or without pulmonary tuberculosis;
- (xv) primary epitheliomatous cancer of the skin;
- (xvi) skin diseases arising from any process involving the manufacture, handling, use, refining or mixing of cements, mineral oils, turpentine and its substitutes, varnishes and lacquers, alkalis with caustic or irritant action, poisonous woods, persulphate or perborate of ammonium, and chlorine and its compounds;
- (xvii) diseases caused by work in compressed air;
- (xviii) pathological manifestations due to radiations, radium and other radioactive substances;
- (xix) anthrax infection.

5. The proposed international regulations to provide for the adoption of amendments to the schedule by the International Labour Conference at sessions of the Conference at which the matter is included in the agenda, after appropriate preliminary technical consideration.

6. In each country the competent authority to draw up a national schedule of notifiable diseases together with a symptomatology, this schedule to include as a minimum the diseases set out in Article 4. The competent authority to make additions to the schedule after consultation with the workers' and employers' organisations concerned; additions to be notified to the International Labour Office.

7. The authority concerned with measures for the protection of the health of workers to be provided with such information as may be relevant and necessary for the effective execution of its duties, including, in particular, the following details :

- (a) the age and sex of the person concerned ;
- (b) the occupation and the trade or industry in which the person is or was last employed ;
- (c) the name and address of the place or last place of employment of the person concerned ;
- (d) the nature of the disease or poisoning ;
- (e) the harmful agent and process to which the disease or poisoning is attributed ;
- (f) the length of service of the worker in the occupation, trade and industry in which he was exposed to the risk.

8. The national laws or regulations to prescribe the manner in which notification of occupational diseases should be carried out and to specify—

- (a) the persons responsible for notifying cases and suspected cases of occupational diseases ;
- (b) the time limit within which notification must be made after the detection of a case or suspected case of occupational disease, in so far as immediate reporting is required ;
- (c) the intervals at which cases should be reported which only require periodical notification.

III. TECHNICAL MEASURES FOR THE CONTROL OF HEALTH HAZARDS

9. The proposed international regulations to include provisions concerning methods of reducing or eliminating risks to health in places of employment, including particular methods of protecting the health of workers which may be applied, as necessary and appropriate, in connection with special risks of injury to health.

10. All appropriate and necessary measures to be taken to ensure that the general working environment of workplaces is so maintained as to provide adequate protection to the health of the workers concerned, and in particular that—

- (a) dirt and refuse do not accumulate in workplaces so as to cause risk of injury to health ;
- (b) the floor space and height of workrooms are sufficient to prevent overcrowding of workers, machinery, materials or products ;
- (c) adequate and suitable lighting, natural or artificial, or both, is provided ;
- (d) suitable atmospheric conditions are maintained so as to avoid insufficient air supply, vitiated air, harmful draughts, excessive humidity, excessive heat or cold, sudden variations in temperature, and objectionable odours ;
- (e) sufficient sanitary conveniences, clean drinking water and adequate washing facilities are provided and are properly located and maintained ;
- (f) measures are taken to eliminate or reduce as far as possible noise and vibrations which constitute a danger to the health of workers.

11. (1) With a view to the reduction of risks to health, all appropriate and practicable measures to be taken—

- (a) to encourage the substitution of harmless or less harmful substances for harmful substances ;
- (b) to prevent the liberation of harmful substances and to shield workers from the sources of harmful radiations ;
- (c) to carry out hazardous processes in separate rooms or buildings with a minimum number of workers ;
- (d) to carry out hazardous processes in enclosed apparatus, so as to prevent personal contact with harmful substances and the escape into the air of the workroom of dust, fumes, gases, fibres, mists or vapours, in quantities liable to injure health ;
- (e) to remove, at or near their point of origin, by mechanical exhaust, ventilation systems or other suitable means, the dust, fumes, gases, fibres, mists or vapours of harmful substances, where the exposure to such substances cannot be prevented in one or more of the ways prescribed in the preceding subparagraphs (a) to (d) ;
- (f) to provide the workers with such protective clothing and equipment as may be necessary to shield them from the effects of harmful agents, where other measures to eliminate health risks are impracticable or are not sufficient to ensure adequate protection, and to instruct the workers in the use thereof. The said protective clothing and equipment to be provided and cleaned by the employer at his expense when it can be regarded as being of no use to the worker outside the workplace.

(2) National authorities to promote and where possible to undertake the study of the measures mentioned in subparagraph (1) above, and to encourage the application of the results of such study.

12. The workers to be encouraged, by all suitable means, to use and not to disturb the

proper functioning of any measure of protection mentioned in paragraphs 10 and 11 above.

13. (1) The atmosphere of workrooms in which dangerous or obnoxious substances are manufactured, handled or used to be tested periodically at such intervals as may be necessary to ensure that toxic or irritating dusts, fumes, gases, fibres, mists or vapours are not present in quantities liable to injure health.

(2) The competent authority to determine the circumstances in which it is necessary to test the atmosphere of workrooms and the manner in which the tests are to be carried out, as well as the persons responsible for making these tests and the appropriate equipment to be used.

14. The competent authority to draw the attention of employers and workers concerned to the special risks to which the workers are exposed and to the precautions to be taken to obviate these risks by means of warning notices in the workplaces or other appropriate measures.

15. The competent authority to provide for consultation at the national level between the labour inspectorate or other authority concerned with measures for the protection of the health of workers and the employers' and workers' organisations concerned in carrying out the provisions of paragraphs 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

IV. MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS

16. The proposed international regulations to include provisions concerning the medical examination of workers engaged in occupations involving risks to their health.

17. The provisions concerning medical examinations to apply to workers employed in the occupations involving special risks to health. National laws or regulations to determine or to empower the competent authority to determine in consultation with employers' and workers' organisations concerned for which risks and in which circumstances medical examination should be carried out.

18. (1) The employment of workers in occupations involving special risks to health to be conditional upon—

(a) a medical examination, carried out shortly before or within a short time after the worker enters employment in order to determine his physical fitness for the employment in question;

(b) periodical medical re-examination.

(2) The special risks necessitating an initial or periodical medical examination, or both, to be determined at the national level.

19. National laws or regulations to specify the maximum interval at which periodical medical examinations should be carried out in relation to the nature and degree of the risk and the particular circumstances.

20. The medical examination provided for in the international regulations not to involve the worker concerned in any expense or any loss of earnings.

21. (1) Documentary evidence showing, as far as the risk of a particular occupational

disease is concerned, that there are no medical objections to the employment of a worker in a particular occupation to be issued in a manner prescribed by the competent authority.

(2) Such documentary evidence to be kept on file by the employer and made available to officials of the labour inspectorate or other authority concerned with measures for the protection of the health of workers.

(3) Such documentary evidence to be made available to the worker concerned.

(4) Measures to ensure the observance of medical secrecy to be adopted in connection with all medical examinations and the registration and filing of related documents; the certificates necessary to meet the requirement of subparagraphs (1) and (2) above not to mention any diagnosis.

22. Medical examinations to be carried out by a physician approved by the competent authority.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PLACING ON THE AGENDA OF THE NEXT GENERAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE QUESTION OF PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF WORKERS IN PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT¹

The Conference,

Having before it the eighth item on its agenda, dealing with the protection of the health of workers in places of employment;

Having adopted the report of the Committee appointed to consider the eighth item on the agenda;

Having taken note of the view expressed in that report that the decision as to the form of the international regulations should be taken at the next general session of the Conference;

Decides:

(1) to put on the agenda of its next general session the question of protection of the health of workers in places of employment;

(2) to instruct the Office to include in the report to be submitted to Governments under paragraph 6 of Article 39 of the Standing Orders of the Conference the following alternative texts:

(a) a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation;

(b) a Recommendation;

(3) that the decision as to which of these forms the international regulations shall take shall be taken at the next general session of the Conference.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ELIMINATION OR REDUCTION OF RISKS OF WORKERS EXPOSED TO OR IN CONTACT WITH HARMFUL SUBSTANCES OR RADIATIONS²

Whereas the International Labour Conference at its Thirty-fifth Session has had under consideration proposals for international regu-

¹ See Second Part, p. 403.

² See Second Part, p. 362.

lations relating to protection of the health of workers in places of employment ;

And whereas it is proposed that such international regulations should include provisions concerning methods of reducing or eliminating risks to health in places of employment, including particular methods of protecting the health of workers which may be applied, as necessary and appropriate, in connection with special risks of injury to health ;

And whereas, in view of the great variety of such special risks and of circumstances in which they are encountered, it is not possible to formulate rules of a general nature as to the methods to be applied, but it is desirable to draw attention to particular types of method which should be considered :

The Conference resolves as follows :

With a view to eliminating or reducing risks of workers becoming exposed to or in contact with harmful substances or radiations, whether in the atmosphere or in more direct connection with their work, employers and others concerned in the various countries should be encouraged by Governments to consider always the types of method indicated below and apply such of them, or such combinations of them, as appear to be appropriate and reasonably practicable in the circumstances of the particular case :

- (a) substitution of harmless or less harmful substances ;
- (b) use of mechanical methods or of tools so as to eliminate or reduce direct contact with the substance ;
- (c) use of wet or damp working methods (or use of foams, colloids, etc.) so that giving off of harmful dust is reduced or eliminated ;
- (d) enclosure of the operation, in conjunction where appropriate with exhaust ventilation of the enclosure, to prevent or reduce the escape of dust, fumes, vapours or radiations into the atmosphere of the workplace ;
- (e) without enclosure (or without complete enclosure), use of local exhaust ventilation as near as practicable to the point where dust, fume, vapour or radiation is given off ;
- (f) good general ventilation of the workroom or workplace so that harmful substances escaping into the atmosphere notwithstanding any other precautions do not accumulate or remain there in dangerous concentrations ;
- (g) periodic vacuum or damp cleaning of parts of the workplace and of its equipment where harmful dust is liable to accumulate and thence become dispersed into the atmosphere ;

(h) isolation of the operation in a separated room or area so that the number of workers exposed to the hazard is reduced to a minimum ;

(i) provision for the workers of protective clothing or equipment or other means of personal protection (for instance, substances to protect the skin), of kinds appropriate in the circumstances of the case.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE COLLECTION AND DIFFUSION OF INFORMATION ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF HARMLESS OR LESS HARMFUL SUBSTANCES FOR HARMFUL SUBSTANCES¹

The Conference,

Having adopted the proposed conclusions for the eighth item on the agenda of the Conference ;

Having, in particular, approved the principle suggested in Point 10 of the draft conclusions submitted by the Office concerning the substitution of harmless or less harmful substances for harmful substances ;

Considering that the application of the principle of substitution would be facilitated by the collection and diffusion on the international level of information on the problems arising and the progress achieved in this field ; and

Recalling in addition that the International Labour Conference, at its Third Session in 1921, adopted the White Lead (Painting) Convention which prohibits the use of this toxic substance in the internal painting of buildings,

(1) Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to instruct the Office to assemble, and to promote exchanges between the various countries of, information on the technical possibility of substituting harmless or less harmful substances for harmful substances, in order that countries less advanced in the field of scientific research and its industrial applications may benefit from the results achieved in the more advanced countries ;

(2) Invites the Governing Body to consider, when the technical and economic possibility of applying substitution in certain cases has been adequately demonstrated, whether the question of the adoption of international Conventions making such substitution obligatory should be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference.

¹ See Second Part, p. 362.

APPENDIX XII

Ninth Item on the Agenda : Regulation of the Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Coal Mines

(1) Text of Proposed Resolution concerning the Protection of Young Workers Employed Underground in Coal Mines, Prepared by the International Labour Office.

(The text of this proposed resolution is given in Report IX (2) prepared by the International Labour Office for the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference.)

(2) Report of the Committee on Employment in Mines.¹

1. The Committee on Employment in Mines was composed of 36 members (18 Government members, nine Employers' and nine Workers' members) voting under the Riddell system. Each Government member therefore had one vote and each Employers' and Workers' member two votes.

2. The Committee elected the following officers :

Chairman : Mr. Sauerborn, Government member, Federal Republic of Germany.

Vice-Chairmen : Mr. Legrand, Employers' member, Belgium, and Mr. Reed, Workers' member, United States.

Reporter : Mr. Patnaik, Government member, India.

3. The *Drafting Committee* included, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the Reporter, Mr. Jarlier, Government member, France, Mr. Minton, Employers' member, United Kingdom, and Sir William Lawther, Workers' member, United Kingdom.

TITLE AND SCOPE OF THE ITEM ON THE AGENDA

4. The question of regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines was placed by the Governing Body on the agenda of the 35th Session of the International Labour Conference for general discussion, on the understanding that in the

event of the Conference deciding to proceed to draft international regulations on the subject this might subsequently be regarded as a first discussion permitting the holding of a final discussion in 1953.

5. In the general discussion by which the Committee began its work the Employers' members and the Government member of the United Kingdom stated that the subject of "protection of young workers employed underground in coal mines" in the Office reports IX (1) and IX (2) differed in scope from the subject of "regulation of employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines", which the Governing Body had placed on the agenda of the Conference. They therefore contested the competence of the Committee to discuss certain points included in the Office reports, such as vocational guidance, social security, inspection and social welfare facilities and services, which in their opinion were not covered by the term "regulation of employment". These items had not been adequately considered by the Coal Mines Committee and they thought that it had clearly been the Governing Body's intention to limit the discussion to the points which had already been the subject of a thorough study by that Committee.

6. The Representative of the Secretary-General explained that the Governing Body was the appropriate authority to decide the subject for discussion. The item placed on the agenda by it was the "regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines". The Representative of the Secretary-General further pointed out that this question had been placed on the agenda of the Conference for a general discussion and the Office had considered that the Committee should decide what came under a general discussion of the term "regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines". The Committee ultimately decided to discuss all sections in the Office draft resolution except those on social security and social welfare. The Committee recommended that these subjects should be remitted to the Coal Mines Committee for a thorough examination with regard to all workers, including young workers.

¹ See Second Part, p. 364.

FORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS
TO BE ADOPTED

I. *Minimum Age*

Paragraph 1.

7. The question of the form of international regulation was discussed. There appeared to be substantial agreement in the Committee as regards the desirability of adopting a resolution. The Government member of Brazil and the Workers' member of Argentina did not consider a resolution adequate and were in favour of a Convention. Other members, particularly the Indian Government member, considered that it was premature to adopt a Convention. The Committee decided by 44 votes to 6 in favour of the adoption of a resolution.

8. As regards the question of the desirability of further action, the Committee decided to recommend that the Conference include in the agenda of its next general session in 1953 the question of the minimum age of admission to employment on underground work in coal mines for a second discussion with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation on this question.

9. The texts of the resolutions adopted by the Committee are appended to this report.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE
REGULATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG
PERSONS IN UNDERGROUND WORK
IN COAL MINES

Preamble

10. The Committee decided to shorten the Preamble by deleting the second, third, sixth and seventh paragraphs of the Office text. It also adopted certain drafting changes to bring the text into conformity with the subjects covered by the resolution as adopted. With regard to the fifth paragraph of the Preamble the United Kingdom Government member suggested deleting the word "social" on the ground that it had been decided not to include in the resolution the Sections on social security and social welfare. There was general agreement among Government members that it was not essential to keep any specific reference to "physical, social and vocational development". The Australian Government member accordingly proposed deletion of those words and the proposal was adopted by 25 votes to 22. As a result, however, of the strong opposition from the Workers' members, who considered the social development of young persons one of the primary objectives of any regulation of their employment, the paragraph as amended was rejected, when put to the vote, by 22 votes to four, with 15 abstentions. In deference to the strong views expressed by the Workers' members, the Committee decided, by 35 votes to four, to adopt a new text of the fifth paragraph, stressing the necessity of social measures for young persons, proposed by the Belgian Government member. The preamble as a whole was adopted by 37 votes to 0, with four abstentions.

11. Two amendments were considered by the Committee. The first was submitted by the Brazilian Government member for replacing the minimum age of 16 years by a minimum age of 18 years in view of the health risks involved, particularly for young workers, in coal mines. The second amendment, proposed by the Indian Government member, suggested replacing the age of 16 years by the age of 15 years, because of the conditions prevailing in underdeveloped countries. The young persons were compelled to work at an early age to augment the low family income. Necessary school facilities did not exist to occupy them usefully before admission to work. If, however, the age limit of 15 was not accepted as an international standard, special provisions for underdeveloped countries should be provided in any international regulations on this question. Neither amendment received the support of a majority in the Committee.

12. The Committee decided to accept the minimum age of 16 years proposed by the Office text. The grounds, especially, were that this age corresponded to the age already adopted by the Coal Mines Committee after prolonged discussions and that a higher age was impractical for many countries because of the relation existing between the age for entering work and the school-leaving age. It was pointed out that in the United Kingdom the 16 years age limit would not be applied until the school-leaving age had been raised to 16 years, as was provided in the Education Act of 1944. The workers of the United States, Argentina, Chile, Canada and Brazil, where the age limit was 18 years, supported the age limit of 16 years only for purposes of co-operation with countries in Europe and elsewhere which did not yet have the 18 years limit.

13. The amendments of the Brazilian Government member and of the Indian Government member were rejected, the first by 26 votes to 19 and the second by 43 votes to three, and the Office text was adopted by 40 votes to one, with one abstention.

Paragraph 2.

14. An amendment by the Workers' members, modified after discussion, proposing to insert in subparagraph (a), as regards supervision, the words "by competent persons with technical and practical experience of the work" was adopted by 46 votes to 0, with two abstentions. An amendment suggested by the United Kingdom Government member proposed the addition of a new subparagraph (c), to read as follows: "subject to adequate measures for the protection of their health and welfare prescribed in national laws or regulations or laid down in collective agreements." This was withdrawn when it was pointed out that this amendment seemed superfluous as employers and workers were always free to agree on specific regulation of the conditions of employment within the framework of Government laws and regulations. It was understood,

however, that the definition of the term "competent authority", which in the United Kingdom could be interpreted as including the National Coal Board, would be left to each country. Paragraph 2 as amended was adopted by 44 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

II. Vocational Guidance

Paragraph 3.

15. An amendment submitted by the United States Government member proposing the addition of the words "and individual welfare" was accepted and the paragraph as amended was adopted by 26 votes to 0, with 16 abstentions. The basis for the amendment was that vocational guidance depended upon individual aptitudes.

Paragraph 4.

16. The Office text was adopted by 39 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

Paragraph 5.

17. The Employers' members submitted an amendment to modify the Office text of subparagraph (a) in conformity with a similar text adopted by the Coal Mines Committee in 1947 which stressed in particular that premature specialisation and any appearance of pressure should be avoided. The new text as modified by the Drafting Committee was adopted by 45 votes to 0, with no abstentions. Subparagraphs (b) and (c) were accepted in their original form and paragraph 5 as a whole was adopted by 45 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

Paragraph 6.

18. An amendment presented by the Workers' members suggesting that vocational guidance should be promoted in "all" coal-mining areas was automatically dropped after the adoption of an amendment submitted by the Employers' members which proposed the deletion of the first two lines of the paragraph up to and including the words "coal-mining areas and", thus allowing for the provision of vocational guidance everywhere, not just in mining areas. Paragraph 6 as amended was adopted by 26 votes to one, with 18 abstentions.

Addition of a new paragraph.

19. The United States Government member proposed the addition of a new paragraph to Section II, making it clear that vocational guidance of young persons in coal mines should be given in conformity with the principles and methods laid down by the Vocational Guidance Recommendation, 1949. This new text was adopted by 21 votes to 18, with 6 abstentions.

III. Vocational Training

Paragraph 7.

20. After a general discussion in which the importance of this question was recognised by all members of the Committee, the Workers' members submitted an amendment to para-

graph 7 suggesting the insertion in the initial declaration of the words "and free of charge". The employers recognised the part they had to play in the education of young miners and agreed in principle to the term "free of charge" on the condition that it did not apply to "all young persons wishing to engage in underground work" as stated in the Office text but only to "all young persons employed in coal mines and wishing to engage in underground work". Both amendments were adopted, the first by 41 votes to 0, with no abstentions, and the second by 40 votes to one, with no abstentions. Another amendment submitted by the United States Government member proposing the addition at the end of the paragraph of the words "and individual welfare" was rejected by four votes to three, with 34 abstentions. Paragraph 7 as amended was then adopted unanimously.

Paragraph 8.

21. No amendment was presented to this paragraph, which was adopted unanimously in its original form.

Paragraph 9.

22. The Employers' members submitted an amendment to delete in subparagraph (d) the words "after at least three months of training". It was held that some kinds of work usually done as a part of vocational training might be considered productive work and might therefore be prohibited, according to the Office text, during the first three months. To meet this difficulty, the Workers' members proposed to replace the words "production work" in the Office text by the words "essentially productive work" and the Employers' members withdrew their amendment in favour of this new proposal. The Office text of subparagraph (d) so amended was adopted by 38 votes to two, with one abstention. Paragraph 9 as amended was then adopted by 40 votes to 0, with one abstention.

Paragraphs 10 and 11.

23. The Czechoslovak Workers' member presented an amendment to paragraph 10 proposing the insertion of the words "with the participation of the workers' organisations" and the Employers' members proposed the replacement in paragraph 11 of the words "and representatives of the workers' organisations, where such exist" by the words "or, according to circumstances, the representatives of the workers' organisations". Both amendments were, however, withdrawn in favour of a new wording of paragraph 11, proposed by the Belgian Government member, which read as follows: "The employers and the representatives of the recognised organisations of employees should collaborate in the organisation and application of these training programmes." Paragraph 10 of the Office text and paragraph 11, as amended, were then both adopted by 41 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

Paragraph 12.

24. The Indian Government member suggested replacing the Office text by the following: "Training centres should be attached to

collieries and should be located in such places as the appropriate Government might determine." He considered that it was extremely difficult, at least in India, to have a vocational training centre at every mine and that it should be the function of the competent authority to locate such centres. When the French Government member pointed out that the question of establishing training centres fell more particularly within the competence of the employers and that it was not desirable for Governments to intervene in such detailed matters, the Indian Government member withdrew his amendment.

25. The Employers' members pointed out that it was, for technical reasons, impossible to reproduce in training centres the exact conditions of underground work. They therefore presented an amendment suggesting a redrafting of the paragraph at this point to read "reproducing as far as possible the conditions of underground work". Paragraph 12, so amended, was adopted by 43 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

Paragraphs 13 and 14.

26. Since it appeared to the Committee that it was not quite clear in which cases and to which categories of young persons paragraphs 13 and 14 respectively applied, both paragraphs were referred to the Drafting Committee for the clearer preparation of drafts. The Drafting Committee considered that paragraphs 13 and 14 were complementary. Paragraph 13 applied to young persons engaged for underground work in coal mines where training centres existed whereas paragraph 14 applied where such centres did not exist. In addition, the Employers' members had stated that if the employers had to provide vocational training facilities free of charge, according to paragraph 7 as adopted, they should have the right of selecting the young persons to whom these benefits would apply.

27. It was therefore proposed by the Drafting Committee that paragraph 13 be amended by replacing at the end of the paragraph the words "job for which training is given" by the words "jobs for which they have been selected" and to amend paragraph 14 by replacing the beginning of the Office text by the words: "Where such training centres do not exist, young persons under 18 years of age whose aptitudes appear to justify it should have the opportunity . . .", etc.

28. The Committee accepted both proposals. Paragraph 13 as amended was adopted by 46 votes to 0, with no abstentions, and paragraph 14 as amended was adopted by 45 votes to 0, with 1 abstention. In view of these clarifications of the text, two amendments to paragraph 14 which had been submitted previously, one by the Indian Government member suggesting that the words "without loss of earnings" should be deleted and the other by the Employers' members proposing the deletion of paragraph 14, were withdrawn.

Paragraph 15.

29. An amendment moved by the Workers' members proposed the deletion in the third

line of the Office text of the words "so far as possible", on the ground that if it was necessary for instructors to receive training in teaching methods it was also necessary that the workers who would be in charge of apprentices should have some notion of teaching technique; moreover, the Office text was in the conditional tense, which made the words "so far as possible" superfluous. The Employers' members, on the other hand, pointed out that it was impossible to send all workers having to take charge of apprentices to special schools where they would receive training in teaching methods. The amendment was rejected by 24 votes to 22. The Office text of paragraph 15 was adopted as regards subparagraph (1) by 24 votes to 17, with 3 abstentions, and as regards subparagraph (2) by 46 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

Paragraphs 16 and 17.

30. The Employers' members declared that they were ready to accept paragraph 16 if after the words "final examinations" the words "and whose aptitude appears to justify it" were added. Paragraph 16 as amended by the Employers and paragraph 17 without amendment were both adopted by 46 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

IV. Medical Examination

Paragraph 18.

31. An amendment presented by the Czechoslovak Workers' member proposing the replacement of the words "medical examination" by the words "compulsory medical examination" was adopted by 36 votes to 0, with 6 abstentions. On the ground that in many countries the legal age was 18, the Indian Government member proposed to fix at 18 instead of 21 years the age up to which medical examination should be provided. He withdrew his amendment when the Chairman stated that the age limit of 21 provided by the resolution was in conformity with the age limit indicated in Article 4 of the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (No. 77).

32. The United Kingdom Government member, supported by the United Kingdom Employers' member, pointed out that all occupations in all mines could not be considered as occupations which involve high health risks in the meaning of Article 4 of Convention No. 77. Although in the United Kingdom medical examination was only obligatory for admission to work of young persons under 18 years of age, he would vote for the Office text on the understanding that his vote did not affect in any manner the attitude of his Government as regards Convention No. 77. Paragraph 18 as amended was adopted by 43 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions.

Paragraph 19.

33. The Canadian Workers' member submitted an amendment proposing the replacement in subparagraph (a) of the words "radiological examination" by the words "examination by X-ray photograph". He

withdrew his amendment after it was explained that the term "radiology" was the more general term and covered all types of X-ray examinations.

34. Two amendments to subparagraph (a) aimed at restricting its application. One was submitted by the Indian Government member. It suggested changing the expression "including radiological examination" to "which may include radiological examination", because of the difficulty which underdeveloped countries encountered in realising at present the objective of the Office text. It was pointed out, however, that radiological services had been introduced in a large number of countries and in almost all countries where silicosis was recognised as an important industrial disease. The amendment was rejected by 33 votes to 6. The second amendment came from the United Kingdom Government member and proposed to introduce after "radiological examination" the words "when necessary", considering that such examinations should not be prescribed for all mines and for all occupations and should be limited to cases where the physician would consider them necessary. This amendment was rejected by 29 votes to 10. Subparagraph (a) in its original form was adopted by 25 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions.

35. The United Kingdom Government member had proposed to add at the beginning of subparagraph (b) the words "where practicable" but withdrew this amendment in favour of the Employers' members suggestion for replacing "an annual general re-examination" by "a general re-examination at least every two years", which was adopted by 39 votes to 0, with 1 abstention. Subparagraph (b) as amended was then adopted by 39 votes to 2, with 1 abstention. Subparagraph (c) was adopted in its original form by 44 votes to 0, with no abstentions. Paragraph 19 as a whole was adopted without opposition.

Paragraph 20.

36. An amendment proposed by the Employers' members, to make this paragraph apply only to medical re-examination "after a given period of employment in underground work" and only to unfitness, handicaps or deficiencies of young persons "caused by underground work", was adopted by 43 votes to 0, with 1 abstention. Paragraph 20 as amended was adopted by 43 votes to 0, with 1 abstention.

Paragraph 21.

37. The Committee adopted subparagraph 1, with certain drafting changes, by 43 votes to 0, with no abstentions. On the ground that since the employers were responsible for engaging the young persons it was also their right to organise and control medical examinations, the Employers' members proposed the deletion of subparagraph (2). This amendment was supported by the Indian Government member on the ground that the rights of a Government to enforce adequate medical examination were not curtailed by the abolition of this subparagraph. The amendment was adopted by 28 votes to 2, with 18 abstentions, causing two other amendments to fall. One

of these came from the Canadian Workers' member and sought to add to the general health services mentioned in the subparagraph those made available or supported by private initiative. The second came from the United Kingdom Government member and proposed that it be stated that the examinations "may", instead of "should", be provided by public health services. Paragraph 21 as amended was then adopted as a whole.

V. Night Work

Paragraph 22.

38. Two amendments which proposed the insertion of a definition of the term "night", one from the Australian Government member and another from the Czechoslovakian Workers' member, were withdrawn in view of the fact that a definition was already given by the Conventions concerning night work of young persons in industry (No. 6 and No. 90, (revised)).

39. The Brazilian Government member presented an amendment proposing the prohibition of night work underground in coal mines for all young persons under 18 years of age without exception. He pointed out that night work was prejudicial to the health of young persons, as well as anti-biological, and that vocational training should not be given at night. Numerous countries had expressed themselves in favour of a total prohibition of night work of young persons underground in coal mines. The Government member and the Employers' member of the United Kingdom, on the other hand, stated that a prohibition of night work of young persons without exception would, at least at present, make their employment impossible in the mines of their country, because work there was organised in rotating shifts. The amendment of the Brazilian Government member was eventually adopted by 21 votes to 20, with 3 abstentions, a result which was confirmed by a record vote. The Employers' members and the United Kingdom Government member reserved their right to reopen the question at a later stage of the proceedings.

VI. Rest Pauses and Holidays

Paragraph 23.

40. Paragraph 23 was adopted by 47 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

Paragraph 24.

41. The Employers' members presented an amendment to subparagraph (a) to "give young persons a rest period during the day, paid as working hours of specified minimum duration sufficient to permit a meal to be eaten". This amendment entailed the removal of the provisions of other special breaks for young persons during working hours as these would disorganise the working of the shifts. It was supported by some Government members on the ground that special breaks in addition to a daily rest period were unnecessary. This amendment was adopted by 23 votes to 22, with 2 abstentions.

42. As regards subparagraph (b) it was pointed out by the Employers' members that it was impossible to provide in every week without exception a weekly rest period of 36 consecutive hours, as a crew finishing work at 10 p.m. on Saturday and starting again at 6 a.m. on Monday had only 32 hours' rest, although it would have 48 the following week. The Belgian Government member therefore suggested replacing the Office text by the following words: "a weekly period, averaging 36 consecutive hours, the average to be calculated on a basis of four weeks . . ." This amendment was adopted by 46 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

43. With reference to subparagraph (c) the Employers' member of the United Kingdom stated that he would vote for the Office text on the understanding that in the United Kingdom the words "legal public holidays" would be interpreted in conformity with the provisions of collective agreements. Subparagraph (c) was then adopted by 45 votes to 0, with no abstentions.

44. Various amendments were presented proposing that in subparagraph (d) the definition of the duration of the annual paid holidays of young workers be changed. The United Kingdom Government member proposed "adequate paid holidays", as in the United Kingdom these holidays were fixed by collective agreements in which the Government could not intervene in order to implement the resolution. Some Governments thought that this would introduce an element of flexibility. This amendment was rejected by 24 votes to 22. The Employers' members suggested the words "annual paid holidays of a minimum duration of three weeks, including calendar holidays paid for but not worked". This amendment was rejected by 25 votes to 18, with 3 abstentions. The Australian Government member wanted to replace "18 working days" by "three working weeks", stating that the number of working days in the week varies from country to country. It was, however, pointed out that the term "working days" covered all days of the week except Sundays, even those days on which no work was done in a particular enterprise or branch of industry, and the amendment was rejected by 24 votes to 13, with 3 abstentions. Subparagraph 24 (d) was then adopted by 24 votes to 7, with 13 abstentions, and the amended paragraph 24 as a whole adopted by 27 votes to 0, with 19 abstentions.

VII. Inspection Services

Paragraph 29.

45. This paragraph was adopted by 46 votes to 0, with 1 abstention.

Paragraph 30.

46. A proposal of the Czechoslovak Workers' member suggesting amendment of subparagraph (a) in order to empower supervisory authorities to suspend work was opposed by the Employers' members on the ground that it was not possible to go further than the Office text, which gave powers to the supervisory authorities within the limits as defined by law

in the various countries. The Workers' members and some of the Government members felt that this addition was unnecessary as the power of suspension existed already in many countries. The amendment was rejected by 23 votes to 5, with 18 abstentions. Subparagraph 30 (a) in its original form was then adopted by 45 votes to 0, with 1 abstention.

47. Another amendment proposed by the Employers' members to provide for inspection purposes a "close collaboration between the official inspection services and the appropriate services of the undertakings" was rejected by 23 votes to 20, with 1 abstention.

48. In order to clarify the Office text, the United Kingdom Government member proposed the addition to subparagraph (b) of the words "in accordance with their respective responsibilities". This amendment was adopted by 45 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions. Paragraph 30 as amended was adopted by 44 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions.

Paragraph 31.

49. Paragraph 31 was adopted without amendment by 44 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions.

50. The present report and the proposed resolution concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines were adopted unanimously. The proposed resolution concerning minimum age was adopted by 25 votes to 18, with 6 abstentions. The proposed resolution concerning social security and social welfare facilities was adopted by 36 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

Geneva, 24 June 1952.

(Signed) M. SAUERBORN,
Chairman.

N. PATNAIK,
Reporter.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS IN UNDERGROUND WORK IN COAL MINES¹

Whereas the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation has adopted a series of Conventions and Recommendations dealing particularly with the regulation of employment of young persons in industry and their vocational preparation, namely, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937, the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946, the Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1948, the Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Recommendations, 1939, the Vocational Guidance Recommendation, 1949; or including young workers in more general provisions, as in the Hours of Work (Coal Mines) Convention (Revised), 1935 and the Labour Inspection (Mining and Transport) Recommendation 1947; and

¹ See Second Part, p. 367.

Whereas the Coal Mines Committee of the International Labour Organisation has adopted a series of resolutions concerning respectively, in 1947, apprenticeship and vocational training in coal mines, in 1949, various aspects of the regulation of employment of young workers underground in coal mines, and, in 1951, minimum age of admission to employment underground in coal mines ; and

Whereas in the prevailing circumstances of life and work in mining areas it is necessary that special attention be devoted to appropriate social measures to permit the full cultural, physical and vocational development of young persons ; and

Whereas the measures to be taken will necessarily vary with the nature of the question concerned and with national conditions, some of these measures being legislative, while others may be more appropriate for application by the parties concerned by means of collective agreements or otherwise,

The International Labour Conference, meeting at Geneva in its 35th Session, adopts this day of June 1952 the following resolution concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines :

I. MINIMUM AGE

1. Young persons under 16 years of age should not be employed underground in coal mines.

2. Young persons who have attained the age of 16 years but are under 18 years of age should not be employed underground in coal mines except—

- (a) for purposes of apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training provided under adequate supervision, by competent persons with technical and practical experience of the work, or
- (b) under conditions determined by the competent authority prescribing the places of work and occupations permitted and the measures of systematic medical supervision to be applied.

II. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

3. Systematic vocational guidance with regard to the coal-mining industry should be made available to all young persons wherever appropriate to the national economy and individual welfare.

4. Such vocational guidance should be developed within the framework of a general vocational guidance programme covering all occupations and should be consistent with the purposes and standards of general education.

5. It should provide, *inter alia*—

- (a) where appropriate, from a given time before school-leaving age, a curriculum in elementary schools, which should include material relating to the coal-mining industry ; the curriculum should avoid premature specialisation and the material should be presented objectively so as not

to exercise undue pressure, but so as to stimulate the students' respect for and interest in work in the mines ;

- (b) where practicable, in the last year of school attendance, conducted visits to the pits or training centres, supplemented by talks dealing both with what the students have been able to see and with the different careers which the coal industry can offer to its employees ;
- (c) where practicable, curricula in secondary and technical schools, including the study of the various aspects of the coal industry and work in the mines, together with visits to the collieries in order to stimulate among students interest in the industry and, in particular, in the work of mining technicians and engineers.

6. Young persons seeking to enter coal mining should be advised, if they have not already done so, to obtain vocational guidance where it is available to them.

7. The principles and methods of vocational guidance as described in Part III of the Vocational Guidance Recommendation, 1949, should be applied to young persons considering underground employment in coal mines in any of its aspects as a career.

III. VOCATIONAL TRAINING

8. Where appropriate to the national economy, systematic vocational training which should be theoretical and practical in character and free of charge should be made available to all young persons employed in coal mines and wishing to engage in underground work.

9. (1) This training should be such as to enable young persons to acquire the professional trade qualifications necessary to perform their work competently and with a maximum of safety and to facilitate their adjustment to new technical developments in coal mining.

(2) It should be given in vocational schools, training centres, or during the performance of work under the direction of qualified instructors with practical experience.

10. Training programmes should include—

- (a) courses in general education and physical training ;
- (b) courses in the basic theory and practice of mining necessary for the performance of work in the mines, including visits to the mines ;
- (c) instruction in hygiene and safety measures ; and
- (d) after at least three months of training, essentially productive work under the direction of experienced instructors.

11. Examinations should be held at the end of the training period and, if so desired, during the course of training, in order to assess the qualifications of the trainees, and should lead to the awarding of recognised certificates attesting the results of these examinations.

12. The employers and the representatives of the recognised organisations of employees should collaborate in the organisation and application of these training programmes.

13. A training centre should be attached to every colliery or at least to every coalfield and should be established at the colliery, in the vicinity, or on any other suitable site, reproducing, as far as possible, the conditions of underground work.

14. Where such centres exist, all young persons engaged for underground work should receive suitable training in them sufficiently thorough to enable them to attain the qualifications required for the jobs for which they have been selected.

15. Where such training centres do not exist, young persons under 18 years of age whose aptitudes appear to justify it should have the opportunity to follow courses of general and technical education and physical training during working hours without loss of earnings.

16. (1) The collieries should, with the co-operation of workers' organisations and the public authorities, undertake the training in teaching methods of the instructors and also, so far as possible, of the workers called upon to take charge of apprentices.

(2) The methods of vocational training should be periodically studied and reviewed, so as to ensure their adaptation to modern teaching principles and techniques and to take account of new technical developments in the mining industry.

17. The young persons who have obtained the best results in the final examinations, and whose aptitudes appear to justify it, should, after a suitable period of work in the mine, be admitted to schools for the training of supervisory and higher-grade staff.

18. (1) In order to make it possible for young persons employed in the mines to rise to the highest posts, scholarships should be made available for study either in their own country or abroad.

(2) International exchange of trainees and instructors should be organised and developed.

IV. MEDICAL EXAMINATION

19. Provision should be made for the compulsory medical examination of all young persons under 21 years of age to ensure the maintenance of their health when employed underground in coal mines.

20. Such provision should include—

- (a) a thorough pre-employment medical examination, including radiological examination, to determine fitness for admission to vocational training or employment underground in coal mines ;
- (b) a general re-examination, at least every two years, supplemented by special examinations, where appropriate, to confirm continued fitness ; and
- (c) where appropriate, particularly between the ages of 16 and 18 years, examinations at more frequent intervals.

21. Young persons in whom such medical re-examination after a given period of employment in underground work reveals unfitness, handicaps or deficiencies caused by underground work or the early symptoms of occupational disease, and young persons who have suffered injury in the course of their duty,

should have access—without prejudice to the payment of monetary compensation due on account of accident or occupational disease—to services which will ensure their physical and vocational rehabilitation and, where appropriate or desirable, to services ensuring their vocational re-orientation within the coal industry or in a more suitable occupation.

22. The medical examinations and re-examinations should be the responsibility of qualified physicians familiar with conditions of work underground in coal mines.

V. NIGHT WORK

23. Young persons under 18 years of age should not be employed at night on underground work in coal mines.

VI. REST PAUSES AND HOLIDAYS

24. Young persons under 18 years of age employed underground in coal mines should be assured daily breaks, weekly rest periods and annual paid holidays of sufficient duration to enable the physical and mental energy lost as a result of employment underground to be made good.

25. These periods should comprise as a minimum—

- (a) a rest period during the working day, paid for at the same rate as working hours, of specified minimum duration sufficient to permit a meal to be eaten ;
- (b) a weekly rest period averaging 36 consecutive hours, the average to be calculated on a basis of four weeks, including, in accordance with the provisions of the Hours of Work (Coal Mines) Convention (Revised), 1935, Sunday or the day established by the tradition or custom of the country or district ;
- (c) rest on legal public holidays ;
- (d) annual paid holidays of a minimum duration of 18 working days.

VII. INSPECTION SERVICES

26. Primary consideration should be given to extending appropriate supervisory services to areas where young persons are employed underground.

27. Methods of supervision of the employment of young workers underground in coal mines should include the following :

- (a) supervisory authorities should be empowered, within limits carefully defined by law, to take the necessary steps with a view to remedying as quickly as possible conditions they consider to constitute a threat to the health or safety of the young workers employed underground ;
- (b) supervision of the employment conditions of young workers should be effected by means of close collaboration between various agencies, such as the employment and labour inspection services, the public medical and social services, and the appropriate departments of undertakings in accordance with their respective responsibilities.

28. Employers should be required to facilitate the tasks of inspectors by placing at their disposal the special register provided for in the relevant Conventions dealing with minimum age, night work and medical examination of young persons, or general registers including the data on young persons required by these texts, and all such other documents as give precise information in regard to young persons employed underground.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING
THE PLACING ON THE AGENDA OF THE
NEXT GENERAL SESSION OF THE CON-
FERENCE OF THE QUESTION OF THE
MINIMUM AGE OF ADMISSION TO WORK
UNDERGROUND IN COAL MINES ¹

The Conference decides to include in the agenda of its next general session in 1953 the

¹ See Second Part, p. 404.

question of the minimum age of admission to work underground in coal mines for a second discussion with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation on this question.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING
SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL
WELFARE FACILITIES IN
COAL MINES ¹

The Conference requests the Governing Body to refer the questions of social security and social welfare facilities and services in so far as they apply particularly to workers in coal mines to the next session of the Coal Mines Committee for further study of these questions with regard to all workers including young workers.

¹ See Second Part, p. 369.

APPENDIX XIII

Communications to the Conference

(1) Request Made by the United Kingdom of Libya for Admission to the International Labour Organisation.

The Conference has before it a request by the United Kingdom of Libya for admission to the International Labour Organisation. This request was communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office by the following letter, dated 22 January 1952, from the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of Libya :

Paris, 22 January 1952.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that in accordance with Resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in pursuance of Annex XI, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, 1947, the United Kingdom of Libya was declared a free and independent sovereign State on 24 December 1951.

The Government of the United Kingdom of Libya has now decided to apply for membership in the International Labour Organisation, under paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and I have the honour to request that this application be laid before the General Conference of the Organisation.

The United Kingdom of Libya hereby accepts the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and solemnly undertakes fully and faithfully to perform each and every of the provisions thereof. The United Kingdom of Libya will bear its

share of the expenses of the International Labour Organisation in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation, and the Libyan Government will make the necessary arrangements concerning its financial contribution with the Governing Body.

I have also the honour to inform you that the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya is prepared to accept the undertakings given on its behalf by the Government of Italy under the provisions of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and consideration will be given at a very early date to the formal ratification of these Conventions by this country.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the assurance of my highest esteem.

(Signed) Mahmoud MUNTASSER,
Prime Minister
and
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(2) Election of Employers' Members of the Governing Body.

(The reports of the Chairman of the Employers' Electoral College concerning the election of two regular Employers' members and of a deputy Employers' member of the Governing Body were communicated verbally to the Conference at its Sixth Sitting, on 11 June 1952 and at its 25th Sitting, on 27 June 1952. See Second Part, pp. 43 and 380.)

APPENDIX XIV

Miscellaneous Decisions of the Conference

(1) Financial Regulations—Texts Adopted by the Conference.¹

On 24 June 1952 the Conference adopted the following amendments to the Financial Regulations.²

CHAPTER V. THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND

Article 19

1. The Working Capital Fund is a fund established for the following purposes :

- (a) to finance budgetary appropriations pending receipt of contributions or other income ; and
- (b) in exceptional circumstances and subject to prior authorisation of the Governing Body, to provide advances to meet contingencies and emergencies [if the Reserve Fund should prove inadequate for this purpose].

2. The Working Capital Fund shall be of such amount as may be voted from time to time by the Conference and shall be constituted by—

- (a) moneys placed in the Fund by the Members of the Organisation, the amount of the share of each Member being assessed in accordance with the budgetary scale of contributions, and
- (b) *any sums which the Conference may cause to be paid into it from time to time.*

3. The sums paid by Members of the Organisation *under paragraph 2 (a) for the purpose of constituting or augmenting the Working Capital Fund shall be carried to the credit of the Members which have paid such sums. The sums which the Conference causes to be paid into the Fund from time to time shall be carried to the credit of the Organisation.*

4. The Conference may liberate all or part of the sums constituting the Working Capital Fund, and the sums so liberated *in so far as they are derived from moneys placed in the Fund under paragraph 2 (a) shall be returned to the Members which have contributed to the Fund in proportion to their respective contributions.*

5. Subject to a decision of the Conference States which for any reason cease to be Members of the Organisation shall be entitled to the reimbursement of the total amount of their contributions to the Working Capital Fund, *under paragraph 2 (a).*

6. Members joining the Organisation shall contribute to the Working Capital Fund even if such contributions would bring the Working Capital Fund above a maximum limit fixed for it by the Conference, provided that the position with regard to the Fund shall be reviewed by the Conference from time to time with a view to determining what adjustment, if any, should be made in the amount of the Fund, having regard to consequent excess over the maximum limit.

Article 20

1. The Working Capital Fund shall be administered as a separate account. A statement showing the position of the Fund, audited by the auditor, shall be submitted each year to the Conference. Contributions to the Fund *under Article 19, paragraph 2 (a) shall be made through the annual budget. As soon as a Member pays its contribution, the Working Capital Fund account shall be immediately credited with a portion of the contribution corresponding to the ratio between the amount voted in respect of the Working Capital Fund for the year and the total amount voted for the year.*

2. Interest earned on the Fund shall be added to the shares in the Fund standing to the credit (a) of *individual Members and (b) of the Organisation* in proportion to the amount of their shares.

Article 21

1. (a) *Sums not exceeding the total contributions to the Fund by the Members of the Organisation may be withdrawn from the Working Capital Fund to finance budgetary appropriations for any year pending receipt of contributions or other income and shall be reimbursed to the Fund in the course of that financial year as soon as receipts from contributions or other income are available for this purpose.*

(b) *In exceptional circumstances and subject to the prior authorisation of the Governing Body, should the sums contributed to the Working*

¹ See Second Part, p. 281, and Appendix V, p. 481.

² Words to be deleted are enclosed in brackets and words to be added are printed in italics.

Capital Fund by the Members be temporarily inadequate to finance budgetary appropriations pending receipt of contributions, advances may be made from that part of the Working Capital Fund which stands to the credit of the Organisation. Such advances shall be reimbursed to the Fund as soon as receipts from contributions or other income are available.

2. If in any financial year any sum withdrawn from the Working Capital Fund, to finance budgetary expenditure pending receipt of contributions or other income, cannot be reimbursed in the course of the financial year owing to the fact that total budgetary income for the year falls short of total budgetary expenditure, such sum shall be reimbursed to the Fund by including an appropriate credit in the budget for the next year but one.

3. Sums withdrawn from the Working Capital Fund to provide advances to meet contingencies and emergencies shall be reimbursed to the Fund by including an appropriate credit in the budget for the next year but one.

Article 22

(Purpose and Constitution of the Reserve Fund.) Deleted.

Article 22bis

(Withdrawals from, and Reimbursements to the Reserve Fund.) Deleted.

(2) Simplification of the Procedure of the Conference.

On 27 June 1952 the Conference adopted the report of its Standing Orders Committee, which contained *inter alia* a number of proposals for simplification of the procedure of the Conference.¹

(3) Standing Orders of the Conference—Amendment of the Spanish Text.

The report of the Committee on Standing Orders, adopted by the Conference on 27 June

¹ For the text of the report see Appendix III.

1952, contained a proposal for the amendment of the Spanish text of the Standing Orders of the Conference.¹ This amendment consists in the replacement in Article 17, 1 (1) of the words *se haya enviado al* (has been sent to) by the words *haya llegado a poder del* (has been deposited with).²

The Spanish text should now read as follows :

“No se podrá presentar durante las sesiones de la Conferencia ninguna resolución que no se refiera a un punto del orden del día, a menos que su texto *haya llegado a poder del* Director General de la Oficina Internacional del Trabajo, por lo menos, siete días antes de la fecha fijada para la apertura de la Conferencia.”

(4) Proposal for the Amendment of the Standing Orders of the Conference in Respect of Official Languages.

The Standing Orders Committee had before it a proposal made by the Guatemalan Government delegates that the Standing Orders of the Conference should be amended to make the Spanish language an official language of the Conference.³

(5) Texts concerning the Consideration of Questions Relating to Industrial Relations, including Co-operation.

The third report (adopted by the Conference on 9 June 1952) and the fourteenth report (adopted on 28 June 1952) of the Selection Committee contained recommendations relating to the consideration of industrial relations, including co-operation.⁴

¹ See Appendix III, p. 449.

² The English text reads as follows :

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

³ See Appendix III, p. 450.

⁴ For the texts of these reports see Appendix II, pp. 443 and 447.

APPENDIX XV

Resolutions Adopted by the Conference

- (1) Resolution concerning the Admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to Membership of the International Labour Organisation, Submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

(Adopted on 11 June 1952)

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been seized of an application from the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya for membership in the International Labour Organisation,

Recalling that it has always been the firm conviction of the Organisation that its ends can be more effectively advanced if the membership of the Organisation could be made universal,

Decides to admit the United Kingdom of Libya to membership in the International Labour Organisation with the same rights and obligations as the other Members of the International Labour Organisation.

The Conference takes note that the United Kingdom of Libya accepts the undertakings given on its behalf by the Government of Italy under the provisions of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and that the Government of Libya will give consideration at a very early date to the formal ratification of these Conventions.

The Conference authorises the Governing Body to make the necessary arrangements with the Government of the United Kingdom of Libya with regard to its financial contributions.

The Conference notes that the Government of Libya has already communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office its formal acceptance of the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and that accordingly the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya to membership in the International Labour Organisation will take effect on the adoption of the present resolution by the Conference.

- (2) Resolution concerning the Adoption of the Budget for the 35th Financial Period (1953) and the Allocation of Expenses among States Members for 1953, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

(Adopted on 24 June 1952)

In virtue of the Financial Regulations the Conference passes for the 35th financial period, ending 31 December 1953, the budget of expenditure of the International Labour Organisation, amounting to 6,469,085 U.S. dollars and the budget of income amounting to 6,469,085 U.S. dollars, and resolves that the budget of income from States Members shall be allocated among them in accordance with the scale of contributions recommended by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.

- (3) Resolution concerning Contributions Payable to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund in 1953, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.²

(Adopted on 24 June 1952)

The Conference—

Decides that the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the Pensions Fund for 1953 under Article 7, paragraph (a) of the Staff Pensions Regulations shall be 14 per cent. of the pensionable emoluments of the Members of the Fund ;

Decides that, for the year 1953, the officials mentioned in Article 4, paragraph (a) (i) of the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Regulations shall continue to pay an additional one per cent. of their pensionable emoluments (making a total of seven-and-one-half per cent.), and those mentioned in Article 4, paragraph (a) (ii), an additional half per cent. (making a total of five-and-one-half per cent.) if their pensionable emoluments exceed the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 per annum, and an additional quarter per cent. (making a total of five-and-

¹ See Second Part, p. 50, and Appendix II.

¹ See Second Part, p. 286, and Appendix V.

² See Second Part, p. 281, and Appendix V.

one-quarter per cent.) if these emoluments are the equivalent of Swiss francs 6,500 or less.

Resolves that, in continuation of the arrangement approved in previous years, the whole budgetary vote for 1953 in respect of the contributions of the Organisation to the I.L.O. Staff Pensions Fund should be paid to the Fund.

(4) Resolution concerning the Early Payment of Contributions by States Members, Submitted by the Finance Committee of Government Representatives.¹

(Adopted on 24 June 1952)

The Conference—

Noting the proposal made by the Governing Body following upon its consideration of the problem of arrears of contributions due by States Members to the budget of the Organisation,

Recommends all States Members to pay their contributions within the year for which they are assessed and as early in the year as their national budgetary procedures permit.

(5) Resolution concerning the Situation of Aliens and Migrant Workers in the Field of Social Security, Submitted by the Committee on Social Security.²

(Adopted on 25 June 1952)

The Conference,

Having considered the report of the Committee on Social Security concerning minimum standards of social security, and

Having taken note that the provisions in the proposed Convention on minimum standards of social security concerning equality of treatment of non-national residents do not deal fully with the complex problem which the status of non-national residents and migrant workers raises in the social security field,

Invites the Governing Body to consider any appropriate measures for the establishment of an international instrument which would deal with the situation of aliens and migrant workers in the field of social security.

(6) Resolution concerning Objectives and Advanced Standards of Social Security, Submitted by the Committee on Social Security.³

(Adopted on 27 June 1952)

The Conference,

Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to examine the fifth item on its agenda ; and

Considering that the preparation of an instrument dealing with the objectives and advanced standards of social security is likely to involve problems of even greater complexity,

Invites the Governing Body to re-examine the question of objectives and advanced standards of social security and to choose an appropriate time for placing it on the agenda of the Conference.

(7) Resolution concerning Consultation and Co-operation between Employers and Workers at the Level of the Undertaking, Submitted by the Committee on Industrial Relations.¹

(Adopted on 26 June 1952)

The Conference,

Considering that the International Labour Conference, at its 35th Session, adopted a Recommendation enunciating the principle of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking ;

Considering that the Declaration of Philadelphia recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve 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 ;

Considering that employers and workers recognise that consultation and co-operation on a basis of mutual confidence render an essential contribution to the efficiency and productivity of an undertaking, and also contribute to the social and economic well-being of the workers, and considering that Governments also recognise that it is in the national interest to encourage consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking ;

Realising that the wide diversity of national practices and the different stages of development attained by the various countries make it difficult to frame precise or universal standards which should govern the principles and practice of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking ;

Desiring, however, to further the efforts being made in different countries by the parties concerned towards consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking,

Decides to embody in the present resolution the provisions set out in paragraphs 1 to 7 below by which the parties concerned, acting on a voluntary basis, or the public authority making laws or regulations, may be guided when making arrangements for consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking :

¹ See Second Part, p. 281, and Appendix IV.

² See Second Part, p. 334, and Appendix VIII.

³ See Second Part, p. 386, and Appendix VIII.

¹ See Second Part, p. 348, and Appendix IX.

1. The representatives of the workers on bodies for consultation and co-operation should be freely appointed or recalled by the workers themselves in the undertaking.

2. The different categories of workers employed in the undertaking should be represented on an appropriate basis on the bodies for consultation and co-operation.

3. (1) Bodies for consultation and co-operation should have the essential function of increasing understanding of each other's point of view between all parties in the undertaking on a basis of real equality of discussion, and of assisting management by giving advice, information and suggestions on matters relating to production and the comfort and well-being of the workers.

(2) In accordance with national custom or practice such consultation and co-operation should be—

- (a) facilitated by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties, or
- (b) promoted by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for consultation and co-operation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings, or
- (c) facilitated or promoted by a combination of these methods.

4. The managements of undertakings should take appropriate measures to facilitate the proper functioning of bodies for consultation and co-operation such as—

- (a) placing at the disposal of the body for consultation and co-operation the premises, material, and, in appropriate cases, the staff essential to its meetings or indispensable for its secretariat ;
- (b) informing the body for consultation and co-operation, at regular intervals, and not less than once a year, regarding the activity of the undertaking and the plans for the coming twelve months, and to give general information regarding the economic and technical situation of the undertaking ;
- (c) allowing the representatives of the workers the necessary time to perform their functions without loss of pay.

5. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure that members of bodies for consultation and co-operation should not disclose confidential information which may be brought to their knowledge during the performance of their functions.

6. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure the adequate protection of the representatives of the workers against discrimination because of the exercise of their functions.

7. All parties concerned with the activities of bodies for consultation and co-operation should take special measures to keep the whole of the personnel informed of such activities subject to the non-disclosure of confidential information referred to in paragraph 5 above.

The Conference requests the Governing Body to invite the Director-General to follow the developments in the different countries in this matter very closely and to report thereon to the Governing Body.

(8) Resolution concerning the Final Articles of the Convention concerning Maternity Protection (Revised), Submitted by the Reporter of the Committee on Maternity Protection.¹

(Adopted on 26 June 1952)

The Conference instructs its Drafting Committee to insert in the text to be submitted to it for final vote, in replacement of Articles 5 to 12 of the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), final provisions in the form last approved by the Conference.

(9) Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Next General Session of the Conference of the Question of Protection of the Health of Workers in Places of Employment, Submitted by the Committee on Workers' Health.²

(Adopted on 28 June 1952)

The Conference,

Having before it the eighth item on its agenda dealing with the protection of the health of workers in places of employment ;

Having adopted the report of the Committee appointed to consider the eighth item on the agenda ;

Having taken note of the view expressed in that report that the decision as to the form of the international regulations should be taken at the next general session of the Conference ;

Decides :

(1) to put on the agenda of its next general session the question of protection of the health of workers in places of employment ;

(2) to instruct the Office to include in the report to be submitted to Governments under paragraph 6 of Article 39 of the Standing Orders of the Conference the following alternative texts :

- (a) a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation ;
- (b) a Recommendation ;

(3) that the decision as to which of these forms the international regulations shall take shall be taken at the next general session of the Conference.

(10) Resolution concerning the Elimination or Reduction of Risks of Workers Exposed to or in Contact with Harmful Substances or Radiations, Submitted by the Committee on Workers' Health.³

(Adopted on 26 June 1952)

Whereas the International Labour Conference at its 35th Session has had under consideration proposals for international regulations relating to protection of the health of workers in places of employment ;

¹ See Second Part, p. 363, and Appendix X.

² See Second Part, p. 403, and Appendix XI.

³ See Second Part, p. 362, and Appendix XI.

And whereas it is proposed that such international regulations should include provisions concerning methods of reducing or eliminating risks to health in places of employment, including particular methods of protecting the health of workers which may be applied, as necessary and appropriate, in connection with special risks of injury to health ;

* And whereas, in view of the great variety of such special risks and of circumstances in which they are encountered, it is not possible to formulate rules of a general nature as to the methods to be applied, but it is desirable to draw attention to particular types of method which should be considered ;

The Conference resolves as follows :

With a view to eliminating or reducing risks of workers becoming exposed to or in contact with harmful substances or radiations, whether in the atmosphere or in more direct connection with their work, employers and others concerned in the various countries should be encouraged by Governments to consider always the types of method indicated below and apply such of them, or such combinations of them, as appear to be appropriate and reasonably practicable in the circumstances of the particular case :

- (a) substitution of harmless or less harmful substances ;
- (b) use of mechanical methods or of tools so as to eliminate or reduce direct contact with the substance ;
- (c) use of wet or damp working methods (or use of foams, colloids, etc.) so that giving off of harmful dust is reduced or eliminated ;
- (d) enclosure of the operation, in conjunction where appropriate with exhaust ventilation of the enclosure, to prevent or reduce the escape of dust, fumes, vapours or radiations into the atmosphere of the workplace ;
- (e) without enclosure (or without complete enclosure), use of local exhaust ventilation as near as practicable to the point where dust, fume, vapour or radiation is given off ;
- (f) good general ventilation of the workroom or workplace so that harmful substances escaping into the atmosphere notwithstanding any other precautions do not accumulate or remain there in dangerous concentrations ;
- (g) periodic vacuum or damp cleaning of parts of the workplace and of its equipment where harmful dust is liable to accumulate and thence become dispersed into the atmosphere ;
- (h) isolation of the operation in a separated room or area so that the number of workers exposed to the hazard is reduced to a minimum ;
- (i) provision for the workers of protective clothing or equipment or other means of personal protection (for instance, substances to protect the skin), of kinds appropriate in the circumstances of the case.

(11) Resolution concerning the Collection and Diffusion of Information on the Substitution of Harmless or Less Harmful Substances for Harmful Substances, Submitted by the Committee on Workers' Health.¹

(Adopted on 26 June 1952)

The Conference,

Having adopted the proposed conclusions for the eighth item on the agenda of the Conference ;

Having, in particular, approved the principle suggested in Point 10 of the draft conclusions submitted by the Office concerning the substitution of harmless or less harmful substances for harmful substances ;

Having, furthermore, approved an amendment proposed by the Workers' members, according to which the national authority should promote and where possible undertake the study of the substitution of harmless or less harmful substances for harmful substances ;

Considering that the application of the principle of substitution would be facilitated by the collection and diffusion on the international level of information on the problems arising and the progress achieved in this field ; and

Recalling in addition that the International Labour Conference, at its Third Session in 1921, adopted the White Lead (Painting) Convention which prohibits the use of this toxic substance in the internal painting of buildings,

(1) Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to instruct the Office to assemble, and to promote exchanges between the various countries of, information on the technical possibility of substituting harmless or less harmful substances for harmful substances, in order that countries less advanced in the field of scientific research and its industrial applications may benefit from the results achieved in the more advanced countries ;

(2) Invites the Governing Body to consider when the technical and economic possibility of applying substitution in certain cases has been adequately demonstrated, whether the question of the adoption of international Conventions making such substitution obligatory should be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference.

(12) Resolution concerning Social Security and Social Welfare Facilities in Coal Mines, Submitted by the Committee on Employment in Mines.²

(Adopted on 26 June 1952)

The Conference requests the Governing Body to refer the questions of social security and social welfare facilities and services in so far as they apply particularly to workers in coal mines to the next session of the Coal Mines Committee for further study of these questions with regard to all workers, including young workers.

¹ See Second Part, p. 362, and Appendix XI.

² See Second Part, p. 369, and Appendix XII.

(13) Resolution concerning the Regulation of the Employment of Young Persons in Underground Work in Coal Mines, Submitted by the Committee on Employment in Mines.¹

(Adopted on 27 June 1952)

Whereas the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation has adopted a series of Conventions and Recommendations dealing particularly with the regulation of employment of young persons in industry and their vocational preparation, namely, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937, the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946, the Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1948, the Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Recommendations, 1939, the Vocational Guidance Recommendation, 1949; or including young workers in more general provisions, as in the Hours of Work (Coal Mines) Convention (Revised), 1935 and the Labour Inspection (Mining and Transport) Recommendation, 1947; and

Whereas the Coal Mines Committee of the International Labour Organisation has adopted a series of resolutions concerning respectively, in 1947, apprenticeship and vocational training in coal mines, in 1949, various aspects of the regulation of employment of young workers underground in coal mines, and in 1951, minimum age of admission to employment underground in coal mines; and

Whereas in the prevailing circumstances of life and work in mining areas it is necessary that special attention be devoted to appropriate social measures to permit the full cultural, physical and vocational development of young persons; and

Whereas the measures to be taken will necessarily vary with the nature of the question concerned and with national conditions, some of these measures being legislative, while others may be more appropriate for application by the parties concerned by means of collective agreements or otherwise,

The International Labour Conference, meeting at Geneva in its 35th Session, adopts this twenty-seventh day of June 1952 the following resolution concerning the regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines:

I. MINIMUM AGE

1. Young persons under sixteen years of age should not be employed underground in coal mines.

2. Young persons who have attained the age of sixteen years but are under eighteen years of age should not be employed underground in coal mines except—

- (a) for purposes of apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training provided under adequate supervision, by competent persons with technical and practical experience of the work, or
- (b) under conditions determined by the competent authority prescribing the places

of work and occupations permitted and the measures of systematic medical supervision to be applied.

II. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

3. Systematic vocational guidance with regard to the coal-mining industry should be made available to all young persons wherever appropriate to the national economy and individual welfare.

4. Such vocational guidance should be developed within the framework of a general vocational guidance programme covering all occupations and should be consistent with the purposes and standards of general education.

5. It should provide, *inter alia*—

- (a) where appropriate, from a given time before school-leaving age, a curriculum in elementary schools, which should include material relating to the coal-mining industry; the curriculum should avoid premature specialisation and the material should be presented objectively so as not to exercise undue pressure, but so as to stimulate the students' respect for and interest in work in the mines;
- (b) where practicable, in the last year of school attendance, conducted visits to the pits or training centres, supplemented by talks dealing both with what the students have been able to see and with the different careers which the coal industry can offer to its employees;
- (c) where practicable, curricula in secondary and technical schools, including the study of the various aspects of the coal industry and work in the mines, together with visits to the collieries in order to stimulate among students interest in the industry and, in particular, in the work of mining technicians and engineers.

6. Young persons seeking to enter coal mining should be advised, if they have not already done so, to obtain vocational guidance where it is available to them.

7. The principles and methods of vocational guidance as described in Part III of the Vocational Guidance Recommendation, 1949, should be applied to young persons considering underground employment in coal mines in any of its aspects as a career.

III. VOCATIONAL TRAINING

8. Where appropriate to the national economy, systematic vocational training which should be theoretical and practical in character and free of charge should be made available to all young persons employed in coal mines and wishing to engage in underground work.

9. (1) This training should be such as to enable young persons to acquire the professional trade qualifications necessary to perform their work competently and with a maximum of safety and to facilitate their adjustment to new technical developments in coal mining

(2) It should be given in vocational schools, training centres, or during the performance of work under the direction of qualified instructors with practical experience.

¹ See Second Part, p. 367, and Appendix XII.

10. Training programmes should include—

- (a) courses in general education and physical training ;
- (b) courses in the basic theory and practice of mining necessary for the performance of work in the mines, including visits to the mines ;
- (c) instruction in hygiene and safety measures; and
- (d) after at least three months of training, essentially productive work under the direction of experienced instructors.

11. Examinations should be held at the end of the training period and, if so desired, during the course of training, in order to assess the qualifications of the trainees, and should lead to the awarding of recognised certificates attesting the results of these examinations.

12. The employers and the representatives of the recognised organisations of employees should collaborate in the organisation and application of these training programmes.

13. A training centre should be attached to every colliery or at least to every coalfield and should be established at the colliery, in the vicinity, or on any other suitable site, reproducing, as far as possible, the conditions of underground work.

14. Where such centres exist, all young persons engaged for underground work should receive suitable training in them sufficiently thorough to enable them to attain the qualifications required for the jobs for which they have been selected.

15. Where such training centres do not exist, young persons under eighteen years of age whose aptitudes appear to justify it should have the opportunity to follow courses of general and technical education and physical training during working hours without loss of earnings.

16. (1) The collieries should, with the co-operation of workers' organisations and the public authorities, undertake the training in teaching methods of the instructors and also, so far as possible, of the workers called upon to take charge of apprentices.

(2) The methods of vocational training should be periodically studied and reviewed, so as to ensure their adaptation to modern teaching principles and techniques and to take account of new technical developments in the mining industry.

17. The young persons who have obtained the best results in the final examinations, and whose aptitudes appear to justify it, should, after a suitable period of work in the mine, be admitted to schools for the training of supervisory and higher-grade staff.

18. (1) In order to make it possible for young persons employed in the mines to rise to the highest posts, scholarships should be made available for study either in their own country or abroad.

(2) International exchange of trainees and instructors should be organised and developed.

IV. MEDICAL EXAMINATION

19. Provision should be made for the compulsory medical examination of all young per-

sons under twenty-one years of age to ensure the maintenance of their health when employed underground in coal mines.

20. Such provision should include—

- (a) a thorough pre-employment medical examination, including radiological examination, to determine fitness for admission to vocational training or employment underground in coal mines ;
- (b) a general re-examination, at least every two years, supplemented by special examinations, where appropriate, to confirm continued fitness ; and
- (c) where appropriate, particularly between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years, examinations at more frequent intervals.

21. Young persons in whom such medical re-examination after a given period of employment in underground work reveals unfitness, handicaps or deficiencies caused by underground work or the early symptoms of occupational disease, and young persons who have suffered injury in the course of their duty, should have access—without prejudice to the payment of monetary compensation due on account of accident or occupational disease—to services which will ensure their physical and vocational rehabilitation and, where appropriate or desirable, to services ensuring their vocational re-orientation within the coal industry or in a more suitable occupation.

22. The medical examinations and re-examinations should be the responsibility of qualified physicians familiar with conditions of work underground in coal mines.

V. NIGHT WORK

23. Young persons under eighteen years of age should not be employed at night on underground work in coal mines.

VI. REST PAUSES AND HOLIDAYS

24. Young persons under eighteen years of age employed underground in coal mines should be assured daily breaks, weekly rest periods and annual paid holidays of sufficient duration to enable the physical and mental energy lost as a result of employment underground to be made good.

25. These periods should comprise as a minimum—

- (a) a rest period during the working day, paid for at the same rate as working hours, of specified minimum duration sufficient to permit a meal to be eaten ;
- (b) a weekly rest period averaging thirty-six consecutive hours, the average to be calculated on a basis of four weeks, including in accordance with the provisions of the Hours of Work (Coal Mines) Convention (Revised), 1935, Sunday or the day established by the tradition or custom of the country or district ;
- (c) rest on legal public holidays ;
- (d) annual paid holidays of a minimum duration of eighteen working days.

VII. INSPECTION SERVICES

26. Primary consideration should be given to extending appropriate supervisory services to areas where young persons are employed underground.

27. Methods of supervision of the employment of young workers underground in coal mines should include the following :

- (a) supervisory authorities should be empowered, within limits carefully defined by law, to take the necessary steps with a view to remedying as quickly as possible conditions they consider to constitute a threat to the health or safety of the young workers employed underground ;
- (b) supervision of the employment conditions of young workers should be effected by means of close collaboration between various agencies, such as the employment and labour inspection services, the public medical and social services, and the appropriate departments of undertakings in accordance with their respective responsibilities.

28. Employers should be required to facilitate the tasks of inspectors by placing at their disposal the special register provided for in the relevant Conventions dealing with minimum age, night work and medical examination of young persons, or general registers including the data on young persons required by these texts, and all such other documents as give precise information in regard to young persons employed underground.

(14) Resolution concerning the Placing on the Agenda of the Next General Session of the Conference of the Question of the Minimum Age of Admission to Work Underground in Coal Mines, Submitted by the Committee on Employment in Mines.¹

(Adopted on 28 June 1952)

The Conference decides to include in the agenda of its next general session in 1953 the question of the minimum age of admission to work underground in coal mines for a second discussion with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation on this question.

(15) Resolution concerning the Independence of the Trade Union Movement, Submitted by Mr. Jouhaux, Workers' delegate, France, Mr. Cofiño, Workers' delegate, Cuba, Mr. Shastri, Workers' delegate, India, Mr. Delaney, Workers' delegate, United States, Mr. Möri, Workers' delegate, Switzerland, Mr. Boehm, Workers' delegate, Austria, Mr. Pastore, Workers' delegate, Italy, Mr. Jodoin, Workers' delegate, Canada, and Mr. Roberts, Workers' delegate, United Kingdom.²

(Adopted on 26 June 1952)

Whereas the International Labour Conference at its recent session has formulated in

international Conventions and Recommendations principles for the establishment of freedom of association and good industrial relations ;

Whereas a stable, free and independent trade union movement is an essential condition for good industrial relations and should contribute to the improvement of social conditions generally in each country ;

Whereas the relations between the trade union movement and political parties will inevitably vary for each country ; and

Whereas any political affiliation or political action by the trade unions depends on national conditions in each country ;

Considering nevertheless that there are certain principles which should be laid down in this regard which are essential to protect the freedom and independence of the trade union movement and its fundamental task of advancing the social and economic well-being of the workers,

The International Labour Conference at its 35th Session adopts this twenty-sixth day of June 1952 the following resolution :

1. The fundamental and permanent mission of the trade union movement is the economic and social advancement of the workers.

2. The trade unions also have an important role to perform in co-operation with other elements in promoting social and economic development and the advancement of the community as a whole in each country.

3. To these ends it is essential for the trade union movement in each country to preserve its freedom and independence so as to be in a position to carry forward its economic and social mission irrespective of political changes.

4. A condition for such freedom and independence is that trade unions be constituted as to membership without regard to race, national origin or political affiliations and pursue their trade union objectives on the basis of the solidarity and economic and social interests of all workers.

5. When trade unions in accordance with national law and practice of their respective countries and at the decision of their members decide to establish relations with a political party or to undertake constitutional political action as a means towards the advancement of their economic and social objectives, such political relations or actions should not be of such a nature as to compromise the continuance of the trade union movement or its social and economic functions irrespective of political changes in the country.

6. Governments in seeking the co-operation of trade unions to carry out their economic and social policies should recognise that the value of this co-operation rests to a large extent on the freedom and independence of the trade union movement as an essential factor in promoting social advancement and should not attempt to transform the trade union movement into an instrument for the pursuance of political aims, nor should they attempt to interfere with the normal functions of a trade union movement because of its freely established relationship with a political party.

¹ See Second Part, p. 404, and Appendix XII.

² See Second Part, p. 375, and Appendix IV.

(16) Resolution concerning Assistance to Underdeveloped Countries, Submitted by the Yugoslav delegation.¹

(Adopted on 27 June 1952)

The Conference,

Convinced that the acceleration of the development of underdeveloped countries is one of the basic conditions both of the expansion and development of the world economy as a whole and of the maintenance and strengthening of world peace ;

Convinced that the acceleration of the development of underdeveloped countries is conditioned not only by the national efforts of the underdeveloped countries themselves but also by the quantity and quality of international assistance rendered by developed countries and international agencies ;

Noting with interest the decisions taken on this subject by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Sixth Session ;

Nothing with satisfaction the contribution afforded to the economic development of underdeveloped countries through national efforts, international aid, bilateral arrangements and other forms of assistance,

Expresses its hope that the United Nations and the specialised agencies will make every effort to make international assistance to underdeveloped countries increasingly effective,

Notes with satisfaction the activity of the International Labour Organisation in the field of assistance to underdeveloped countries, as stated in the Report of the Director-General, and

Requests the Governing Body and the Director-General of the International Labour

Office to continue to develop and extend this activity so that the International Labour Organisation may give its greatest contribution to the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries.

(17) Resolution concerning the Effective Prosecution in All Countries of the Aims and Objectives of the International Labour Organisation in Conditions of Freedom and Security, Submitted by the Resolutions Committee.¹

(Adopted on 27 June 1952)

Whereas it is laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia that the central aim of national and international policy shall be the attainment of conditions in which all human beings 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,

Whereas the available resources of many countries are severely extended by the claims of economic development and national security as well as by efforts to maintain or improve the present living standards of their peoples,

The Conference calls upon all States Members to make every effort, both national and international, more particularly through their mutual relations in the field of economics and trade, to secure that adequate resources are progressively available for the purpose of the effective prosecution in all countries of the aims and objectives of the International Labour Organisation in conditions of freedom and security.

¹ See Second Part, p. 399, and Appendix IV.

¹ See Second Part, p. 400, and Appendix IV.

APPENDIX XVI

APPENDIX

Conventions and Recommendations

(Authentic)

(1) Convention (No. 101) concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the
International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth
Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to
holidays with pay in agriculture, which is the fourth item on the
agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an
international Convention,

adopts this twenty-sixth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred
and fifty-two the following Convention, which may be cited as the Holidays
with Pay (Agriculture) Convention, 1952 :

Article 1

Workers employed in agricultural undertakings and related occupations
shall be granted an annual holiday with pay after a period of continuous
service with the same employer.

Article 2

1. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to decide
the manner in which provision shall be made for holidays with pay in
agriculture.

2. Such provision may be made, where appropriate, by means of
collective agreement or by entrusting the regulation of holidays with pay
in agriculture to special bodies.

3. Wherever the manner in which provision is made for holidays with
pay in agriculture permits—

(a) there shall be full preliminary consultation with the most repre-
sentative organisations of employers and workers concerned, where
such exist, and with any other persons, specially qualified by their
trade or functions, whom the competent authority deems it useful
to consult ;

(b) the employers and workers concerned shall participate in the regu-
lation of holidays with pay, or be consulted or have the right to be
heard, in such manner and to such extent as may be determined by
national laws or regulations, but in any case on a basis of complete
equality.

Article 3

The required minimum period of continuous service and the minimum
duration of the annual holiday with pay shall be determined by national
laws or regulations, collective agreement, or arbitration award, or by
special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay in
agriculture, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

XVI

Adopted by the Conference

Texts)

1) Convention (n° 101) concernant les congés payés dans l'agriculture.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 4 juin 1952, en sa trente-cinquième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives aux congés payés dans l'agriculture, question qui constitue le quatrième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une convention internationale,

adopte, ce vingt-sixième jour de juin mil neuf cent cinquante-deux, la convention ci-après, qui sera dénommée Convention sur les congés payés (agriculture), 1952 :

Article 1

Les travailleurs employés dans les entreprises de l'agriculture ainsi que dans les occupations connexes devront bénéficier d'un congé annuel payé après une période de service continu auprès du même employeur.

Article 2

1. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention sera libre de décider de la manière dont sera assuré l'octroi des congés payés dans l'agriculture.

2. L'octroi des congés payés dans l'agriculture pourra être assuré éventuellement par voie de convention collective ou en en confiant la réglementation à des organismes spéciaux.

3. Lorsque la manière dont est assuré l'octroi des congés payés dans l'agriculture le permet :

- a) il devra être procédé à une consultation préliminaire approfondie des organisations les plus représentatives d'employeurs et de travailleurs intéressés, s'il en existe, et de toutes autres personnes spécialement qualifiées à cet égard par leur profession ou leurs fonctions auxquelles l'autorité compétente jugerait utile de s'adresser ;
- b) les employeurs et travailleurs intéressés devront participer à la réglementation des congés payés, ou être consultés, ou avoir le droit d'être entendus, sous la forme et dans la mesure qui pourront être déterminées par la législation nationale, mais dans tous les cas sur la base d'une égalité absolue.

Article 3

La période minimum requise de service continu et la durée minimum du congé annuel payé seront déterminées par voie de législation nationale, de convention collective, de sentence arbitrale ou par des organismes spéciaux chargés de la réglementation des congés payés en agriculture, ou par toute autre voie approuvée par l'autorité compétente.

Article 4

1. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to determine, after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, to which undertakings, occupations, and categories of persons referred to in Article 1 the provisions of the Convention shall apply.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention may exclude from the application of all or any of the provisions of the Convention categories of persons whose conditions of employment render such provisions inapplicable to them, such as members of the farmer's family employed by him.

Article 5

Where appropriate, provision shall be made, in accordance with the established procedure for the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, for—

- (a) more favourable treatment for young workers, including apprentices, in cases in which the annual holiday with pay granted to adult workers is not considered adequate for young workers ;
- (b) an increase in the duration of the annual paid holiday with the length of service ;
- (c) proportionate holidays or payment in lieu thereof, in cases where the period of continuous service of a worker is not of sufficient duration to qualify him for an annual holiday with pay but exceeds such minimum period as may be determined in accordance with the established procedure ;
- (d) the exclusion from the annual holiday with pay of public and customary holidays and weekly rest periods, and, to such extent as may be determined in accordance with the established procedure, temporary interruptions of attendance at work due to such causes as sickness or accident.

Article 6

The annual holiday with pay may be divided within such limits as may be laid down by national laws or regulations, collective agreement, or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

Article 7

1. Every person taking a holiday in virtue of this Convention shall receive, in respect of the full period of the holiday, not less than his usual remuneration, or such remuneration as may be prescribed in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The remuneration payable in respect of the holiday shall be calculated as prescribed by national laws or regulations, collective agreement, or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay in agriculture, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

3. Where the remuneration of the person taking a holiday includes payments in kind, provision may be made for the payment in respect of holidays of the cash equivalent of such payments in kind.

Article 8

Any agreement to relinquish the right to an annual holiday with pay, or to forgo such a holiday, shall be void.

Article 9

A person dismissed for a reason other than his own misconduct before he has taken a holiday due to him shall receive in respect of every day of holiday due to him in virtue of this Convention the remuneration provided for in Article 7.

Article 10

Each Member which ratifies this Convention undertakes to maintain, or satisfy itself that there is maintained, an adequate system of inspection and supervision to ensure the application of its provisions.

Article 4

1. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention a la liberté, après consultation des organisations les plus représentatives d'employeurs et de travailleurs intéressés, s'il en existe, de déterminer les entreprises, les occupations et les catégories de personnes visées à l'article 1 auxquelles devront s'appliquer les dispositions de la convention.

2. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention peut exclure de l'application de l'ensemble ou de certaines des dispositions de la convention les catégories de personnes à l'égard desquelles ces dispositions sont inapplicables du fait de leurs conditions d'emploi, telles que les membres de la famille de l'exploitant employés par ce dernier.

Article 5

Lorsque cela est opportun, il devra être prévu, conformément à la procédure établie pour la réglementation des congés payés dans l'agriculture :

- a) un régime plus favorable pour les jeunes travailleurs, y compris les apprentis, dans les cas où les congés payés annuels octroyés aux travailleurs adultes ne sont pas considérés comme appropriés pour des jeunes travailleurs ;
- b) un accroissement de la durée du congé payé, avec la durée du service ;
- c) un congé proportionnel ou, à défaut, une indemnité compensatoire, si la période de service continu d'un travailleur ne lui permet pas de prétendre à un congé annuel payé, mais dépasse une période minimum déterminée conformément à la procédure établie ;
- d) lors de l'attribution du congé annuel payé, l'exclusion des jours fériés officiels et coutumiers, des périodes de repos hebdomadaire, et, dans les limites fixées conformément à la procédure établie, des interruptions temporaires de travail dues notamment à la maladie ou à un accident.

Article 6

Le congé annuel payé pourra être fractionné dans les limites pouvant être fixées par voie de législation nationale, de convention collective, de sentence arbitrale ou par des organismes spéciaux chargés de la réglementation des congés payés en agriculture, ou par toute autre voie approuvée par l'autorité compétente.

Article 7

1. Toute personne prenant un congé en vertu de la présente convention recevra, pour toute la durée dudit congé, une rémunération qui ne pourra être inférieure à sa rémunération habituelle, ou telle rémunération qui pourrait être prescrite conformément aux paragraphes 2 et 3 du présent article.

2. La rémunération à verser pour la période du congé sera calculée de la manière prescrite par voie de législation nationale, de convention collective, de sentence arbitrale ou par des organismes spéciaux chargés de la réglementation des congés payés en agriculture, ou par toute autre voie approuvée par l'autorité compétente.

3. Lorsque la rémunération de la personne qui prend un congé comporte des prestations en nature, il pourra lui être versé, pour la période du congé, la contre-valeur en espèces de ces prestations.

Article 8

Tout accord portant sur l'abandon du droit au congé annuel payé ou sur la renonciation audit congé devra être considéré comme nul.

Article 9

Toute personne congédiée sans qu'il y ait eu faute de sa part, avant d'avoir pris un congé qui lui est dû, devra recevoir, pour chaque jour de congé dû en vertu de la présente convention, la rémunération prévue à l'article 7.

Article 10

Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention s'engage à faire en sorte qu'il existe un système approprié d'inspection et de contrôle pour en assurer l'application.

Article 11

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall communicate annually to the International Labour Office a general statement indicating the manner in which the provisions of the Convention are implemented, and, in summary form, the occupations, categories and approximate number of workers covered, the duration of the holidays granted, and the more important of the other conditions, if any, established relevant to holidays with pay in agriculture.

Article 12

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 13

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General.

2. It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 14

1. Declarations communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in accordance with paragraph 2 of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation shall indicate—

- (a) the territories in respect of which the Member concerned undertakes that the provisions of the Convention shall be applied without modification ;
- (b) the territories in respect of which it undertakes that the provisions of the Convention shall be applied subject to modifications, together with details of the said modifications ;
- (c) the territories in respect of which the Convention is inapplicable and in such cases the grounds on which it is inapplicable ;
- (d) the territories in respect of which it reserves its decision pending further consideration of the position.

2. The undertakings referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be an integral part of the ratification and shall have the force of ratification.

3. Any Member may at any time by a subsequent declaration cancel in whole or in part any reservation made in its original declaration in virtue of subparagraphs (b), (c) or (d) of paragraph 1 of this Article.

4. Any Member may, at any time at which the Convention is subject to denunciation in accordance with the provisions of Article 16, communicate to the Director-General a declaration modifying in any other respect the terms of any former declaration and stating the present position in respect of such territories as it may specify.

Article 15

1. Declarations communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 5 of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation shall indicate whether the provisions of the Convention will be applied in the territory concerned without modification or subject to modifications ; when the declaration indicates that the provisions of the Convention will be applied subject to modifications, it shall give details of the said modifications.

2. The Member, Members or international authority concerned may at any time by a subsequent declaration renounce in whole or in part the right to have recourse to any modification indicated in any former declaration.

3. The Member, Members or international authority concerned may, at any time at which this Convention is subject to denunciation in accordance with the provisions of Article 16, communicate to the Director-

Article 11

Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention devra communiquer chaque année au Bureau international du Travail un exposé général faisant connaître la manière dont les dispositions de la convention sont appliquées. Cet exposé comprendra des indications sommaires sur les occupations, les catégories et le nombre approximatif des travailleurs auxquels cette réglementation s'applique, la durée des congés octroyés et, le cas échéant, les autres mesures les plus importantes relatives aux congés payés dans l'agriculture.

Article 12

Les ratifications formelles de la présente convention seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistrées.

Article 13

1. La présente convention ne liera que les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail dont la ratification aura été enregistrée par le Directeur général.

2. Elle entrera en vigueur douze mois après que les ratifications de deux Membres auront été enregistrées par le Directeur général.

3. Par la suite, cette convention entrera en vigueur pour chaque Membre douze mois après la date où sa ratification aura été enregistrée.

Article 14

1. Les déclarations qui seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail, conformément au paragraphe 2 de l'article 35 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, devront faire connaître :

- a) les territoires pour lesquels le Membre intéressé s'engage à ce que les dispositions de la convention soient appliquées sans modification ;
- b) les territoires pour lesquels il s'engage à ce que les dispositions de la convention soient appliquées avec des modifications, et en quoi consistent lesdites modifications ;
- c) les territoires auxquels la convention est inapplicable et, dans ces cas, les raisons pour lesquelles elle est inapplicable ;
- d) les territoires pour lesquels il réserve sa décision en attendant un examen plus approfondi de la situation à l'égard desdits territoires.

2. Les engagements mentionnés aux alinéas a) et b) du premier paragraphe du présent article seront réputés parties intégrantes de la ratification et porteront des effets identiques.

3. Tout Membre pourra renoncer, par une nouvelle déclaration, à tout ou partie des réserves contenues dans sa déclaration antérieure en vertu des alinéas b), c) et d) du premier paragraphe du présent article.

4. Tout Membre pourra, pendant les périodes au cours desquelles la présente convention peut être dénoncée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 16, communiquer au Directeur général une nouvelle déclaration modifiant à tout autre égard les termes de toute déclaration antérieure et faisant connaître la situation dans des territoires déterminés.

Article 15

1. Les déclarations communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail conformément aux paragraphes 4 et 5 de l'article 35 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail doivent indiquer si les dispositions de la convention seront appliquées dans le territoire avec ou sans modifications ; lorsque la déclaration indique que les dispositions de la convention s'appliquent sous réserve de modifications, elle doit spécifier en quoi consistent lesdites modifications.

2. Le Membre ou les Membres ou l'autorité internationale intéressés pourront renoncer entièrement ou partiellement, par une déclaration ultérieure, au droit d'invoquer une modification indiquée dans une déclaration antérieure.

3. Le Membre ou les Membres ou l'autorité internationale intéressés pourront, pendant les périodes au cours desquelles la convention peut être dénoncée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 16, communiquer

General a declaration modifying in any other respect the terms of any former declaration and stating the present position in respect of the application of the Convention.

Article 16

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 17

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organisation of the registration of all ratifications, declarations and denunciations communicated to him by the Members of the Organisation.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organisation of the registration of the second ratification communicated to him, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the date upon which the Convention will come into force.

Article 18

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations full particulars of all ratifications, declarations and acts of denunciation registered by him in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 19

At such times as it may consider necessary the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 20

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides—

- (a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall *ipso jure* involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 16 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force ;
- (b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 21

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.

(2) Recommendation (No. 93) concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the
International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth
Session on 4 June 1952, and

au Directeur général une nouvelle déclaration modifiant à tout autre égard les termes d'une déclaration antérieure et faisant connaître la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de cette convention.

Article 16

1. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention peut la dénoncer à l'expiration d'une période de dix années après la date de la mise en vigueur initiale de la convention, par un acte communiqué au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistré. La dénonciation ne prendra effet qu'une année après avoir été enregistrée.

2. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention qui, dans le délai d'une année après l'expiration de la période de dix années mentionnée au paragraphe précédent, ne fera pas usage de la faculté de dénonciation prévue par le présent article sera lié pour une nouvelle période de dix années et, par la suite, pourra dénoncer la présente convention à l'expiration de chaque période de dix années dans les conditions prévues au présent article.

Article 17

1. Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail notifiera à tous les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail l'enregistrement de toutes les ratifications, déclarations et dénonciations qui lui seront communiquées par les Membres de l'Organisation.

2. En notifiant aux Membres de l'Organisation l'enregistrement de la deuxième ratification qui lui aura été communiquée, le Directeur général appellera l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation sur la date à laquelle la présente convention entrera en vigueur.

Article 18

Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail communiquera au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, aux fins d'enregistrement, conformément à l'article 102 de la Charte des Nations Unies, des renseignements complets au sujet de toutes ratifications, de toutes déclarations et de tous actes de dénonciation qu'il aura enregistrés conformément aux articles précédents.

Article 19

Chaque fois qu'il le jugera nécessaire, le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail présentera à la Conférence générale un rapport sur l'application de la présente convention et examinera s'il y a lieu d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence la question de sa revision totale ou partielle.

Article 20

1. Au cas où la Conférence adopterait une nouvelle convention portant revision totale ou partielle de la présente convention, et à moins que la nouvelle convention ne dispose autrement :

- a) la ratification par un Membre de la nouvelle convention portant revision entraînerait de plein droit, nonobstant l'article 16 ci-dessus, dénonciation immédiate de la présente convention, sous réserve que la nouvelle convention portant revision soit entrée en vigueur ;
- b) à partir de la date de l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle convention portant revision, la présente convention cesserait d'être ouverte à la ratification des Membres.

2. La présente convention demeurerait en tout cas en vigueur dans sa forme et teneur pour les Membres qui l'auraient ratifiée et qui ne ratifieraient pas la convention portant revision.

Article 21

Les versions française et anglaise du texte de la présente convention font également foi.

2) Recommandation (n° 93) concernant les congés payés dans l'agriculture.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 4 juin 1952, en sa trente-cinquième session,

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to holidays with pay in agriculture, which is the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having decided that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation supplementing the Holidays with Pay (Agriculture) Convention, 1952,

adopts this twenty-sixth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Holidays with Pay (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1952 :

The Conference recommends that each Member should apply the following provisions as rapidly as national conditions allow and report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body concerning the measures taken to give effect thereto.

1. The minimum length of the holiday with pay should be one working week for a period of one year's continuous service, with proportionate holidays for a lesser period of continuous service.

2. The competent authority should consider the possibility of making more favourable provision for young workers under eighteen years of age, including apprentices, in order to ease the transition from school to farm life during the period of physical development.

3. For young workers under sixteen years of age, including apprentices, the minimum length of the holiday with pay should be two working weeks for a period of one year's continuous service, with proportionate holidays for a lesser period of continuous service.

4. The continuity of service required for a worker to become entitled to a holiday with pay should not be affected by temporary interruptions due to sickness or accident, family events, or other similar circumstances.

5. The competent authority should provide, where appropriate, for an increase in the length of the paid holiday with the duration of the service, this increase to begin to operate as soon as possible and to be effected by regular stages so that a prescribed minimum will be attained after a prescribed number of years.

6. Although it may be desirable that provision should be made, in exceptional cases, for holidays with pay to be divided, care should be exercised to ensure that such division does not run counter to the purpose of the holiday, which is to enable the worker to recuperate. With this end in view the worker should have the right to take at least one part of his holiday in an uninterrupted period which should not be less than a prescribed minimum.

7. Where appropriate, provision should be made, in accordance with the established procedure, to ensure that holidays with pay do not interfere with peak work periods or seriously prejudice agricultural production.

(3) Convention (No. 102) concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum standards of social security, which are included in the fifth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this twenty-eighth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Convention, which may be cited as the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 :

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives aux congés payés dans l'agriculture, question qui constitue le quatrième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation complétant la convention sur les congés payés (agriculture), 1952,

adopte, ce vingt-sixième jour de juin mil neuf cent cinquante-deux, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation sur les congés payés (agriculture), 1952 :

La Conférence recommande aux Membres d'appliquer les dispositions suivantes aussitôt que les conditions nationales le permettront, et de présenter au Bureau international du Travail, conformément à ce que décidera le Conseil d'administration, des rapports exposant les mesures prises pour les mettre en application.

1. La durée minimum du congé payé devrait correspondre, pour une période d'un an de service continu, à la durée d'une semaine de travail, et, pour une période inférieure de service continu, à une durée proportionnelle.

2. L'autorité compétente devrait examiner la possibilité de prévoir un régime plus favorable pour les jeunes travailleurs de moins de dix-huit ans, y compris les apprentis, afin de faciliter, au cours de la période de développement physique, la transition entre la vie scolaire et l'activité agricole.

3. Pour les jeunes travailleurs de moins de seize ans, y compris les apprentis, la durée minimum du congé payé devrait correspondre, pour une période d'un an de service continu, à la durée de deux semaines de travail et, pour une période inférieure de service continu, à une durée proportionnelle.

4. Les interruptions temporaires dues à une maladie, un accident, des événements de famille ou à d'autres circonstances analogues, devraient être sans effet sur la continuité de service requise pour ouvrir droit au congé payé.

5. L'autorité compétente devrait, lorsque cela est opportun, prescrire l'accroissement progressif du congé payé suivant l'ancienneté de service. Cet accroissement devrait avoir effet le plus tôt possible et avoir lieu par échelons réguliers, de manière à atteindre un minimum déterminé après un certain nombre d'années.

6. Bien qu'il puisse être désirable, dans des cas exceptionnels, de prévoir le fractionnement du congé payé, il faudrait cependant éviter que ce fractionnement n'agisse à l'encontre du but même du congé, qui est de permettre au travailleur de recouvrer ses forces. A cet effet, le travailleur devrait avoir le droit de prendre au moins une partie de son congé en une période ininterrompue qui ne devrait pas être inférieure à une durée minimum déterminée.

7. Lorsque cela est opportun, des dispositions devraient être prévues, conformément à la procédure établie, afin de veiller à ce que les périodes d'octroi des congés payés ne puissent compromettre l'exécution des grands travaux ni causer de préjudice à la production agricole.

3) Convention (n° 102) concernant la norme minimum de la sécurité sociale.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,

Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 4 juin 1952, en sa trente-cinquième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la norme minimum de la sécurité sociale, question qui est comprise dans le cinquième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une convention internationale,

adopte, ce vingt-huitième jour de juin mil neuf cent cinquante-deux, la convention ci-après, qui sera dénommée Convention concernant la sécurité sociale (norme minimum), 1952 :

PART I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1

1. In this Convention—

- (a) the term “prescribed” means determined by or in virtue of national laws or regulations ;
- (b) the term “residence” means ordinary residence in the territory of the Member and the term “resident” means a person ordinarily resident in the territory of the Member ;
- (c) the term “wife” means a wife who is maintained by her husband ;
- (d) the term “widow” means a woman who was maintained by her husband at the time of his death ;
- (e) the term “child” means a child under school-leaving age or under 15 years of age, as may be prescribed ;
- (f) the term “qualifying period” means a period of contribution, or a period of employment, or a period of residence, or any combination thereof, as may be prescribed.

2. In Articles 10, 34 and 49 the term “benefit” means either direct benefit in the form of care or indirect benefit consisting of a reimbursement of the expenses borne by the person concerned.

Article 2

Each Member for which this Convention is in force—

- (a) shall comply with—
 - (i) Part I ;
 - (ii) at least three of Parts II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, including at least one of Parts IV, V, VI, IX and X ;
 - (iii) the relevant provisions of Parts XI, XII and XIII ; and
 - (iv) Part XIV ; and
- (b) shall specify in its ratification in respect of which of Parts II to X it accepts the obligations of the Convention.

Article 3

1. A Member whose economy and medical facilities are insufficiently developed may, if and for so long as the competent authority considers necessary, avail itself, by a declaration appended to its ratification, of the temporary exceptions provided for in the following Articles : 9 (d) ; 12 (2) ; 15 (d) ; 18 (2) ; 21 (c) ; 27 (d) ; 33 (b) ; 34 (3) ; 41 (d) ; 48 (c) ; 55 (d) ; and 61 (d).

2. Each Member which has made a declaration under paragraph 1 of this Article shall include in the annual report upon the application of this Convention submitted under Article 22 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation a statement, in respect of each exception of which it avails itself—

- (a) that its reason for doing so subsists ; or
- (b) that it renounces its right to avail itself of the exception in question as from a stated date.

Article 4

1. Each Member which has ratified this Convention may subsequently notify the Director-General of the International Labour Office that it accepts the obligations of the Convention in respect of one or more of Parts II to X not already specified in its ratification.

2. The undertakings referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be an integral part of the ratification and to have the force of ratification as from the date of notification.

Article 5

Where, for the purpose of compliance with any of the Parts II to X of this Convention which are to be covered by its ratification, a Member is required to protect prescribed classes of persons constituting not less than a specified percentage of employees or residents, the Member shall satisfy itself, before undertaking to comply with any such Part, that the relevant percentage is attained.

PARTIE I. DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Article 1

1. Aux fins de la présente convention :

- a) le terme « prescrit » signifie déterminé par ou en vertu de la législation nationale ;
- b) le terme « résidence » désigne la résidence habituelle sur le territoire du Membre, et le terme « résidant » désigne une personne qui réside habituellement sur le territoire du Membre ;
- c) le terme « épouse » désigne une épouse qui est à la charge de son mari ;
- d) le terme « veuve » désigne une femme qui était à la charge de son époux au moment du décès de celui-ci ;
- e) le terme « enfant » désigne un enfant au-dessous de l'âge auquel la scolarité obligatoire prend fin ou un enfant de moins de quinze ans, selon ce qui sera prescrit ;
- f) le terme « stage » désigne soit une période de cotisation, soit une période d'emploi, soit une période de résidence, soit une combinaison quelconque de ces périodes, selon ce qui sera prescrit.

2. Aux fins des articles 10, 34 et 49, le terme « prestations » s'entend soit de soins fournis directement, soit de prestations indirectes consistant en un remboursement des frais supportés par l'intéressé.

Article 2

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente convention est en vigueur devra :

- a) appliquer :
 - i) la Partie I ;
 - ii) trois au moins des Parties II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX et X, comprenant l'une au moins des Parties IV, V, VI, IX et X ;
 - iii) les dispositions correspondantes des Parties XI, XII et XIII ;
 - iv) la Partie XIV ;
- b) spécifier dans sa ratification quelles sont celles des Parties II à X pour lesquelles il accepte les obligations découlant de la convention.

Article 3

1. Un Membre dont l'économie et les ressources médicales n'ont pas atteint un développement suffisant peut, si l'autorité compétente le désire et aussi longtemps qu'elle le juge nécessaire, se réserver le bénéfice, par une déclaration annexée à sa ratification, des dérogations temporaires figurant dans les articles suivants : 9 d); 12 (2); 15 d); 18 (2); 21 c); 27 d); 33 b); 34 (3); 41 d); 48 c); 55 d) et 61 d).

2. Tout Membre qui a fait une déclaration conformément au paragraphe 1 du présent article doit, dans le rapport annuel sur l'application de la présente convention qu'il est tenu de présenter en vertu de l'article 22 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, faire connaître à propos de chacune des dérogations dont il s'est réservé le bénéfice :

- a) soit que les raisons qu'il a eues pour ce faire existent toujours ;
- b) soit qu'il renonce à partir d'une date déterminée à se prévaloir de la dérogation en question.

Article 4

1. Tout Membre qui a ratifié la présente convention peut, par la suite, notifier au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail qu'il accepte les obligations découlant de la convention en ce qui concerne l'une des Parties II à X qui n'ont pas déjà été spécifiées dans sa ratification, ou plusieurs d'entre elles.

2. Les engagements prévus au paragraphe 1 du présent article seront réputés partie intégrante de la ratification et porteront des effets identiques dès la date de leur notification.

Article 5

Lorsqu'en vue de l'application de l'une quelconque des Parties II à X de la présente convention visées par sa ratification, un Membre est tenu de protéger des catégories prescrites de personnes formant au total au moins un pourcentage déterminé des salariés ou résidants, ce Membre doit s'assurer, avant de s'engager à appliquer ladite Partie, que le pourcentage en question est atteint.

Article 6

For the purpose of compliance with Parts II, III, IV, V, VIII (in so far as it relates to medical care), IX or X of this Convention, a Member may take account of protection effected by means of insurance which, although not made compulsory by national laws or regulations for the persons to be protected—

- (a) is supervised by the public authorities or administered, in accordance with prescribed standards, by joint operation of employers and workers ;
- (b) covers a substantial part of the persons whose earnings do not exceed those of the skilled manual male employee ; and
- (c) complies, in conjunction with other forms of protection, where appropriate, with the relevant provisions of the Convention.

PART II. MEDICAL CARE

Article 7

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of benefit in respect of a condition requiring medical care of a preventive or curative nature in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 8

The contingencies covered shall include any morbid condition, whatever its cause, and pregnancy and confinement and their consequences.

Article 9

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees, and also their wives and children ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents, and also their wives and children ; or
- (c) prescribed classes of residents, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more, and also their wives and children.

Article 10

1. The benefit shall include at least—

- (a) in case of a morbid condition—
 - (i) general practitioner care, including domiciliary visiting ;
 - (ii) specialist care at hospitals for in-patients and out-patients, and such specialist care as may be available outside hospitals ;
 - (iii) the essential pharmaceutical supplies as prescribed by medical or other qualified practitioners ; and
 - (iv) hospitalisation where necessary ; and
- (b) in case of pregnancy and confinement and their consequences—
 - (i) pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care either by medical practitioners or by qualified midwives ; and
 - (ii) hospitalisation where necessary.

2. The beneficiary or his breadwinner may be required to share in the cost of the medical care the beneficiary receives in respect of a morbid condition ; the rules concerning such cost-sharing shall be so designed as to avoid hardship.

Article 6

En vue d'appliquer les Parties II, III, IV, V, VIII (en ce qui concerne les soins médicaux), IX ou X de la présente convention, un Membre peut prendre en compte la protection résultant d'assurances qui, en vertu de la législation nationale, ne sont pas obligatoires pour les personnes protégées, lorsque ces assurances :

- a) sont contrôlées par les autorités publiques ou administrées en commun, conformément à des normes prescrites, par les employeurs et les travailleurs ;
- b) couvrent une partie substantielle des personnes dont le gain ne dépasse pas celui de l'ouvrier masculin qualifié ;
- c) satisfont, conjointement avec les autres formes de protection, s'il y a lieu, aux dispositions de la convention qui leur sont relatives.

PARTIE II. SOINS MÉDICAUX

Article 7

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir l'attribution de prestations aux personnes protégées lorsque leur état nécessite des soins médicaux de caractère préventif ou curatif, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 8

L'éventualité couverte doit comprendre tout état morbide quelle qu'en soit la cause, la grossesse, l'accouchement et leurs suites.

Article 9

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés, ainsi que les épouses et les enfants des salariés de ces catégories ;
- b) soit des catégories prescrites de la population active, formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidents, ainsi que les épouses et les enfants des membres de ces catégories ;
- c) soit des catégories prescrites de résidents, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidents ;
- d) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins, ainsi que les épouses et les enfants des salariés de ces catégories.

Article 10

1. Les prestations doivent comprendre au moins :

- a) en cas d'état morbide :
 - i) les soins de praticiens de médecine générale, y compris les visites à domicile ;
 - ii) les soins de spécialistes donnés dans des hôpitaux à des personnes hospitalisées ou non hospitalisées et les soins de spécialistes qui peuvent être donnés hors des hôpitaux ;
 - iii) la fourniture des produits pharmaceutiques essentiels sur ordonnance d'un médecin ou d'un autre praticien qualifié ;
 - iv) l'hospitalisation lorsqu'elle est nécessaire ;
- b) en cas de grossesse, d'accouchement et de leurs suites :
 - i) les soins prénatals, les soins pendant l'accouchement et les soins postnatals, donnés soit par un médecin, soit par une sage-femme diplômée ;
 - ii) l'hospitalisation lorsqu'elle est nécessaire.

2. Le bénéficiaire ou son soutien de famille peut être tenu de participer aux frais des soins médicaux reçus en cas d'état morbide ; les règles relatives à cette participation doivent être établies de telle sorte qu'elles n'entraînent pas une charge trop lourde.

3. The benefit provided in accordance with this Article shall be afforded with a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the person protected and his ability to work and to attend to his personal needs.

4. The institutions or Government departments administering the benefit shall, by such means as may be deemed appropriate, encourage the persons protected to avail themselves of the general health services placed at their disposal by the public authorities or by other bodies recognised by the public authorities.

Article 11

The benefit specified in Article 10 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who has completed, or whose breadwinner has completed, such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse.

Article 12

1. The benefit specified in Article 10 shall be granted throughout the contingency covered, except that, in case of a morbid condition, its duration may be limited to 26 weeks in each case, but benefit shall not be suspended while a sickness benefit continues to be paid, and provision shall be made to enable the limit to be extended for prescribed diseases recognised as entailing prolonged care.

2. Where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the duration of the benefit may be limited to 13 weeks in each case.

PART III. SICKNESS BENEFIT

Article 13

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of sickness benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 14

The contingency covered shall include incapacity for work resulting from a morbid condition and involving suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations.

Article 15

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 16

1. Where classes of employees or classes of the economically active population are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66.

2. Where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

3. Les prestations fournies conformément au présent article doivent tendre à préserver, à rétablir ou à améliorer la santé de la personne protégée, ainsi que son aptitude à travailler et à faire face à ses besoins personnels.

4. Les départements gouvernementaux ou institutions attribuant les prestations doivent encourager les personnes protégées, par tous les moyens qui peuvent être considérés comme appropriés, à recourir aux services généraux de santé mis à leur disposition par les autorités publiques ou par d'autres organismes reconnus par les autorités publiques.

Article 11

Les prestations mentionnées à l'article 10 doivent, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garanties au moins aux personnes protégées qui ont accompli ou dont le soutien de famille a accompli un stage pouvant être considéré comme nécessaire pour éviter les abus.

Article 12

1. Les prestations mentionnées à l'article 10 doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité couverte, avec cette exception qu'en cas d'état morbide, la durée des prestations peut être limitée à 26 semaines par cas ; toutefois les prestations médicales ne peuvent être suspendues aussi longtemps qu'une indemnité de maladie est payée et des dispositions doivent être prises pour élever la limite susmentionnée lorsqu'il s'agit de maladies prévues par la législation nationale pour lesquelles il est reconnu que des soins prolongés sont nécessaires.

2. Lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, la durée des prestations peut être limitée à 13 semaines par cas.

PARTIE III. INDEMNITÉS DE MALADIE

Article 13

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution d'indemnités de maladie, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 14

L'éventualité couverte doit comprendre l'incapacité de travail résultant d'un état morbide et entraînant la suspension du gain telle qu'elle est définie par la législation nationale.

Article 15

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés ;
- b) soit des catégories prescrites de la population active, formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidants ;
- c) soit tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67 ;
- d) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins.

Article 16

1. Lorsque sont protégées des catégories de salariés ou des catégories de la population active, la prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66.

2. Lorsque sont protégés tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites, la prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67.

Article 17

The benefit specified in Article 16 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who has completed such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse.

Article 18

1. The benefit specified in Article 16 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that the benefit may be limited to 26 weeks in each case of sickness, in which event it need not be paid for the first three days of suspension of earnings.

2. Where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the duration of the benefit may be limited—

- (a) to such period that the total number of days for which the sickness benefit is granted in any year is not less than ten times the average number of persons protected in that year ; or
- (b) to 13 weeks in each case of sickness, in which event it need not be paid for the first three days of suspension of earnings.

PART IV. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Article 19

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of unemployment benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 20

The contingency covered shall include suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations, due to inability to obtain suitable employment in the case of a person protected who is capable of, and available for, work.

Article 21

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (c) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 22

1. Where classes of employees are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66.

2. Where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 23

The benefit specified in Article 22 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who has completed such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse.

Article 24

1. The benefit specified in Article 22 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that its duration may be limited—

Article 17

La prestation mentionnée à l'article 16 doit, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garantie au moins aux personnes protégées qui ont accompli un stage pouvant être considéré comme nécessaire pour éviter les abus.

Article 18

1. La prestation mentionnée à l'article 16 doit être accordée pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité, sous réserve que la durée de la prestation puisse être limitée à 26 semaines par cas de maladie, avec la possibilité de ne pas servir la prestation pour les trois premiers jours de suspension du gain.

2. Lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, la durée de la prestation peut être limitée :

- a) soit à une période telle que le nombre total de jours pour lesquels l'indemnité de maladie est accordée au cours d'une année ne soit pas inférieur à dix fois le nombre moyen des personnes protégées pendant la même année ;
- b) soit à 13 semaines par cas de maladie, avec la possibilité de ne pas servir la prestation pour les trois premiers jours de suspension du gain.

PARTIE IV. PRESTATIONS DE CHÔMAGE

Article 19

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations de chômage, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 20

L'éventualité couverte doit comprendre la suspension du gain — telle qu'elle est définie par la législation nationale — due à l'impossibilité d'obtenir un emploi convenable dans le cas d'une personne protégée qui est capable de travailler et disponible pour le travail.

Article 21

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés ;
- b) soit tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67 ;
- c) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins.

Article 22

1. Lorsque sont protégées des catégories de salariés, la prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66.

2. Lorsque sont protégés tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites, la prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67.

Article 23

La prestation mentionnée à l'article 22 doit, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garantie au moins aux personnes protégées qui ont accompli un stage pouvant être considéré comme nécessaire pour éviter les abus.

Article 24

1. La prestation mentionnée à l'article 22 doit être accordée pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité, avec cette exception que la durée de la prestation peut être limitée :

- (a) where classes of employees are protected, to 13 weeks within a period of 12 months, or
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, to 26 weeks within a period of 12 months.

2. Where national laws or regulations provide that the duration of the benefit shall vary with the length of the contribution period and/or the benefit previously received within a prescribed period, the provisions of subparagraph (a) of paragraph 1 shall be deemed to be fulfilled if the average duration of benefit is at least 13 weeks within a period of 12 months.

3. The benefit need not be paid for a waiting period of the first seven days in each case of suspension of earnings, counting days of unemployment before and after temporary employment lasting not more than a prescribed period as part of the same case of suspension of earnings.

4. In the case of seasonal workers the duration of the benefit and the waiting period may be adapted to their conditions of employment.

PART V. OLD-AGE BENEFIT

Article 25

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of old-age benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 26

- 1. The contingency covered shall be survival beyond a prescribed age.
- 2. The prescribed age shall be not more than 65 years or such higher age as may be fixed by the competent authority with due regard to the working ability of elderly persons in the country concerned.
- 3. National laws or regulations may provide that the benefit of a person otherwise entitled to it may be suspended if such person is engaged in any prescribed gainful activity or that the benefit, if contributory, may be reduced where the earnings of the beneficiary exceed a prescribed amount and, if non-contributory, may be reduced where the earnings of the beneficiary or his other means or the two taken together exceed a prescribed amount.

Article 27

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 28

The benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated as follows :

- (a) where classes of employees or classes of the economically active population are protected, in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 29

- 1. The benefit specified in Article 28 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least—

- a) lorsque sont protégées des catégories de salariés, à 13 semaines au cours d'une période de 12 mois ;
- b) lorsque sont protégés tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites, à 26 semaines au cours d'une période de 12 mois.

2. Au cas où la durée de la prestation serait échelonnée, en vertu de la législation nationale, selon la durée de la cotisation ou selon les prestations antérieurement reçues au cours d'une période prescrite, les dispositions de l'alinéa a) du paragraphe 1 seront réputées satisfaites si la durée moyenne de la prestation comporte au moins 13 semaines au cours d'une période de 12 mois.

3. La prestation peut ne pas être versée pendant un délai de carence fixé aux sept premiers jours dans chaque cas de suspension du gain, en comptant les jours de chômage avant et après un emploi temporaire n'excédant pas une durée prescrite comme faisant partie du même cas de suspension du gain.

4. Lorsqu'il s'agit de travailleurs saisonniers, la durée de la prestation et le délai de carence peuvent être adaptés aux conditions d'emploi.

PARTIE V. PRESTATIONS DE VIEILLESSE

Article 25

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations de vieillesse, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 26

1. L'éventualité couverte sera la survivance au-delà d'un âge prescrit.

2. L'âge prescrit ne devra pas dépasser soixante-cinq ans. Toutefois, un âge supérieur pourra être fixé par les autorités compétentes, eu égard à la capacité de travail des personnes âgées dans le pays dont il s'agit.

3. La législation nationale pourra suspendre les prestations si la personne qui y aurait eu droit exerce certaines activités rémunérées prescrites, ou pourra réduire les prestations contributives lorsque le gain du bénéficiaire excède un montant prescrit, et les prestations non contributives lorsque le gain du bénéficiaire, ou ses autres ressources, ou les deux ensemble, excèdent un montant prescrit.

Article 27

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés ;
- b) soit des catégories prescrites de la population active, formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidants ;
- c) soit tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67 ;
- d) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins.

Article 28

La prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé comme suit :

- a) conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66, lorsque sont protégées des catégories de salariés ou des catégories de la population active ;
- b) conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67, lorsque sont protégés tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites.

Article 29

1. La prestation mentionnée à l'article 28 doit, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garantie au moins :

- (a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period which may be 30 years of contribution or employment, or 20 years of residence ; or
- (b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a prescribed qualifying period of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, the prescribed yearly average number of contributions has been paid.

2. Where the benefit referred to in paragraph 1 is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period of 15 years of contribution or employment ; or
- (b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a prescribed qualifying period of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, half the yearly average number of contributions prescribed in accordance with subparagraph (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article has been paid.

3. The requirements of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be satisfied where a benefit calculated in conformity with the requirements of Part XI but at a percentage of ten points lower than shown in the Schedule appended to that Part for the standard beneficiary concerned is secured at least to a person protected who has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, ten years of contribution or employment, or five years of residence.

4. A proportional reduction of the percentage indicated in the Schedule appended to Part XI may be effected where the qualifying period for the benefit corresponding to the reduced percentage exceeds ten years of contribution or employment but is less than 30 years of contribution or employment ; if such qualifying period exceeds 15 years, a reduced benefit shall be payable in conformity with paragraph 2 of this Article.

5. Where the benefit referred to in paragraphs 1, 3 or 4 of this Article is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be payable under prescribed conditions to a person protected who, by reason only of his advanced age when the provisions concerned in the application of this Part come into force, has not satisfied the conditions prescribed in accordance with paragraph 2 of this Article, unless a benefit in conformity with the provisions of paragraphs 1, 3 or 4 of this Article is secured to such person at an age higher than the normal age.

Article 30

The benefits specified in Articles 28 and 29 shall be granted throughout the contingency.

PART VI. EMPLOYMENT INJURY BENEFIT

Article 31

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of employment injury benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 32

The contingencies covered shall include the following where due to accident or a prescribed disease resulting from employment :

- (a) a morbid condition ;
- (b) incapacity for work resulting from such a condition and involving suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations ;
- (c) total loss of earning capacity or partial loss thereof in excess of a prescribed degree, likely to be permanent, or corresponding loss of faculty ; and

- a) à une personne protégée ayant accompli, avant l'éventualité, selon des règles prescrites, un stage qui peut consister soit en 30 années de cotisation ou d'emploi, soit en 20 années de résidence ;
- b) lorsqu'en principe toutes les personnes actives sont protégées, à une personne protégée qui a accompli un stage prescrit de cotisation et au nom de laquelle ont été versées, au cours de la période active de sa vie, des cotisations dont le nombre moyen annuel atteint un chiffre prescrit.

2. Lorsque l'attribution de la prestation mentionnée au paragraphe 1 est subordonnée à l'accomplissement d'une période minimum de cotisation ou d'emploi, une prestation réduite doit être garantie au moins :

- a) à une personne protégée ayant accompli, avant l'éventualité, selon des règles prescrites, un stage de 15 années de cotisation ou d'emploi ;
- b) lorsqu'en principe toutes les personnes actives sont protégées, à une personne protégée qui a accompli un stage prescrit de cotisation et au nom de laquelle a été versée, au cours de la période active de sa vie, la moitié du nombre moyen annuel de cotisations prescrit auquel se réfère l'alinéa b) du paragraphe 1 du présent article.

3. Les dispositions du paragraphe 1 du présent article seront considérées comme satisfaites lorsqu'une prestation calculée conformément à la Partie XI, mais selon un pourcentage inférieur de 10 unités à celui qui est indiqué dans le tableau annexé à ladite Partie pour le bénéficiaire-type, est au moins garantie à toute personne protégée qui a accompli, selon des règles prescrites, soit 10 années de cotisation ou d'emploi, soit 5 années de résidence.

4. Une réduction proportionnelle du pourcentage indiqué dans le tableau annexé à la Partie XI peut être opérée lorsque le stage pour la prestation qui correspond au pourcentage réduit est supérieur à 10 ans de cotisation ou d'emploi, mais inférieur à 30 ans de cotisation ou d'emploi. Lorsque ledit stage est supérieur à 15 ans, une prestation réduite sera attribuée conformément au paragraphe 2 du présent article.

5. Lorsque l'attribution de la prestation mentionnée aux paragraphes 1, 3 ou 4 du présent article est subordonnée à l'accomplissement d'une période minimum de cotisation ou d'emploi, une prestation réduite doit être garantie, dans les conditions prescrites, à une personne protégée qui, du seul fait de l'âge avancé qu'elle avait atteint lorsque les dispositions permettant d'appliquer la présente Partie de la convention ont été mises en vigueur, n'a pu remplir les conditions prescrites conformément au paragraphe 2 du présent article, à moins qu'une prestation conforme aux dispositions des paragraphes 1, 3 ou 4 du présent article ne soit attribuée à une telle personne à un âge plus élevé que l'âge normal.

Article 30

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 28 et 29 doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité.

PARTIE VI. PRESTATIONS EN CAS D'ACCIDENTS DU TRAVAIL ET DE MALADIES PROFESSIONNELLES

Article 31

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations en cas d'accidents du travail et de maladies professionnelles, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 32

Les éventualités couvertes doivent comprendre les suivantes lorsqu'elles sont dues à des accidents du travail ou à des maladies professionnelles prescrites :

- a) état morbide ;
- b) incapacité de travail résultant d'un état morbide et entraînant la suspension du gain telle qu'elle est définie par la législation nationale ;
- c) perte totale de la capacité de gain ou perte partielle de la capacité de gain au-dessus d'un degré prescrit, lorsqu'il est probable que cette perte totale ou partielle sera permanente, ou diminution correspondante de l'intégrité physique ;

- (d) the loss of support suffered by the widow or child as the result of the death of the breadwinner ; in the case of a widow, the right to benefit may be made conditional on her being presumed, in accordance with national laws or regulations, to be incapable of self-support.

Article 33

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees, and, for benefit in respect of death of the breadwinner, also their wives and children ; or
- (b) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more, and, for benefit in respect of death of the breadwinner, also their wives and children.

Article 34

1. In respect of a morbid condition, the benefit shall be medical care as specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The medical care shall comprise—

- (a) general practitioner and specialist in-patient care and out-patient care, including domiciliary visiting ;
- (b) dental care ;
- (c) nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions ;
- (d) maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria or other medical institutions ;
- (e) dental, pharmaceutical and other medical or surgical supplies, including prosthetic appliances, kept in repair, and eyeglasses ; and
- (f) the care furnished by members of such other professions as may at any time be legally recognised as allied to the medical profession, under the supervision of a medical or dental practitioner.

3. Where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the medical care shall include at least—

- (a) general practitioner care, including domiciliary visiting ;
- (b) specialist care at hospitals for in-patients and out-patients, and such specialist care as may be available outside hospitals ;
- (c) the essential pharmaceutical supplies as prescribed by a medical or other qualified practitioner ; and
- (d) hospitalisation where necessary.

4. The medical care provided in accordance with the preceding paragraphs shall be afforded with a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the person protected and his ability to work and to attend to his personal needs.

Article 35

1. The institutions or Government departments administering the medical care shall co-operate, wherever appropriate, with the general vocational rehabilitation services, with a view to the re-establishment of handicapped persons in suitable work.

2. National laws or regulations may authorise such institutions or departments to ensure provision for the vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons.

Article 36

1. In respect of incapacity for work, total loss of earning capacity likely to be permanent or corresponding loss of faculty, or the death of the breadwinner, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66.

- d) perte de moyens d'existence subie par la veuve ou les enfants du fait du décès du soutien de famille ; dans le cas de la veuve, le droit à la prestation peut être subordonné à la présomption, conformément à la législation nationale, qu'elle est incapable de subvenir à ses propres besoins.

Article 33

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés et, pour les prestations auxquelles ouvre droit le décès du soutien de famille, également les épouses et les enfants des salariés de ces catégories ;
- b) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans les entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins et, pour les prestations auxquelles ouvre droit le décès du soutien de famille, également les épouses et les enfants des salariés de ces catégories.

Article 34

1. En ce qui concerne un état morbide, les prestations doivent comprendre les soins médicaux mentionnés aux paragraphes 2 et 3 du présent article.

2. Les soins médicaux doivent comprendre :

- a) les soins de praticiens de médecine générale et de spécialistes à des personnes hospitalisées ou non hospitalisées, y compris les visites à domicile ;
- b) les soins dentaires ;
- c) les soins d'infirmières, soit à domicile, soit dans un hôpital ou dans une autre institution médicale ;
- d) l'entretien dans un hôpital, une maison de convalescence, un sanatorium ou une autre institution médicale ;
- e) les fournitures dentaires, pharmaceutiques et autres fournitures médicales ou chirurgicales, y compris les appareils de prothèse et leur entretien, ainsi que les lunettes ;
- f) les soins fournis par un membre d'une autre profession légalement reconnue comme connexe à la profession médicale, sous la surveillance d'un médecin ou d'un dentiste.

3. Lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, les soins médicaux doivent comprendre au moins :

- a) les soins de praticiens de médecine générale, y compris les visites à domicile ;
- b) les soins de spécialistes donnés dans des hôpitaux à des personnes hospitalisées ou non hospitalisées, et les soins de spécialistes qui peuvent être donnés hors des hôpitaux ;
- c) la fourniture des produits pharmaceutiques essentiels, sur ordonnance d'un médecin ou d'un autre praticien qualifié ;
- d) l'hospitalisation lorsqu'elle est nécessaire.

4. Les soins médicaux fournis conformément aux paragraphes précédents doivent tendre à préserver, à rétablir ou à améliorer la santé de la personne protégée, ainsi que son aptitude à travailler et à faire face à ses besoins personnels.

Article 35

1. Les départements gouvernementaux ou institutions chargés de l'administration des soins médicaux doivent coopérer, lorsqu'il est opportun, avec les services généraux de rééducation professionnelle, en vue de réadapter à un travail approprié les personnes de capacité diminuée.

2. La législation nationale peut autoriser lesdits départements ou institutions à prendre des mesures en vue de la rééducation professionnelle des personnes de capacité diminuée.

Article 36

1. En ce qui concerne l'incapacité de travail, ou la perte totale de capacité de gain lorsqu'il est probable que cette perte sera permanente, ou la diminution correspondante de l'intégrité physique, ou le décès du soutien de famille, la prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66.

2. In case of partial loss of earning capacity likely to be permanent, or corresponding loss of faculty, the benefit, where payable, shall be a periodical payment representing a suitable proportion of that specified for total loss of earning capacity or corresponding loss of faculty.

3. The periodical payment may be commuted for a lump sum—

- (a) where the degree of incapacity is slight ; or
- (b) where the competent authority is satisfied that the lump sum will be properly utilised.

Article 37

The benefit specified in Articles 34 and 36 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a person protected who was employed in the territory of the Member at the time of the accident if the injury is due to accident or at the time of contracting the disease if the injury is due to a disease and, for periodical payments in respect of death of the breadwinner, to the widow and children of such person.

Article 38

The benefit specified in Articles 34 and 36 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that, in respect of incapacity for work, the benefit need not be paid for the first three days in each case of suspension of earnings.

PART VII. FAMILY BENEFIT

Article 39

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of family benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 40

The contingency covered shall be responsibility for the maintenance of children as prescribed.

Article 41

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 42

The benefit shall be—

- (a) a periodical payment granted to any person protected having completed the prescribed qualifying period ; or
- (b) the provision to or in respect of children, of food, clothing, housing, holidays or domestic help ; or
- (c) a combination of (a) and (b).

Article 43

The benefit specified in Article 42 shall be secured at least to a person protected who, within a prescribed period, has completed a qualifying period which may be three months of contribution or employment, or one year of residence, as may be prescribed.

2. En cas de perte partielle de la capacité de gain lorsqu'il est probable que cette perte sera permanente, ou en cas d'une diminution correspondante de l'intégrité physique, la prestation, quand elle est due, sera un paiement périodique fixé à une proportion convenable de celle qui est prévue en cas de perte totale de la capacité de gain ou d'une diminution correspondante de l'intégrité physique.

3. Les paiements périodiques pourront être convertis en un capital versé en une seule fois :

- a) soit lorsque le degré d'incapacité est minime ;
- b) soit lorsque la garantie d'un emploi judicieux sera fournie aux autorités compétentes.

Article 37

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 34 et 36 doivent, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garanties au moins aux personnes protégées qui étaient employées comme salariés sur le territoire du Membre au moment de l'accident ou au moment auquel la maladie a été contractée et, s'il s'agit de paiements périodiques résultant du décès du soutien de famille, à la veuve et aux enfants de celui-ci.

Article 38

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 34 et 36 doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité ; toutefois, en ce qui concerne l'incapacité de travail, la prestation pourra ne pas être servie pour les trois premiers jours dans chaque cas de suspension du gain.

PARTIE VII. PRESTATIONS AUX FAMILLES

Article 39

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations aux familles, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 40

L'éventualité couverte sera la charge d'enfants selon ce qui sera prescrit.

Article 41

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés ;
- b) soit des catégories prescrites de la population active, formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidants ;
- c) soit tous les résidants dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites ;
- d) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins.

Article 42

Les prestations doivent comprendre :

- a) soit un paiement périodique attribué à toute personne protégée ayant accompli le stage prescrit ;
- b) soit la fourniture aux enfants, ou pour les enfants, de nourriture, de vêtements, de logement, de séjour de vacances ou d'assistance ménagère ;
- c) soit une combinaison des prestations visées sous a) et b).

Article 43

Les prestations mentionnées à l'article 42 doivent être garanties au moins à une personne protégée ayant accompli au cours d'une période prescrite un stage qui peut consister soit en trois mois de cotisation ou d'emploi, soit en une année de résidence selon ce qui sera prescrit.

Article 44

The total value of the benefits granted in accordance with Article 42 to the persons protected shall be such as to represent—

- (a) 3 per cent. of the wage of an ordinary adult male labourer, as determined in accordance with the rules laid down in Article 66, multiplied by the total number of children of persons protected ; or
- (b) 1.5 per cent. of the said wage, multiplied by the total number of children of all residents.

Article 45

Where the benefit consists of a periodical payment, it shall be granted throughout the contingency.

PART VIII. MATERNITY BENEFIT

Article 46

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of maternity benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 47

The contingencies covered shall include pregnancy and confinement and their consequences, and suspension of earnings, as defined by national laws or regulations, resulting therefrom.

Article 48

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) all women in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees, and, for maternity medical benefit, also the wives of men in these classes ; or
- (b) all women in prescribed classes of the economically active population, which classes constitute not less than 20 per cent. of all residents, and, for maternity medical benefit, also the wives of men in these classes ; or
- (c) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, all women in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more, and, for maternity medical benefit, also the wives of men in these classes.

Article 49

1. In respect of pregnancy and confinement and their consequences, the maternity medical benefit shall be medical care as specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The medical care shall include at least—

- (a) pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care either by medical practitioners or by qualified midwives ; and
- (b) hospitalisation where necessary.

3. The medical care specified in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be afforded with a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the woman protected and her ability to work and to attend to her personal needs.

4. The institutions or Government departments administering the maternity medical benefit shall, by such means as may be deemed appropriate, encourage the women protected to avail themselves of the general health services placed at their disposal by the public authorities or by other bodies recognised by the public authorities.

Article 44

La valeur totale des prestations attribuées conformément à l'article 42 aux personnes protégées devra être telle qu'elle représente :

- a) soit 3 pour cent du salaire d'un manoeuvre ordinaire adulte masculin déterminé conformément aux règles posées à l'article 66, multiplié par le nombre total des enfants de toutes les personnes protégées ;
- b) soit 1,5 pour cent du salaire susdit multiplié par le nombre total des enfants de tous les résidants.

Article 45

Lorsque les prestations consistent en un paiement périodique, elles doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité.

PARTIE VIII. PRESTATIONS DE MATERNITÉ

Article 46

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations de maternité, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 47

L'éventualité couverte sera la grossesse, l'accouchement et leurs suites, et la suspension du gain qui en résulte, telle qu'elle est définie par la législation nationale.

Article 48

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit toutes les femmes appartenant à des catégories prescrites de salariés, ces catégories formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés et, en ce qui concerne les prestations médicales en cas de maternité, également les épouses des hommes appartenant à ces mêmes catégories ;
- b) soit toutes les femmes appartenant à des catégories prescrites de la population active, ces catégories formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidants et, en ce qui concerne les prestations médicales en cas de maternité, également les épouses des hommes appartenant à ces mêmes catégories ;
- c) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, toutes les femmes appartenant à des catégories prescrites de salariés, ces catégories formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins, et, en ce qui concerne les prestations médicales en cas de maternité, également les épouses des hommes appartenant à ces mêmes catégories.

Article 49

1. En ce qui concerne la grossesse, l'accouchement et leurs suites, les prestations médicales de maternité doivent comprendre les soins médicaux mentionnés aux paragraphes 2 et 3 du présent article.

2. Les soins médicaux doivent comprendre au moins :

- a) les soins prénatals, les soins pendant l'accouchement et les soins post-natals, donnés soit par un médecin, soit par une sage-femme diplômée ;
- b) l'hospitalisation lorsqu'elle est nécessaire.

3. Les soins médicaux mentionnés au paragraphe 2 du présent article doivent tendre à préserver, à rétablir ou à améliorer la santé de la femme protégée, ainsi que son aptitude à travailler et à faire face à ses besoins personnels.

4. Les départements gouvernementaux ou institutions attribuant les prestations médicales en cas de maternité doivent encourager les femmes protégées, par tous les moyens qui peuvent être considérés comme appropriés, à recourir aux services généraux de santé mis à leur disposition par les autorités publiques ou par d'autres organismes reconnus par les autorités publiques.

Article 50

In respect of suspension of earnings resulting from pregnancy and from confinement and their consequences, the benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66. The amount of the periodical payment may vary in the course of the contingency, subject to the average rate thereof complying with these requirements.

Article 51

The benefit specified in Articles 49 and 50 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least to a woman in the classes protected who has completed such qualifying period as may be considered necessary to preclude abuse, and the benefit specified in Article 49 shall also be secured to the wife of a man in the classes protected where the latter has completed such qualifying period.

Article 52

The benefit specified in Articles 49 and 50 shall be granted throughout the contingency, except that the periodical payment may be limited to 12 weeks, unless a longer period of abstention from work is required or authorised by national laws or regulations, in which event it may not be limited to a period less than such longer period.

PART IX. INVALIDITY BENEFIT

Article 53

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of invalidity benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 54

The contingency covered shall include inability to engage in any gainful activity, to an extent prescribed, which inability is likely to be permanent or persists after the exhaustion of sickness benefit.

Article 55

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) prescribed classes of the economically active population, constituting not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or
- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, prescribed classes of employees, constituting not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 56

The benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated as follows :

- (a) where classes of employees or classes of the economically active population are protected, in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 57

1. The benefit specified in Article 56 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period which may be 15 years of contribution or employment, or 10 years of residence ; or

Article 50

En ce qui concerne la suspension du gain résultant de la grossesse, de l'accouchement et de leurs suites, la prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66. Le montant du paiement périodique peut varier au cours de l'éventualité, à condition que le montant moyen soit conforme aux dispositions susdites.

Article 51

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 49 et 50 doivent, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garanties au moins à une femme appartenant aux catégories protégées qui a accompli un stage pouvant être considéré comme nécessaire pour éviter les abus ; les prestations mentionnées à l'article 49 doivent également être garanties aux épouses des hommes des catégories protégées, lorsque ceux-ci ont accompli le stage prévu.

Article 52

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 49 et 50 doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité couverte ; toutefois, les paiements périodiques peuvent être limités à douze semaines, à moins qu'une période plus longue d'abstention du travail ne soit imposée ou autorisée par la législation nationale, auquel cas les paiements ne pourront pas être limités à une période de moindre durée.

PARTIE IX. PRESTATIONS D'INVALIDITÉ

Article 53

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations d'invalidité, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 54

L'éventualité couverte sera l'inaptitude à exercer une activité professionnelle, d'un degré prescrit, lorsqu'il est probable que cette inaptitude sera permanente ou lorsqu'elle subsiste après la cessation de l'indemnité de maladie.

Article 55

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés ;
- b) soit des catégories prescrites de la population active, formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidents ;
- c) soit tous les résidents dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67 ;
- d) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, des catégories prescrites de salariés, formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins.

Article 56

La prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé comme suit :

- a) conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66, lorsque sont protégées des catégories de salariés ou des catégories de la population active ;
- b) conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67, lorsque sont protégés tous les résidents dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites.

Article 57

1. La prestation mentionnée à l'article 56 doit, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garantie au moins :

- a) à une personne protégée ayant accompli, avant l'éventualité, selon des règles prescrites, un stage qui peut consister soit en 15 années de cotisation ou d'emploi, soit en 10 années de résidence ;

(b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, the prescribed yearly average number of contributions has been paid.

2. Where the benefit referred to in paragraph 1 is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be secured at least—

(a) to a person protected who has completed, prior to the contingency, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period of five years of contribution or employment ; or

(b) where, in principle, all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected who has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whom, while he was of working age, half the yearly average number of contributions prescribed in accordance with subparagraph (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article has been paid.

3. The requirements of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be satisfied where a benefit calculated in conformity with the requirements of Part XI but at a percentage of ten points lower than shown in the Schedule appended to that Part for the standard beneficiary concerned is secured at least to a person protected who has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, five years of contribution, employment or residence.

4. A proportional reduction of the percentage indicated in the Schedule appended to Part XI may be effected where the qualifying period for the pension corresponding to the reduced percentage exceeds five years of contribution or employment but is less than 15 years of contribution or employment ; a reduced pension shall be payable in conformity with paragraph 2 of this Article.

Article 58

The benefit specified in Articles 56 and 57 shall be granted throughout the contingency or until an old-age benefit becomes payable.

PART X. SURVIVORS' BENEFIT

Article 59

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall secure to the persons protected the provision of survivors' benefit in accordance with the following Articles of this Part.

Article 60

1. The contingency covered shall include the loss of support suffered by the widow or child as the result of the death of the breadwinner ; in the case of a widow, the right to benefit may be made conditional on her being presumed, in accordance with national laws or regulations, to be incapable of self-support.

2. National laws or regulations may provide that the benefit of a person otherwise entitled to it may be suspended if such person is engaged in any prescribed gainful activity or that the benefit, if contributory, may be reduced where the earnings of the beneficiary exceed a prescribed amount, and, if non-contributory, may be reduced where the earnings of the beneficiary or his other means or the two taken together exceed a prescribed amount.

Article 61

The persons protected shall comprise—

- (a) the wives and the children of breadwinners in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees ; or
- (b) the wives and the children of breadwinners in prescribed classes of the economically active population, which classes constitute not less than 20 per cent. of all residents ; or
- (c) all resident widows and resident children who have lost their breadwinner and whose means during the contingency do not exceed limits prescribed in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67 ; or

b) lorsqu'en principe toutes les personnes actives sont protégées, à une personne protégée qui a accompli un stage de trois années de cotisation et au nom de laquelle ont été versées, au cours de la période active de sa vie, des cotisations dont le nombre moyen annuel atteint un chiffre prescrit.

2. Lorsque l'attribution de la prestation mentionnée au paragraphe 1 est subordonnée à l'accomplissement d'une période minimum de cotisation ou d'emploi, une prestation réduite doit être garantie au moins :

a) à une personne protégée ayant accompli, avant l'éventualité, selon des règles prescrites, un stage de 5 années de cotisation ou d'emploi ;

b) lorsqu'en principe toutes les personnes actives sont protégées, à une personne protégée qui a accompli un stage de trois années de cotisation et au nom de laquelle a été versée, au cours de la période active de sa vie, la moitié du nombre moyen annuel de cotisations prescrit auquel se réfère l'alinéa b) du paragraphe 1 du présent article.

3. Les dispositions du paragraphe 1 du présent article seront considérées comme satisfaites lorsqu'une prestation calculée conformément à la Partie XI, mais selon un pourcentage inférieur de 10 unités à celui qui est indiqué dans le tableau annexé à cette Partie pour le bénéficiaire-type, est au moins garantie à toute personne protégée qui a accompli, selon des règles prescrites, 5 années de cotisation, d'emploi ou de résidence.

4. Une réduction proportionnelle du pourcentage indiqué dans le tableau annexé à la Partie XI peut être opérée lorsque le stage pour la prestation qui correspond au pourcentage réduit est supérieur à 5 ans de cotisation ou d'emploi, mais inférieur à 15 ans de cotisation ou d'emploi. Une prestation réduite sera attribuée conformément au paragraphe 2 du présent article.

Article 58

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 56 et 57 doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité ou jusqu'à leur remplacement par une prestation de vieillesse.

PARTIE X. PRESTATIONS DE SURVIVANTS

Article 59

Tout Membre pour lequel la présente Partie de la convention est en vigueur doit garantir aux personnes protégées l'attribution de prestations de survivants, conformément aux articles ci-après de ladite Partie.

Article 60

1. L'éventualité couverte doit comprendre la perte de moyens d'existence subie par la veuve ou les enfants du fait du décès du soutien de famille ; dans le cas de la veuve, le droit à la prestation peut être subordonné à la présomption, conformément à la législation nationale, qu'elle est incapable de subvenir à ses propres besoins.

2. La législation nationale pourra suspendre la prestation si la personne qui y aurait eu droit exerce certaines activités rémunérées prescrites, ou pourra réduire les prestations contributives lorsque le gain du bénéficiaire excède un montant prescrit, et les prestations non contributives lorsque le gain du bénéficiaire, ou ses autres ressources, ou les deux ensemble, excèdent un montant prescrit.

Article 61

Les personnes protégées doivent comprendre :

- a) soit les épouses et les enfants de soutiens de famille appartenant à des catégories prescrites de salariés, ces catégories formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés ;
- b) soit les épouses et les enfants de soutiens de famille appartenant à des catégories prescrites de la population active, ces catégories formant au total 20 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des résidents ;
- c) soit, lorsqu'ils ont la qualité de résident, toutes les veuves et tous les enfants qui ont perdu leur soutien de famille et dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité couverte n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67 ;

- (d) where a declaration made in virtue of Article 3 is in force, the wives and the children of breadwinners in prescribed classes of employees, which classes constitute not less than 50 per cent. of all employees in industrial workplaces employing 20 persons or more.

Article 62

The benefit shall be a periodical payment calculated as follows :

- (a) where classes of employees or classes of the economically active population are protected, in such a manner as to comply either with the requirements of Article 65 or with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (b) where all residents whose means during the contingency do not exceed prescribed limits are protected, in such a manner as to comply with the requirements of Article 67.

Article 63

1. The benefit specified in Article 62 shall, in a contingency covered, be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period which may be 15 years of contribution or employment, or 10 years of residence ; or
- (b) where, in principle, the wives and children of all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whose breadwinner, while he was of working age, the prescribed yearly average number of contributions has been paid.

2. Where the benefit referred to in paragraph 1 is conditional upon a minimum period of contribution or employment, a reduced benefit shall be secured at least—

- (a) to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, a qualifying period of five years of contribution or employment ; or
- (b) where, in principle, the wives and children of all economically active persons are protected, to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed a qualifying period of three years of contribution and in respect of whose breadwinner, while he was of working age, half the yearly average number of contributions prescribed in accordance with subparagraph (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article has been paid.

3. The requirements of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be satisfied where a benefit calculated in conformity with the requirements of Part XI but at a percentage of ten points lower than shown in the Schedule appended to that Part for the standard beneficiary concerned is secured at least to a person protected whose breadwinner has completed, in accordance with prescribed rules, five years of contribution, employment or residence.

4. A proportional reduction of the percentage indicated in the Schedule appended to Part XI may be effected where the qualifying period for the benefit corresponding to the reduced percentage exceeds five years of contribution or employment but is less than 15 years of contribution or employment ; a reduced benefit shall be payable in conformity with paragraph 2 of this Article.

5. In order that a childless widow presumed to be incapable of self-support may be entitled to a survivor's benefit, a minimum duration of the marriage may be required.

Article 64

The benefit specified in Articles 62 and 63 shall be granted throughout the contingency.

PART XI. STANDARDS TO BE COMPLIED WITH BY PERIODICAL PAYMENTS

Article 65

1. In the case of a periodical payment to which this Article applies, the rate of the benefit, increased by the amount of any family allowances payable during the contingency, shall be such as to attain, in respect of the

- d) soit, lorsqu'une déclaration a été faite en application de l'article 3, les épouses et les enfants de soutiens de famille appartenant à des catégories prescrites de salariés formant au total 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des salariés travaillant dans des entreprises industrielles qui emploient 20 personnes au moins.

Article 62

La prestation sera un paiement périodique calculé comme suit :

- a) conformément aux dispositions soit de l'article 65, soit de l'article 66, lorsque sont protégées des catégories de salariés ou des catégories de la population active ;
- b) conformément aux dispositions de l'article 67, lorsque sont protégés tous les résidents dont les ressources pendant l'éventualité n'excèdent pas des limites prescrites.

Article 63

1. La prestation mentionnée à l'article 62 doit, dans l'éventualité couverte, être garantie au moins :

- a) à une personne protégée dont le soutien de famille a accompli, selon des règles prescrites, un stage qui peut consister soit en 15 années de cotisation ou d'emploi, soit en 10 années de résidence ;
- b) lorsqu'en principe les femmes et les enfants de toutes les personnes actives sont protégés, à une personne protégée dont le soutien de famille a accompli un stage de trois années de cotisation, à la condition qu'aient été versées, au nom de ce soutien de famille, au cours de la période active de sa vie, des cotisations dont le nombre moyen annuel atteint un chiffre prescrit.

2. Lorsque l'attribution de la prestation mentionnée au paragraphe 1 est subordonnée à l'accomplissement d'une période minimum de cotisation ou d'emploi, une prestation réduite doit être garantie au moins :

- a) à une personne protégée dont le soutien de famille a accompli, selon des règles prescrites, un stage de 5 années de cotisation ou d'emploi ;
- b) lorsqu'en principe les femmes et les enfants de toutes les personnes actives sont protégés, à une personne protégée dont le soutien de famille a accompli un stage de trois années de cotisation, à la condition qu'ait été versée, au nom de ce soutien de famille, au cours de la période active de sa vie, la moitié du nombre moyen annuel de cotisations prescrit auquel se réfère l'alinéa b) du paragraphe 1 du présent article.

3. Les dispositions du paragraphe 1 du présent article seront considérées comme satisfaites lorsqu'une prestation calculée conformément à la Partie XI, mais selon un pourcentage inférieur de 10 unités à celui qui est indiqué dans le tableau annexé à cette Partie pour le bénéficiaire-type, est au moins garantie à toute personne protégée dont le soutien de famille a accompli, selon des règles prescrites, 5 années de cotisation, d'emploi ou de résidence.

4. Une réduction proportionnelle du pourcentage indiqué dans le tableau annexé à la Partie XI peut être opérée lorsque le stage pour la prestation qui correspond au pourcentage réduit est supérieur à 5 ans de cotisation ou d'emploi, mais inférieur à 15 ans de cotisation ou d'emploi. Une prestation réduite sera attribuée conformément au paragraphe 2 du présent article.

5. Pour qu'une veuve sans enfant présumée incapable de subvenir à ses propres besoins, ait droit à une prestation de survivant, une durée minimum du mariage peut être prescrite.

Article 64

Les prestations mentionnées aux articles 62 et 63 doivent être accordées pendant toute la durée de l'éventualité.

PARTIE XI. CALCUL DES PAIEMENTS PÉRIODIQUES

Article 65

1. Pour tout paiement périodique auquel le présent article s'applique, le montant de la prestation, majoré du montant des allocations familiales servies pendant l'éventualité, devra être tel que, pour le bénéficiaire-type

contingency in question, for the standard beneficiary indicated in the Schedule appended to this Part, at least the percentage indicated therein of the total of the previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner and of the amount of any family allowances payable to a person protected with the same family responsibilities as the standard beneficiary.

2. The previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner shall be calculated according to prescribed rules, and, where the persons protected or their breadwinners are arranged in classes according to their earnings, their previous earnings may be calculated from the basic earnings of the classes to which they belonged.

3. A maximum limit may be prescribed for the rate of the benefit or for the earnings taken into account for the calculation of the benefit, provided that the maximum limit is fixed in such a way that the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article are complied with where the previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner are equal to or lower than the wage of a skilled manual male employee.

4. The previous earnings of the beneficiary or his breadwinner, the wage of the skilled manual male employee, the benefit and any family allowances shall be calculated on the same time basis.

5. For the other beneficiaries, the benefit shall bear a reasonable relation to the benefit for the standard beneficiary.

6. For the purpose of this Article, a skilled manual male employee shall be—

- (a) a fitter or turner in the manufacture of machinery other than electrical machinery ; or
- (b) a person deemed typical of skilled labour selected in accordance with the provisions of the following paragraph ; or
- (c) a person whose earnings are such as to be equal to or greater than the earnings of 75 per cent. of all the persons protected, such earnings to be determined on the basis of annual or shorter periods as may be prescribed ; or
- (d) a person whose earnings are equal to 125 per cent. of the average earnings of all the persons protected.

7. The person deemed typical of skilled labour for the purposes of subparagraph (b) of the preceding paragraph shall be a person employed in the major group of economic activities with the largest number of economically active male persons protected in the contingency in question, or of the breadwinners of the persons protected, as the case may be, in the division comprising the largest number of such persons or breadwinners ; for this purpose, the international standard industrial classification of all economic activities, adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its Seventh Session on 27 August 1948, and reproduced in the Annex to this Convention, or such classification as at any time amended, shall be used.

8. Where the rate of benefit varies by region, the skilled manual male employee may be determined for each region in accordance with paragraphs 6 and 7 of this Article.

9. The wage of the skilled manual male employee shall be determined on the basis of the rates of wages for normal hours of work fixed by collective agreements, by or in pursuance of national laws or regulations, where applicable, or by custom, including cost-of-living allowances if any ; where such rates differ by region but paragraph 8 of this Article is not applied, the median rate shall be taken.

10. The rates of current periodical payments in respect of old age, employment injury (except in case of incapacity for work), invalidity and death of breadwinner, shall be reviewed following substantial changes in the general level of earnings where these result from substantial changes in the cost of living.

Article 66

1. In the case of a periodical payment to which this Article applies, the rate of the benefit, increased by the amount of any family allowances payable during the contingency, shall be such as to attain, in respect of

visé au tableau annexé à la présente Partie, il soit au moins égal, pour l'éventualité en question, au pourcentage indiqué dans ce tableau par rapport au total du gain antérieur du bénéficiaire ou de son soutien de famille, et du montant des allocations familiales servies à une personne protégée ayant les mêmes charges de famille que le bénéficiaire-type.

2. Le gain antérieur du bénéficiaire ou de son soutien de famille sera calculé conformément à des règles prescrites et, lorsque les personnes protégées ou leurs soutiens de famille sont répartis en classes suivant leurs gains, le gain antérieur pourra être calculé d'après les gains de base des classes auxquelles ils ont appartenu.

3. Un maximum pourra être prescrit pour le montant de la prestation ou pour le gain qui est pris en compte dans le calcul de la prestation, sous réserve que ce maximum soit fixé de telle sorte que les dispositions du paragraphe 1 du présent article soient remplies lorsque le gain antérieur du bénéficiaire ou de son soutien de famille est inférieur ou égal au salaire d'un ouvrier masculin qualifié.

4. Le gain antérieur du bénéficiaire ou de son soutien de famille, le salaire de l'ouvrier masculin qualifié, la prestation et les allocations familiales seront calculés sur les mêmes temps de base.

5. Pour les autres bénéficiaires, la prestation sera fixée de telle sorte qu'elle soit dans une relation raisonnable avec celle du bénéficiaire-type.

6. Pour l'application du présent article un ouvrier masculin qualifié sera :

- a) soit un ajusteur ou un tourneur dans l'industrie mécanique autre que l'industrie des machines électriques ;
- b) soit un ouvrier qualifié type défini conformément aux dispositions du paragraphe suivant ;
- c) soit une personne dont le gain est égal ou supérieur aux gains de 75 pour cent de toutes les personnes protégées, ces gains étant déterminés sur une base annuelle ou sur la base d'une période plus courte, selon ce qui sera prescrit ;
- d) soit une personne dont le gain est égal à 125 pour cent du gain moyen de toutes les personnes protégées.

7. L'ouvrier qualifié type pour l'application de l'alinéa b) du paragraphe précédent sera choisi dans la classe occupant le plus grand nombre de personnes du sexe masculin protégées pour l'éventualité considérée, ou de soutiens de famille de personnes protégées, dans la branche qui occupe elle-même le plus grand nombre de ces personnes protégées ou de ces soutiens de famille ; à cet effet, on utilisera la classification internationale type, par industrie, de toutes les branches d'activité économique, adoptée par le Conseil économique et social de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à sa septième session, le 27 août 1948, et qui est reproduite en annexe à la présente convention, compte tenu de toute modification qui pourrait lui être apportée.

8. Lorsque les prestations varient d'une région à une autre, un ouvrier masculin qualifié pourra être choisi dans chacune des régions, conformément aux dispositions des paragraphes 6 et 7 du présent article.

9. Le salaire de l'ouvrier masculin qualifié sera déterminé sur la base du salaire pour un nombre normal d'heures de travail fixé soit par des conventions collectives, soit, le cas échéant, par la législation nationale ou en vertu de celle-ci, soit par la coutume, y compris les allocations de vie chère s'il en est ; lorsque les salaires ainsi déterminés diffèrent d'une région à l'autre et que le paragraphe 8 du présent article n'est pas appliqué, on prendra le salaire médian.

10. Les montants des paiements périodiques en cours attribués pour la vieillesse, pour les accidents du travail et les maladies professionnelles (à l'exception de ceux qui couvrent l'incapacité de travail), pour l'invalidité et pour le décès du soutien de famille seront revisés à la suite de variations sensibles du niveau général des gains qui résultent de variations sensibles du coût de la vie.

Article 66

1. Pour tout paiement périodique auquel le présent article s'applique, le montant de la prestation, majoré du montant des allocations familiales servies pendant l'éventualité, devra être tel que, pour le bénéficiaire-type

the contingency in question, for the standard beneficiary indicated in the Schedule appended to this Part, at least the percentage indicated therein of the total of the wage of an ordinary adult male labourer and of the amount of any family allowances payable to a person protected with the same family responsibilities as the standard beneficiary.

2. The wage of the ordinary adult male labourer, the benefit and any family allowances shall be calculated on the same time basis.

3. For the other beneficiaries, the benefit shall bear a reasonable relation to the benefit for the standard beneficiary.

4. For the purpose of this Article, the ordinary adult male labourer shall be—

- (a) a person deemed typical of unskilled labour in the manufacture of machinery other than electrical machinery ; or
- (b) a person deemed typical of unskilled labour selected in accordance with the provisions of the following paragraph.

5. The person deemed typical of unskilled labour for the purpose of subparagraph (b) of the preceding paragraph shall be a person employed in the major group of economic activities with the largest number of economically active male persons protected in the contingency in question, or of the breadwinners of the persons protected, as the case may be, in the division comprising the largest number of such persons or breadwinners ; for this purpose the international standard industrial classification of all economic activities, adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its Seventh Session on 27 August 1948, and reproduced in the Annex to this Convention, or such classification as at any time amended, shall be used.

6. Where the rate of benefit varies by region, the ordinary adult male labourer may be determined for each region in accordance with paragraphs 4 and 5 of this Article.

7. The wage of the ordinary adult male labourer shall be determined on the basis of the rates of wages for normal hours of work fixed by collective agreements, by or in pursuance of national laws or regulations, where applicable, or by custom, including cost-of-living allowances if any ; where such rates differ by region but paragraph 6 of this Article is not applied, the median rate shall be taken.

8. The rates of current periodical payments in respect of old age, employment injury (except in case of incapacity for work), invalidity and death of breadwinner, shall be reviewed following substantial changes in the general level of earnings where these result from substantial changes in the cost of living.

Article 67

In the case of a periodical payment to which this Article applies—

- (a) the rate of the benefit shall be determined according to a prescribed scale or a scale fixed by the competent public authority in conformity with prescribed rules ;
- (b) such rate may be reduced only to the extent by which the other means of the family of the beneficiary exceed prescribed substantial amounts or substantial amounts fixed by the competent public authority in conformity with prescribed rules ;
- (c) the total of the benefit and any other means, after deduction of the substantial amounts referred to in subparagraph (b), shall be sufficient to maintain the family of the beneficiary in health and decency, and shall be not less than the corresponding benefit calculated in accordance with the requirements of Article 66 ;
- (d) the provisions of subparagraph (c) shall be deemed to be satisfied if the total amount of benefits paid under the Part concerned exceeds by at least 30 per cent. the total amount of benefits which would be obtained by applying the provisions of Article 66 and the provisions of :
 - (i) Article 15 (b) for Part III ;
 - (ii) Article 27 (b) for Part V ;
 - (iii) Article 55 (b) for Part IX ;
 - (iv) Article 61 (b) for Part X.

visé au tableau annexé à la présente Partie, il soit au moins égal, pour l'éventualité en question, au pourcentage indiqué dans ce tableau par rapport au total du salaire du manoeuvre ordinaire adulte masculin, et du montant des allocations familiales servies à une personne protégée ayant les mêmes charges de famille que le bénéficiaire-type.

2. Le salaire du manoeuvre ordinaire adulte masculin, la prestation et les allocations familiales seront calculés sur les mêmes temps de base.

3. Pour les autres bénéficiaires, la prestation sera fixée de telle sorte qu'elle soit dans une relation raisonnable avec celle du bénéficiaire-type.

4. Pour l'application du présent article, le manoeuvre ordinaire masculin sera :

- a) soit un manoeuvre-type dans l'industrie mécanique autre que l'industrie des machines électriques ;
- b) soit un manoeuvre-type défini conformément aux dispositions du paragraphe suivant.

5. Le manoeuvre-type pour l'application de l'alinéa b) du paragraphe précédent sera choisi dans la classe occupant le plus grand nombre de personnes du sexe masculin protégées pour l'éventualité considérée, ou de soutiens de famille de personnes protégées, dans la branche qui occupe elle-même le plus grand nombre de ces personnes protégées ou de ces soutiens de famille ; à cet effet, on utilisera la classification internationale type, par industrie, de toutes les branches d'activité économique, adoptée par le Conseil économique et social de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à sa septième session, le 27 août 1948, et qui est reproduite en annexe à la présente convention, compte tenu de toute modification qui pourrait lui être apportée.

6. Lorsque les prestations varient d'une région à une autre, un manoeuvre ordinaire adulte masculin pourra être choisi dans chacune des régions, conformément aux dispositions des paragraphes 4 et 5 du présent article.

7. Le salaire du manoeuvre ordinaire adulte masculin sera déterminé sur la base du salaire pour un nombre normal d'heures de travail fixé soit par des conventions collectives, soit, le cas échéant, par la législation nationale ou en vertu de celle-ci, soit par la coutume, y compris les allocations de vie chère s'il en est ; lorsque les salaires ainsi déterminés diffèrent d'une région à l'autre et que le paragraphe 6 du présent article n'est pas appliqué, on prendra le salaire médian.

8. Les montants des paiements périodiques en cours attribués pour la vieillesse, pour les accidents du travail et les maladies professionnelles (à l'exception de ceux qui couvrent l'incapacité de travail), pour l'invalidité et pour le décès du soutien de famille seront révisés à la suite de variations sensibles du niveau général des gains qui résultent de variations sensibles du coût de la vie.

Article 67

Pour tout paiement périodique auquel le présent article s'applique :

- a) le montant de la prestation doit être fixé selon un barème prescrit, ou selon un barème arrêté par les autorités publiques compétentes conformément à des règles prescrites ;
- b) le montant de la prestation ne peut être réduit que dans la mesure où les autres ressources de la famille du bénéficiaire dépassent des montants substantiels prescrits ou arrêtés par les autorités publiques compétentes conformément à des règles prescrites ;
- c) le total de la prestation et des autres ressources, après déduction des montants substantiels visés à l'alinéa b) ci-dessus, doit être suffisant pour assurer à la famille du bénéficiaire des conditions de vie saines et convenables et ne doit pas être inférieur au montant de la prestation calculée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 66 ;
- d) Les dispositions de l'alinéa c) seront considérées comme satisfaites si le montant total des prestations payées en vertu de la Partie en question dépasse d'au moins 30 pour cent le montant total des prestations que l'on obtiendrait en appliquant les dispositions de l'article 66 et les dispositions de :
 - i) l'alinéa b) de l'article 15 pour la Partie III ;
 - ii) l'alinéa b) de l'article 27 pour la Partie V ;
 - iii) l'alinéa b) de l'article 55 pour la Partie IX ;
 - iv) l'alinéa b) de l'article 61 pour la Partie X.

SCHEDULE TO PART XI. PERIODICAL PAYMENTS TO
STANDARD BENEFICIARIES

Part	Contingency	Standard beneficiary	Percent- age
III	Sickness	Man with wife and two children . .	45
IV	Unemployment	Man with wife and two children . .	45
V	Old age	Man with wife of pensionable age . .	40
VI	Employment injury :		
	Incapacity for work . .	Man with wife and two children . .	50
	Invalidity	Man with wife and two children . .	50
	Survivors	Widow with two children	40
VIII	Maternity	Woman	45
IX	Invalidity	Man with wife and two children . .	40
X	Survivors	Widow with two children	40

PART XII. EQUALITY OF TREATMENT OF NON-NATIONAL RESIDENTS

Article 68

1. Non-national residents shall have the same rights as national residents : Provided that special rules concerning non-nationals and nationals born outside the territory of the Member may be prescribed in respect of benefits or portions of benefits which are payable wholly or mainly out of public funds and in respect of transitional schemes.

2. Under contributory social security schemes which protect employees, the persons protected who are nationals of another Member which has accepted the obligations of the relevant Part of the Convention shall have, under that Part, the same rights as nationals of the Member concerned : Provided that the application of this paragraph may be made subject to the existence of a bilateral or multilateral agreement providing for reciprocity.

PART XIII. COMMON PROVISIONS

Article 69

A benefit to which a person protected would otherwise be entitled in compliance with any of Parts II to X of this Convention may be suspended to such extent as may be prescribed—

- (a) as long as the person concerned is absent from the territory of the Member ;
- (b) as long as the person concerned is maintained at public expense, or at the expense of a social security institution or service, subject to any portion of the benefit in excess of the value of such maintenance being granted to the dependants of the beneficiary ;
- (c) as long as the person concerned is in receipt of another social security cash benefit, other than a family benefit, and during any period in respect of which he is indemnified for the contingency by a third party, subject to the part of the benefit which is suspended not exceeding the other benefit or the indemnity by a third party ;
- (d) where the person concerned has made a fraudulent claim ;
- (e) where the contingency has been caused by a criminal offence committed by the person concerned ;
- (f) where the contingency has been caused by the wilful misconduct of the person concerned ;
- (g) in appropriate cases, where the person concerned neglects to make use of the medical or rehabilitation services placed at his disposal or fails to comply with rules prescribed for verifying the occurrence or continuance of the contingency or for the conduct of beneficiaries ;
- (h) in the case of unemployment benefit, where the person concerned has failed to make use of the employment services placed at his disposal ;

TABLEAU (ANNEXE A LA PARTIE XI)
PAIEMENTS PÉRIODIQUES AUX BÉNÉFICIAIRES-TYPES

Partie	Eventualité	Bénéficiaire-type	Pourcentage
III	Maladie	Homme ayant une épouse et 2 enfants	45
IV	Chômage.	Homme ayant une épouse et 2 enfants	45
V	Vieillesse.	Homme ayant une épouse d'âge à pension	40
VI	Accidents du travail et maladies professionnelles :		
	Incapacité de travail . .	Homme ayant une épouse et 2 enfants	50
	Invalidité	Homme ayant une épouse et 2 enfants	50
	Survivants	Veuve ayant 2 enfants	40
VIII	Maternité	Femme	45
IX	Invalidité	Homme ayant une épouse et 2 enfants	40
X	Survivants	Veuve ayant 2 enfants	40

PARTIE XII. EGALITÉ DE TRAITEMENT DES RÉSIDANTS
NON NATIONAUX

Article 68

1. Les résidants qui ne sont pas des nationaux doivent avoir les mêmes droits que les résidants qui sont des nationaux. Toutefois, en ce qui concerne les prestations ou les fractions de prestations financées exclusivement ou d'une façon prépondérante par les fonds publics, et en ce qui concerne les régimes transitoires, des dispositions particulières à l'égard des non-nationaux et à l'égard des nationaux nés hors du territoire du Membre peuvent être prescrites.

2. Dans les systèmes de sécurité sociale contributive dont la protection s'applique aux salariés, les personnes protégées qui sont des nationaux d'un autre Membre qui a accepté les obligations découlant de la Partie correspondante de la convention doivent avoir, à l'égard de ladite Partie, les mêmes droits que les nationaux du Membre intéressé. Toutefois, l'application du présent paragraphe peut être subordonnée à l'existence d'un accord bilatéral ou multilatéral prévoyant une réciprocité.

PARTIE XIII. DISPOSITIONS COMMUNES

Article 69

Une prestation à laquelle une personne protégée aurait eu droit en application de l'une quelconque des Parties II à X de la présente convention, peut être suspendue, dans une mesure qui peut être prescrite :

- a) aussi longtemps que l'intéressé ne se trouve pas sur le territoire du Membre ;
- b) aussi longtemps que l'intéressé est entretenu sur des fonds publics ou aux frais d'une institution ou d'un service de sécurité sociale ; toutefois, si la prestation dépasse le coût de cet entretien, la différence doit être attribuée aux personnes qui sont à la charge du bénéficiaire ;
- c) aussi longtemps que l'intéressé reçoit en espèces une autre prestation de sécurité sociale à l'exception d'une prestation familiale, et pendant toute période durant laquelle il est indemnisé pour la même éventualité par une tierce partie, sous réserve que la partie de la prestation qui est suspendue ne dépasse pas l'autre prestation ou l'indemnité provenant d'une tierce partie ;
- d) lorsque l'intéressé a essayé frauduleusement d'obtenir une prestation ;
- e) lorsque l'éventualité a été provoquée par un crime ou un délit commis par l'intéressé ;
- f) lorsque l'éventualité a été provoquée par une faute intentionnelle de l'intéressé ;
- g) dans les cas appropriés, lorsque l'intéressé néglige d'utiliser les services médicaux ou les services de réadaptation qui sont à sa disposition ou n'observe pas les règles prescrites pour la vérification de l'existence de l'éventualité ou pour la conduite des bénéficiaires de prestations ;
- h) en ce qui concerne la prestation de chômage, lorsque l'intéressé néglige d'utiliser les services de placement à sa disposition ;

- (i) in the case of unemployment benefit, where the person concerned has lost his employment as a direct result of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute, or has left it voluntarily without just cause ; and
- (j) in the case of survivors' benefit, as long as the widow is living with a man as his wife.

Article 70

1. Every claimant shall have a right of appeal in case of refusal of the benefit or complaint as to its quality or quantity.
2. Where in the application of this Convention a Government department responsible to a legislature is entrusted with the administration of medical care, the right of appeal provided for in paragraph 1 of this Article may be replaced by a right to have a complaint concerning the refusal of medical care or the quality of the care received investigated by the appropriate authority.
3. Where a claim is settled by a special tribunal established to deal with social security questions and on which the persons protected are represented, no right of appeal shall be required.

Article 71

1. The cost of the benefits provided in compliance with this Convention and the cost of the administration of such benefits shall be borne collectively by way of insurance contributions or taxation or both in a manner which avoids hardship to persons of small means and takes into account the economic situation of the Member and of the classes of persons protected.
2. The total of the insurance contributions borne by the employees protected shall not exceed 50 per cent. of the total of the financial resources allocated to the protection of employees and their wives and children. For the purpose of ascertaining whether this condition is fulfilled, all the benefits provided by the Member in compliance with this Convention, except family benefit and, if provided by a special branch, employment injury benefit, may be taken together.
3. The Member shall accept general responsibility for the due provision of the benefits provided in compliance with this Convention, and shall take all measures required for this purpose ; it shall ensure, where appropriate, that the necessary actuarial studies and calculations concerning financial equilibrium are made periodically and, in any event, prior to any change in benefits, the rate of insurance contributions, or the taxes allocated to covering the contingencies in question.

Article 72

1. Where the administration is not entrusted to an institution regulated by the public authorities or to a Government department responsible to a legislature, representatives of the persons protected shall participate in the management, or be associated therewith in a consultative capacity, under prescribed conditions ; national laws or regulations may likewise decide as to the participation of representatives of employers and of the public authorities.
2. The Member shall accept general responsibility for the proper administration of the institutions and services concerned in the application of the Convention.

PART XIV. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Article 73

This Convention shall not apply to—

- (a) contingencies which occurred before the coming into force of the relevant Part of the Convention for the Member concerned ;
- (b) benefits in contingencies occurring after the coming into force of the relevant Part of the Convention for the Member concerned in so far as the rights to such benefits are derived from periods preceding that date.

- i) en ce qui concerne la prestation de chômage, lorsque l'intéressé a perdu son emploi en raison directe d'un arrêt de travail dû à un conflit professionnel, ou qu'il a quitté volontairement son emploi sans motifs légitimes ;
- j) en ce qui concerne la prestation de survivants, aussi longtemps que la veuve vit en concubinage.

Article 70

1. Tout requérant doit avoir le droit de former appel en cas de refus de la prestation ou de contestation sur sa qualité ou sa quantité.

2. Lorsque dans l'application de la présente convention, l'administration des soins médicaux est confiée à un département gouvernemental responsable devant un parlement, le droit d'appel prévu au paragraphe 1 du présent article peut être remplacé par le droit de faire examiner par l'autorité compétente toute réclamation visant le refus des soins médicaux ou la qualité des soins médicaux reçus.

3. Lorsque les requêtes sont portées devant des tribunaux spécialement établis pour traiter les questions de sécurité sociale et au sein desquels les personnes protégées sont représentées, le droit d'appel peut n'être pas accordé.

Article 71

1. Le coût des prestations attribuées en application de la présente convention et les frais d'administration de ces prestations doivent être financés collectivement par voie de cotisations ou d'impôts, ou par les deux voies conjointement, selon des modalités qui évitent que les personnes de faibles ressources n'aient à supporter une trop lourde charge et qui tiennent compte de la situation économique du Membre et de celle des catégories de personnes protégées.

2. Le total des cotisations d'assurance à la charge des salariés protégés ne doit pas dépasser 50 pour cent du total des ressources affectées à la protection des salariés, de leurs épouses et enfants. Pour déterminer si cette condition est remplie, toutes les prestations accordées par le Membre en application de la convention pourront être considérées dans leur ensemble, à l'exception des prestations aux familles et à l'exception des prestations en cas d'accidents du travail et de maladies professionnelles, si ces dernières relèvent d'une branche spéciale.

3. Le Membre doit assumer une responsabilité générale en ce qui concerne le service des prestations attribuées en application de la présente convention et prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires en vue d'atteindre ce but ; il doit, s'il y a lieu, s'assurer que les études et calculs actuariels nécessaires concernant l'équilibre financier sont établis périodiquement et en tout cas préalablement à toute modification des prestations, du taux des cotisations d'assurance ou des impôts affectés à la couverture des éventualités en question.

Article 72

1. Lorsque l'administration n'est pas assurée par une institution réglementée par les autorités publiques ou par un département gouvernemental responsable devant un parlement, des représentants des personnes protégées doivent participer à l'administration ou y être associés avec pouvoir consultatif dans des conditions prescrites ; la législation nationale peut aussi prévoir la participation de représentants des employeurs et des autorités publiques.

2. Le Membre doit assumer une responsabilité générale pour la bonne administration des institutions et services qui concourent à l'application de la présente convention.

PARTIE XIV. DISPOSITIONS DIVERSES

Article 73

La présente convention ne s'appliquera pas :

- a) aux éventualités survenues avant l'entrée en vigueur de la Partie correspondante de la convention pour le Membre intéressé ;
- b) aux prestations attribuées pour des éventualités survenues après l'entrée en vigueur de la Partie correspondante de la convention pour le Membre intéressé, dans la mesure où les droits à ces prestations proviennent de périodes antérieures à la date de ladite entrée en vigueur.

Article 74

This Convention shall not be regarded as revising any existing Convention.

Article 75

If any Convention which may be adopted subsequently by the Conference concerning any subject or subjects dealt with in this Convention so provides, such provisions of this Convention as may be specified in the said Convention shall cease to apply to any Member having ratified the said Convention as from the date at which the said Convention comes into force for that Member.

Article 76

1. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall include in the annual report upon the application of this Convention submitted under Article 22 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation—

- (a) full information concerning the laws and regulations by which effect is given to the provisions of the Convention ; and
- (b) evidence, conforming in its presentation as closely as is practicable with any suggestions for greater uniformity of presentation made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, of compliance with the statistical conditions specified in—
 - (i) Articles 9 (a), (b), (c) or (d); 15 (a), (b) or (d) ; 21 (a) or (c); 27 (a), (b) or (d); 33 (a) or (b); 41 (a), (b) or (d); 48 (a), (b) or (c); 55 (a), (b) or (d); 61 (a), (b) or (d), as regards the number of persons protected ;
 - (ii) Articles 44, 65, 66 or 67, as regards the rates of benefit ;
 - (iii) subparagraph (a) of paragraph 2 of Article 18, as regards duration of sickness benefit ;
 - (iv) paragraph 2 of Article 24, as regards duration of unemployment benefit ; and
 - (v) paragraph 2 of Article 71, as regards the proportion of the financial resources constituted by the insurance contributions of employees protected.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall report to the Director-General of the International Labour Office at appropriate intervals, as requested by the Governing Body, on the position of its law and practice in regard to any of Parts II to X of the Convention not specified in its ratification or in a notification made subsequently in virtue of Article 4.

Article 77

1. This Convention does not apply to seamen or seafishermen ; provision for the protection of seamen and seafishermen has been made by the International Labour Conference in the Social Security (Seafarers) Convention, 1946, and the Seafarers' Pensions Convention, 1946.

2. A Member may exclude seamen and seafishermen from the number of employees, of the economically active population or of residents, when calculating the percentage of employees or residents protected in compliance with any of Parts II to X covered by its ratification.

PART XV. FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 78

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 79

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General.

Article 74

La présente convention ne doit pas être considérée comme portant révision de l'une quelconque des conventions existantes.

Article 75

Lorsqu'il en sera ainsi disposé dans une convention adoptée ultérieurement par la Conférence et portant sur une ou plusieurs matières traitées par la présente convention, les dispositions de la présente convention qui seront spécifiées dans la convention nouvelle cesseront de s'appliquer à tout Membre ayant ratifié celle-ci, dès la date de son entrée en vigueur pour le Membre intéressé.

Article 76

1. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention s'engage à fournir dans le rapport annuel qu'il doit présenter sur l'application de la convention, conformément à l'article 22 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail :

- a) des renseignements complets sur la législation donnant effet aux dispositions de la convention ;
- b) les preuves qu'il a satisfait aux exigences statistiques formulées par :

- i) les articles 9 a), b), c) ou d) ; 15 a), b) ou d) ; 21 a) ou c) ; 27 a), b) ou d) ; 33 a) ou b) ; 41 a), b) ou d) ; 48 a), b) ou c) ; 55 a), b) ou d) ; 61 a), b) ou d) quant au nombre des personnes protégées ;
- ii) les articles 44, 65, 66 ou 67 quant aux montants des prestations ;
- iii) l'alinéa a) du paragraphe 2 de l'article 18 quant à la durée des indemnités de maladie ;
- iv) le paragraphe 2 de l'article 24 quant à la durée des prestations de chômage ;
- v) le paragraphe 2 de l'article 71 quant à la proportion des ressources qui proviennent des cotisations d'assurance des salariés protégés ;

ces preuves devront être fournies en se conformant autant que possible, quant à leur présentation, aux suggestions faites par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail en vue d'une plus grande uniformité à cet égard.

2. Tout Membre qui ratifie la présente convention adressera au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail, à des intervalles appropriés, selon ce que décidera le Conseil d'administration, des rapports sur l'état de sa législation et de sa pratique concernant les dispositions de chacune des Parties II à X de la convention qui n'ont pas déjà été spécifiées dans la ratification du Membre dont il s'agit ou dans une notification ultérieure faite en application de l'article 4.

Article 77

1. La présente convention ne s'applique ni aux marins ni aux marins pêcheurs ; des dispositions pour la protection des marins et des marins pêcheurs ont été adoptées par la Conférence internationale du Travail dans la convention sur la sécurité sociale des gens de mer, 1946, et dans la convention sur les pensions des gens de mer, 1946.

2. Un Membre peut exclure les marins et les marins pêcheurs du nombre, soit des salariés, soit des personnes de la population active, soit des résidents, pris en compte pour le calcul du pourcentage des salariés ou des résidents qui sont protégés en application de l'une quelconque des Parties II à X couvertes par la ratification.

PARTIE XV. DISPOSITIONS FINALES

Article 78

Les ratifications formelles de la présente convention seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistrées.

Article 79

1. La présente convention ne liera que les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail dont la ratification aura été enregistrée par le Directeur général.

2. It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 80

1. Declarations communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in accordance with paragraph 2 of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation shall indicate—

- (a) the territories in respect of which the Member concerned undertakes that the provisions of the Convention or of any Parts thereof shall be applied without modification ;
- (b) the territories in respect of which it undertakes that the provisions of the Convention or of any Parts thereof shall be applied subject to modifications, together with details of the said modifications ;
- (c) the territories in respect of which the Convention is inapplicable and in such cases the grounds on which it is inapplicable ;
- (d) the territories in respect of which it reserves its decision pending further consideration of the position.

2. The undertakings referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be an integral part of the ratification and shall have the force of ratification.

3. Any Member may at any time by a subsequent declaration cancel in whole or in part any reservation made in its original declaration in virtue of subparagraphs (b), (c) or (d) of paragraph 1 of this Article.

4. Any Member may, at any time at which the Convention is subject to denunciation in accordance with the provisions of Article 82, communicate to the Director-General a declaration modifying in any other respect the terms of any former declaration and stating the present position in respect of such territories as it may specify.

Article 81

1. Declarations communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 5 of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation shall indicate whether the provisions of the Convention or of the Parts thereof accepted by the Declaration will be applied in the territory concerned without modification or subject to modifications ; when the Declaration indicates that the provisions of the Convention or of certain Parts thereof will be applied subject to modifications, it shall give details of the said modifications.

2. The Member, Members or international authority concerned may at any time by a subsequent declaration renounce in whole or in part the right to have recourse to any modification indicated in any former declaration.

3. The Member, Members or international authority concerned may, at any time at which this Convention is subject to denunciation in accordance with the provisions of Article 82, communicate to the Director-General a declaration modifying in any other respect the terms of any former declaration and stating the present position in respect of the application of the Convention.

Article 82

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may, after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, denounce the Convention or any one or more of Parts II to X thereof by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce the Convention or any one of Parts II to X thereof at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

2. Elle entrera en vigueur douze mois après que les ratifications de deux Membres auront été enregistrées par le Directeur général.

3. Par la suite, cette convention entrera en vigueur pour chaque Membre douze mois après la date où sa ratification aura été enregistrée.

Article 80

1. Les déclarations qui seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail, conformément au paragraphe 2 de l'article 35 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, devront faire connaître :

- a) les territoires pour lesquels le Membre intéressé s'engage à ce que les dispositions de la convention ou de certaines de ses Parties soient appliquées sans modification ;
- b) les territoires pour lesquels il s'engage à ce que les dispositions de la convention ou de certaines de ses Parties soient appliquées avec des modifications, et en quoi consistent lesdites modifications ;
- c) les territoires auxquels la convention est inapplicable et, dans ces cas, les raisons pour lesquelles elle est inapplicable ;
- d) les territoires pour lesquels il réserve sa décision en attendant un examen plus approfondi de la situation à l'égard desdits territoires.

2. Les engagements mentionnés aux alinéas a) et b) du premier paragraphe du présent article seront réputés parties intégrantes de la ratification et porteront des effets identiques.

3. Tout Membre pourra renoncer, par une nouvelle déclaration, à tout ou partie des réserves contenues dans sa déclaration antérieure en vertu des alinéas b), c) et d) du premier paragraphe du présent article.

4. Tout Membre pourra, pendant les périodes au cours desquelles la présente convention peut être dénoncée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 82, communiquer au Directeur général une nouvelle déclaration modifiant à tout autre égard les termes de toute déclaration antérieure et faisant connaître la situation dans des territoires déterminés.

Article 81

1. Les déclarations communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail conformément aux paragraphes 4 et 5 de l'article 35 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail doivent indiquer si les dispositions de la convention ou des Parties auxquelles elles se réfèrent seront appliquées dans le territoire avec ou sans modifications ; lorsque la déclaration indique que les dispositions de la convention ou de certaines de ses Parties s'appliquent sous réserve de modifications, elle doit spécifier en quoi consistent lesdites modifications.

2. Le Membre ou les Membres ou l'autorité internationale intéressés pourront renoncer entièrement ou partiellement, par une déclaration ultérieure, au droit d'invoquer une modification indiquée dans une déclaration antérieure.

3. Le Membre ou les Membres ou l'autorité internationale intéressés pourront, pendant les périodes au cours desquelles la convention peut être dénoncée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 82, communiquer au Directeur général une nouvelle déclaration modifiant à tout autre égard les termes d'une déclaration antérieure et faisant connaître la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de cette convention.

Article 82

1. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention peut, à l'expiration d'une période de dix années après la date de la mise en vigueur initiale de la convention, dénoncer la convention, ou l'une de ses Parties II à X, ou plusieurs d'entre elles, par un acte communiqué au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistré. La dénonciation ne prendra effet qu'une année après avoir été enregistrée.

2. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention qui, dans le délai d'une année après l'expiration de la période de dix années mentionnée au paragraphe précédent, ne fera pas usage de la faculté de dénonciation prévue par le présent article sera lié pour une nouvelle période de dix années et, par la suite, pourra dénoncer la convention ou l'une de ses Parties II à X, ou plusieurs d'entre elles, à l'expiration de chaque période de dix années dans les conditions prévues au présent article.

Article 83

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organisation of the registration of all ratifications, declarations and denunciations communicated to him by the Members of the Organisation.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organisation of the registration of the second ratification communicated to him, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the date upon which the Convention will come into force.

Article 84

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations full particulars of all ratifications, declarations and acts of denunciation registered by him in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 85

At such times as it may consider necessary the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 86

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides—

- (a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall *ipso jure* involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 82 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force ;
- (b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 87

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.

ANNEX

International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities

LIST OF DIVISIONS AND MAJOR GROUPS

Division 0. Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing :

- 01. Agriculture and livestock production.
- 02. Forestry and logging.
- 03. Hunting, trapping and game propagation.
- 04. Fishing.

Division 1. Mining and Quarrying :

- 11. Coal mining.
- 12. Metal mining.
- 13. Crude petroleum and natural gas.
- 14. Stone quarrying, clay and sand pits.
- 19. Non-metallic mining and quarrying not elsewhere classified.

Divisions 2-3. Manufacturing :

- 20. Food manufacturing industries, except beverage industries.
- 21. Beverage industries.
- 22. Tobacco manufactures.
- 23. Manufacture of textiles.
- 24. Manufacture of footwear, other wearing apparel and made-up textile goods.

Article 83

1. Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail notifiera à tous les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail l'enregistrement de toutes les ratifications, déclarations et dénonciations qui lui seront communiquées par les Membres de l'Organisation.

2. En notifiant aux Membres de l'Organisation l'enregistrement de la deuxième ratification qui lui aura été communiquée, le Directeur général appellera l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation sur la date à laquelle la présente convention entrera en vigueur.

Article 84

Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail communiquera au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, aux fins d'enregistrement, conformément à l'article 102 de la Charte des Nations Unies, des renseignements complets au sujet de toutes ratifications, de toutes déclarations et de tous actes de dénonciation qu'il aura enregistrés conformément aux articles précédents.

Article 85

Chaque fois qu'il le jugera nécessaire, le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail présentera à la Conférence générale un rapport sur l'application de la présente convention et examinera s'il y a lieu d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence la question de sa revision totale ou partielle.

Article 86

1. Au cas où la Conférence adopterait une nouvelle convention portant revision totale ou partielle de la présente convention, et à moins que la nouvelle convention ne dispose autrement :

- a) la ratification par un Membre de la nouvelle convention portant revision entraînerait de plein droit, nonobstant l'article 82 ci-dessus, dénonciation immédiate de la présente convention, sous réserve que la nouvelle convention portant revision soit entrée en vigueur ;
- b) à partir de la date de l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle convention portant revision, la présente convention cesserait d'être ouverte à la ratification des Membres.

2. La présente convention demeurerait en tout cas en vigueur dans sa forme et teneur pour les Membres qui l'auraient ratifiée et qui ne ratifieraient pas la convention portant revision.

Article 87

Les versions française et anglaise du texte de la présente convention font également foi.

ANNEXE**Classification internationale type, par industrie, de toutes les branches d'activité économique****NOMENCLATURE DES BRANCHES ET DES CLASSES***Branche 0. Agriculture, sylviculture, chasse et pêche :*

- 01. Agriculture et élevage.
- 02. Sylviculture et exploitation forestière.
- 03. Chasse, piégeage et repeuplement en gibier.
- 04. Pêche.

Branche 1. Industries extractives :

- 11. Extraction du charbon.
- 12. Extraction des minerais.
- 13. Pétrole brut et gaz naturel.
- 14. Extraction de la pierre à bâtir, de l'argile et du sable.
- 19. Extraction de minerais non métallifères, non classés ailleurs.

Branches 2-3. Industries manufacturières :

- 20. Industries des denrées alimentaires (à l'exclusion des boissons).
- 21. Industrie des boissons.
- 22. Industries du tabac.
- 23. Industries textiles.
- 24. Fabrication de chaussures, articles d'habillement et autres articles faits avec des matières textiles.

25. Manufacture of wood and cork, except manufacture of furniture.
26. Manufacture of furniture and fixtures.
27. Manufacture of paper and paper products.
28. Printing, publishing and allied industries.
29. Manufacture of leather and leather products, except footwear.
30. Manufacture of rubber products.
31. Manufacture of chemicals and chemical products.
32. Manufacture of products of petroleum and coal.
33. Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products, except products of petroleum and coal.
34. Basic metal industries.
35. Manufacture of metal products, except machinery and transport equipment.
36. Manufacture of machinery, except electrical machinery.
37. Manufacture of electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies.
38. Manufacture of transport equipment.
39. Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.

Division 4. Construction :

40. Construction.

Division 5. Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services :

51. Electricity, gas and steam.
52. Water and sanitary services.

Division 6. Commerce :

61. Wholesale and retail trade.
62. Banks and other financial institutions.
63. Insurance.
64. Real estate.

Division 7. Transport, Storage and Communication :

71. Transport.
72. Storage and warehousing.
73. Communication.

Division 8. Services :

81. Government services.
82. Community and business services.
83. Recreation services.
84. Personal services.

Division 9. Activities not Adequately Described :

90. Activities not adequately described.

(4) Recommendation (No. 94) concerning Consultation and Co-operation between Employers and Workers at the Level of the Undertaking.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking, which is included in the sixth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation designed to be implemented by the parties concerned or by the public authorities as may be appropriate under national conditions,

adopts this twenty-sixth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Co-operation at the Level of the Undertaking Recommendation, 1952 :

1. Appropriate steps should be taken to promote consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern not within the scope of collective bargaining machinery, or not normally dealt with by other machinery concerned with the determination of terms and conditions of employment.

2. In accordance with national custom or practice, such consultation and co-operation should be—

(a) facilitated by the encouragement of voluntary agreements between the parties, or

25. Industries du bois et du liège (à l'exclusion de l'industrie du meuble).
26. Industries du meuble et de l'ameublement.
27. Industries du papier et fabrication d'articles en papier.
28. Impression, édition et industries connexes.
29. Industries du cuir et des articles en cuir (à l'exclusion de la chaussure).
30. Industries du caoutchouc.
31. Industries chimiques et de produits chimiques.
32. Industries des dérivés du pétrole et du charbon.
33. Industries des produits minéraux non métalliques (à l'exclusion des dérivés du pétrole et du charbon).
34. Industries métallurgiques de base.
35. Fabrication de produits métallurgiques (à l'exclusion des machines et du matériel de transport).
36. Construction de machines (à l'exclusion des machines électriques).
37. Construction de machines, appareils et fournitures électriques.
38. Construction de matériel de transport.
39. Industries manufacturières diverses.

Branche 4. Construction :

40. Construction.

Branche 5. Electricité, gaz, eau et services sanitaires :

51. Electricité, gaz et vapeur.
52. Services des eaux et services sanitaires.

Branche 6. Commerce, banque, assurances, affaires immobilières :

61. Commerce de gros et de détail.
62. Banques et autres établissements financiers.
63. Assurances.
64. Affaires immobilières.

Branche 7. Transports, entrepôts et communications :

71. Transports.
72. Entrepôts et magasins.
73. Communications.

Branche 8. Services :

81. Services gouvernementaux.
82. Services fournis au public et aux entreprises.
83. Services des loisirs.
84. Services personnels.

Branche 9. Activités mal désignées :

90. Activités mal désignées.

4) Recommandation (n° 94) concernant la consultation et la collaboration entre employeurs et travailleurs sur le plan de l'entreprise.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 4 juin 1952, en sa trente-cinquième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la consultation et à la collaboration entre employeurs et travailleurs sur le plan de l'entreprise, question qui est comprise dans le sixième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation dont la mise en œuvre serait assurée par les parties intéressées ou par les autorités publiques suivant la méthode qui correspond aux conditions nationales,

adopte, ce vingt-sixième jour de juin mil neuf cent cinquante-deux, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation concernant la collaboration sur le plan de l'entreprise, 1952 :

1. Des mesures appropriées devraient être prises en vue de promouvoir la consultation et la collaboration entre employeurs et travailleurs sur le plan de l'entreprise pour les questions d'intérêt commun n'entrant pas dans le cadre des procédures de négociation collective ou ne faisant pas normalement l'objet d'autres procédures de détermination des conditions d'emploi.

2. Conformément à la coutume ou à la pratique nationales, cette consultation et cette collaboration devraient :

a) soit être favorisées par l'encouragement d'accords volontaires entre les parties ;

- (b) promoted by laws or regulations which would establish bodies for consultation and co-operation and determine their scope, functions, structure and methods of operation as may be appropriate to the conditions in the various undertakings, or
- (c) facilitated or promoted by a combination of these methods.

(5) Convention (No. 103) concerning Maternity Protection (Revised 1952).

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to maternity protection, which is the seventh item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this twenty-eighth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Convention, which may be cited as the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952.

Article 1

1. This Convention applies to women employed in industrial undertakings and in non-industrial and agricultural occupations, including women wage earners working at home.

2. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "industrial undertaking" comprises public and private undertakings and any branch thereof and includes particularly—

- (a) mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth ;
- (b) undertakings in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including undertakings engaged in shipbuilding, or in the generation, transformation or transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind ;
- (c) undertakings engaged in building and civil engineering work, including constructional, repair, maintenance, alteration and demolition work ;
- (d) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods by road, rail, sea, inland waterway or air, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, warehouses or airports.

3. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "non-industrial occupations" includes all occupations which are carried on in or in connection with the following undertakings or services, whether public or private :

- (a) commercial establishments ;
- (b) postal and telecommunication services ;
- (c) establishments and administrative services in which the persons employed are mainly engaged in clerical work ;
- (d) newspaper undertakings ;
- (e) hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, clubs, cafés and other refreshment houses ;
- (f) establishments for the treatment and care of the sick, infirm or destitute and of orphans ;
- (g) theatres and places of public entertainment ;
- (h) domestic work for wages in private households ;

and any other non-industrial occupations to which the competent authority may decide to apply the provisions of the Convention.

4. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "agricultural occupations" includes all occupations carried on in agricultural undertakings, including plantations and large-scale industrialised agricultural undertakings.

- b) soit être mises en œuvre par une législation instituant des organismes de consultation et de collaboration et déterminant leur portée, leur compétence, leur structure et les modalités de leur fonctionnement, compte tenu des conditions propres aux diverses entreprises ;
- c) soit être favorisées ou mises en œuvre par une combinaison de ces deux méthodes.

5) Convention (n° 103) concernant la protection de la maternité (révisée en 1952).

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 4 juin 1952, en sa trente-cinquième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la protection de la maternité, question qui constitue le septième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une convention internationale,

adopte, ce vingt-huitième jour de juin mil neuf cent cinquante-deux, la convention ci-après, qui sera dénommée Convention sur la protection de la maternité (révisée), 1952.

Article 1

1. La présente convention s'applique aux femmes employées dans les entreprises industrielles aussi bien qu'aux femmes employées à des travaux non industriels et agricoles, y compris les femmes salariées travailleuses à domicile.

2. Aux fins de la présente convention, le terme « entreprises industrielles » s'applique aux entreprises publiques et privées ainsi qu'à leurs branches et comprend notamment :

- a) les mines, carrières et industries extractives de toute nature ;
- b) les entreprises dans lesquelles des produits sont manufacturés, modifiés, nettoyés, réparés, décorés, achevés, préparés pour la vente, détruits ou démolis, ou dans lesquelles les matières subissent une transformation, y compris les entreprises de construction de navires, de production, de transformation et de transmission de l'électricité et de la force motrice en général ;
- c) les entreprises du bâtiment et du génie civil, y compris les travaux de construction, de réparation, d'entretien, de transformation et de démolition ;
- d) les entreprises de transport de personnes ou de marchandises par route, voie ferrée, voie d'eau maritime ou intérieure, ou voie aérienne, y compris la manutention des marchandises dans les docks, quais, wharfs, entrepôts ou aéroports.

3. Aux fins de la présente convention, le terme « travaux non industriels » s'applique à tous les travaux exécutés dans les entreprises et services publics ou privés suivants, ou en relation avec leur fonctionnement :

- a) les établissements commerciaux ;
 - b) les postes et les services de télécommunications ;
 - c) les établissements et administrations dont le personnel est employé principalement à un travail de bureau ;
 - d) les entreprises de presse ;
 - e) les hôtels, pensions, restaurants, cercles, cafés et autres établissements où sont servies des consommations ;
 - f) les établissements ayant pour objet le traitement ou l'hospitalisation des malades, infirmes, indigents et orphelins ;
 - g) les entreprises de spectacles et de divertissements publics ;
 - h) le travail domestique salarié effectué dans des ménages privés ;
- ainsi qu'à tous autres travaux non industriels auxquels l'autorité compétente déciderait d'appliquer les dispositions de la convention.

4. Aux fins de la présente convention, le terme « travaux agricoles » s'applique à tous les travaux exécutés dans les entreprises agricoles, y compris les plantations et les grandes entreprises agricoles industrialisées.

5. In any case in which it is doubtful whether this Convention applies to an undertaking, branch of an undertaking or occupation, the question shall be determined by the competent authority after consultation with the representative organisations of employers and workers concerned where such exist.

6. National laws or regulations may exempt from the application of this Convention undertakings in which only members of the employer's family, as defined by national laws or regulations, are employed.

Article 2

For the purpose of this Convention, the term "woman" means any female person, irrespective of age, nationality, race or creed, whether married or unmarried, and the term "child" means any child whether born of marriage or not.

Article 3

1. A woman to whom this Convention applies shall, on the production of a medical certificate stating the presumed date of her confinement, be entitled to a period of maternity leave.

2. The period of maternity leave shall be at least twelve weeks, and shall include a period of compulsory leave after confinement.

3. The period of compulsory leave after confinement shall be prescribed by national laws or regulations, but shall in no case be less than six weeks; the remainder of the total period of maternity leave may be provided before the presumed date of confinement or following expiration of the compulsory leave period or partly before the presumed date of confinement and partly following the expiration of the compulsory leave period as may be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

4. The leave before the presumed date of confinement shall be extended by any period elapsing between the presumed date of confinement and the actual date of confinement and the period of compulsory leave to be taken after confinement shall not be reduced on that account.

5. In case of illness medically certified arising out of pregnancy, national laws or regulations shall provide for additional leave before confinement, the maximum duration of which may be fixed by the competent authority.

6. In case of illness medically certified arising out of confinement, the woman shall be entitled to an extension of the leave after confinement, the maximum duration of which may be fixed by the competent authority.

Article 4

1. While absent from work on maternity leave in accordance with the provisions of Article 3, the woman shall be entitled to receive cash and medical benefits.

2. The rates of cash benefit shall be fixed by national laws or regulations so as to ensure benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child in accordance with a suitable standard of living.

3. Medical benefits shall include pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care by qualified midwives or medical practitioners as well as hospitalisation care where necessary; freedom of choice of doctor and freedom of choice between a public and private hospital shall be respected.

4. The cash and medical benefits shall be provided either by means of compulsory social insurance or by means of public funds; in either case they shall be provided as a matter of right to all women who comply with the prescribed conditions.

5. Women who fail to qualify for benefits provided as a matter of right shall be entitled, subject to the means test required for social assistance, to adequate benefits out of social assistance funds.

6. Where cash benefits provided under compulsory social insurance are based on previous earnings, they shall be at a rate of not less than two-thirds of the woman's previous earnings taken into account for the purpose of computing benefits.

5. Dans tous les cas où il n'apparaît pas certain que la présente convention s'applique à une entreprise, une branche d'entreprise ou un travail déterminés, la question doit être tranchée par l'autorité compétente, après consultation des organisations représentatives d'employeurs et de travailleurs intéressés, s'il en existe.

6. La législation nationale peut exempter de l'application de la présente convention les entreprises où sont seuls employés les membres de la famille de l'employeur tels qu'ils sont définis par ladite législation.

Article 2

Aux fins de la présente convention, le terme « femme » désigne toute personne du sexe féminin, quels que soient son âge, sa nationalité, sa race ou ses croyances religieuses, mariée ou non, et le terme « enfant » désigne tout enfant, qu'il soit né d'un mariage ou non.

Article 3

1. Toute femme à laquelle s'applique la présente convention a droit, sur production d'un certificat médical indiquant la date présumée de son accouchement, à un congé de maternité.

2. La durée de ce congé sera de douze semaines au moins ; une partie de ce congé sera obligatoirement prise après l'accouchement.

3. La durée du congé obligatoirement pris après l'accouchement sera déterminée par la législation nationale, mais ne sera en aucun cas inférieure à six semaines ; le reste du congé total pourra être pris, selon ce que décidera la législation nationale, soit avant la date présumée de l'accouchement, soit après la date d'expiration du congé obligatoire, soit encore en partie avant la première de ces dates et en partie après la seconde.

4. Quand l'accouchement a lieu après la date qui était présumée, le congé pris antérieurement est dans tous les cas prolongé jusqu'à la date effective de l'accouchement, et la durée du congé à prendre obligatoirement après l'accouchement ne devra pas s'en trouver réduite.

5. En cas de maladie attestée par certificat médical comme résultant de la grossesse, la législation nationale doit prévoir un congé prénatal supplémentaire dont la durée maximum peut être fixée par l'autorité compétente.

6. En cas de maladie attestée par certificat médical comme résultant des couches, la femme a droit à une prolongation du congé postnatal dont la durée maximum peut être fixée par l'autorité compétente.

Article 4

1. Lorsqu'une femme s'absente de son travail en vertu des dispositions de l'article 3 ci-dessus, elle a le droit de recevoir des prestations en espèces et des prestations médicales.

2. Les taux des prestations en espèces seront fixés par la législation nationale de telle manière qu'elles soient suffisantes pour assurer pleinement l'entretien de la femme et celui de son enfant dans de bonnes conditions d'hygiène et selon un niveau de vie convenable.

3. Les prestations médicales comprendront les soins prénatals, les soins pendant l'accouchement et les soins postnatals donnés par une sage-femme diplômée ou par un médecin, et l'hospitalisation lorsqu'elle est nécessaire ; le libre choix du médecin et le libre choix entre un établissement public ou privé seront respectés.

4. Les prestations en espèces et les prestations médicales seront accordées soit dans le cadre d'un système d'assurance obligatoire, soit par prélèvement sur des fonds publics ; elles seront accordées, dans l'un et l'autre cas, de plein droit à toutes les femmes remplissant les conditions requises.

5. Les femmes qui ne peuvent prétendre, de droit, à des prestations, recevront des prestations appropriées par prélèvement sur les fonds de l'assistance publique, sous réserve des conditions relatives aux moyens d'existence prescrites par l'assistance publique.

6. Lorsque les prestations en espèces fournies dans le cadre d'un système d'assurance sociale obligatoire sont déterminées sur la base du gain antérieur, elles ne devront pas représenter moins des deux tiers du gain antérieur ainsi pris en considération.

7. Any contribution due under a compulsory social insurance scheme providing maternity benefits and any tax based upon payrolls which is raised for the purpose of providing such benefits shall, whether paid both by the employer and the employees or by the employer, be paid in respect of the total number of men and women employed by the undertakings concerned, without distinction of sex.

8. In no case shall the employer be individually liable for the cost of such benefits due to women employed by him.

Article 5

1. If a woman is nursing her child she shall be entitled to interrupt her work for this purpose at a time or times to be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

2. Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly in cases in which the matter is governed by or in accordance with laws and regulations ; in cases in which the matter is governed by collective agreement, the position shall be as determined by the relevant agreement.

Article 6

While a woman is absent from work on maternity leave in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 of this Convention, it shall not be lawful for her employer to give her notice of dismissal during such absence, or to give her notice of dismissal at such a time that the notice would expire during such absence.

Article 7

1. Any Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention may, by a declaration accompanying its ratification, provide for exceptions from the application of the Convention in respect of—

- (a) certain categories of non-industrial occupations ;
- (b) occupations carried on in agricultural undertakings, other than plantations ;
- (c) domestic work for wages in private households ;
- (d) women wage earners working at home ;
- (e) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods by sea.

2. The categories of occupations or undertakings in respect of which the Member proposes to have recourse to the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be specified in the declaration accompanying its ratification.

3. Any Member which has made such a declaration may at any time cancel that declaration, in whole or in part, by a subsequent declaration.

4. Every Member for which a declaration made under paragraph 1 of this Article is in force shall indicate each year in its annual report upon the application of this Convention the position of its law and practice in respect of the occupations or undertakings to which paragraph 1 of this Article applies in virtue of the said declaration and the extent to which effect has been given or is proposed to be given to the Convention in respect of such occupations or undertakings.

5. At the expiration of five years from the first entry into force of this Convention, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall submit to the Conference a special report concerning the application of these exceptions, containing such proposals as it may think appropriate for further action in regard to the matter.

Article 8

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 9

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General.

7. Toute contribution due dans le cadre d'un système d'assurance obligatoire prévoyant des prestations de maternité, et toute taxe qui serait calculée sur la base des salaires payés et qui serait perçue aux fins de fournir de telles prestations, doivent être payées d'après le nombre total d'hommes et de femmes employés dans les entreprises intéressées, sans distinction de sexe, qu'elles soient payées par les employeurs ou, conjointement, par les employeurs et par les travailleurs.

8. En aucun cas, l'employeur ne doit être personnellement tenu responsable du coût des prestations dues aux femmes qu'il emploie.

Article 5

1. Si une femme allaite son enfant, elle sera autorisée à interrompre son travail à cette fin pendant une ou plusieurs périodes dont la durée sera déterminée par la législation nationale.

2. Les interruptions de travail aux fins d'allaitement doivent être comptées dans la durée du travail et rétribuées comme telles dans les cas où la question est régie par la législation nationale ou conformément à celle-ci ; dans les cas où la question est régie par des conventions collectives, les conditions seront réglées selon la convention collective pertinente.

Article 6

Lorsqu'une femme s'absente de son travail en vertu des dispositions de l'article 3 de la présente convention, il est illégal pour son employeur de lui signifier son congé durant ladite absence, ou à une date telle que le délai de préavis expire pendant que dure l'absence susmentionnée.

Article 7

1. Tout Membre de l'Organisation internationale du Travail qui ratifie la présente convention peut, par une déclaration accompagnant sa ratification, prévoir des dérogations à l'application de la convention en ce qui concerne :

- a) certaines catégories de travaux non industriels ;
- b) les travaux exécutés dans les entreprises agricoles autres que les plantations ;
- c) le travail domestique salarié effectué dans des ménages privés ;
- d) les femmes salariées travailleuses à domicile ;
- e) les entreprises de transport par mer de personnes ou de marchandises.

2. Les catégories de travaux ou d'entreprises pour lesquels il sera fait usage des dispositions du paragraphe 1 du présent article devront être désignées dans la déclaration accompagnant la ratification de la convention.

3. Tout Membre qui a fait une telle déclaration peut, en tout temps, l'annuler totalement ou partiellement, par une déclaration ultérieure.

4. Tout Membre à l'égard duquel une déclaration faite conformément au paragraphe 1 du présent article est en vigueur, indiquera chaque année, dans son rapport annuel sur l'application de la présente convention, l'état de sa législation et de sa pratique quant aux travaux et entreprises auxquels s'applique ledit paragraphe 1 en vertu de cette déclaration, en précisant dans quelle mesure il a été donné effet ou il est proposé de donner effet à la convention en ce qui concerne les travaux et entreprises en question.

5. A l'expiration d'une période de cinq années après l'entrée en vigueur initiale de la présente convention, le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail présentera à la Conférence un rapport spécial concernant l'application de ces dérogations et contenant telles propositions qu'il jugera opportunes en vue de mesures à prendre à cet égard.

Article 8

Les ratifications formelles de la présente convention seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistrées.

Article 9

1. La présente convention ne liera que les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail dont la ratification aura été enregistrée par le Directeur général.

2. It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 10

1. Declarations communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in accordance with paragraph 2 of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation shall indicate—

- (a) the territories in respect of which the Member concerned undertakes that the provisions of the Convention shall be applied without modification ;
- (b) the territories in respect of which it undertakes that the provisions of the Convention shall be applied subject to modifications, together with details of the said modifications ;
- (c) the territories in respect of which the Convention is inapplicable and in such cases the grounds on which it is inapplicable ;
- (d) the territories in respect of which it reserves its decision pending further consideration of the position.

2. The undertakings referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 of this Article shall be deemed to be an integral part of the ratification and shall have the force of ratification.

3. Any Member may at any time by a subsequent declaration cancel in whole or in part any reservation made in its original declaration in virtue of subparagraphs (b), (c) or (d) of paragraph 1 of this Article.

4. Any Member may, at any time at which the Convention is subject to denunciation in accordance with the provisions of Article 12, communicate to the Director-General a declaration modifying in any other respect the terms of any former declaration and stating the present position in respect of such territories as it may specify.

Article 11

1. Declarations communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 5 of Article 35 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation shall indicate whether the provisions of the Convention will be applied in the territory concerned without modification or subject to modifications ; when the declaration indicates that the provisions of the Convention will be applied subject to modifications, it shall give details of the said modifications.

2. The Member, Members or international authority concerned may at any time by a subsequent declaration renounce in whole or in part the right to have recourse to any modification indicated in any former declaration.

3. The Member, Members or international authority concerned may, at any time at which this Convention is subject to denunciation in accordance with the provisions of Article 12, communicate to the Director-General a declaration modifying in any other respect the terms of any former declaration and stating the present position in respect of the application of the Convention.

Article 12

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 13

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organisation of the regis-

2. Elle entrera en vigueur douze mois après que les ratifications de deux Membres auront été enregistrées par le Directeur général.

3. Par la suite, cette convention entrera en vigueur pour chaque Membre douze mois après la date où sa ratification aura été enregistrée.

Article 10

1. Les déclarations qui seront communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail, conformément au paragraphe 2 de l'article 35 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, devront faire connaître :

- a) les territoires pour lesquels le Membre intéressé s'engage à ce que les dispositions de la convention soient appliquées sans modification ;
- b) les territoires pour lesquels il s'engage à ce que les dispositions de la convention soient appliquées avec des modifications, et en quoi consistent lesdites modifications ;
- c) les territoires auxquels la convention est inapplicable et, dans ces cas, les raisons pour lesquelles elle est inapplicable ;
- d) les territoires pour lesquels il réserve sa décision en attendant un examen plus approfondi de la situation à l'égard desdits territoires.

2. Les engagements mentionnés aux alinéas a) et b) du premier paragraphe du présent article seront réputés parties intégrantes de la ratification et porteront des effets identiques.

3. Tout Membre pourra renoncer, par une nouvelle déclaration, à tout ou partie des réserves contenues dans sa déclaration antérieure en vertu des alinéas b), c) et d) du premier paragraphe du présent article.

4. Tout Membre pourra, pendant les périodes au cours desquelles la présente convention peut être dénoncée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 12, communiquer au Directeur général une nouvelle déclaration modifiant à tout autre égard les termes de toute déclaration antérieure et faisant connaître la situation dans des territoires déterminés.

Article 11

1. Les déclarations communiquées au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail conformément aux paragraphes 4 et 5 de l'article 35 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail doivent indiquer si les dispositions de la convention seront appliquées dans le territoire avec ou sans modifications ; lorsque la déclaration indique que les dispositions de la convention s'appliquent sous réserve de modifications, elle doit spécifier en quoi consistent lesdites modifications.

2. Le Membre ou les Membres ou l'autorité internationale intéressés pourront renoncer entièrement ou partiellement, par une déclaration ultérieure, au droit d'invoquer une modification indiquée dans une déclaration antérieure.

3. Le Membre ou les Membres ou l'autorité internationale intéressés pourront, pendant les périodes au cours desquelles la convention peut être dénoncée conformément aux dispositions de l'article 12, communiquer au Directeur général une nouvelle déclaration modifiant à tout autre égard les termes d'une déclaration antérieure et faisant connaître la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de cette convention.

Article 12

1. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention peut la dénoncer à l'expiration d'une période de dix années après la date de la mise en vigueur initiale de la convention, par un acte communiqué au Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail et par lui enregistré. La dénonciation ne prendra effet qu'une année après avoir été enregistrée.

2. Tout Membre ayant ratifié la présente convention qui, dans le délai d'une année après l'expiration de la période de dix années mentionnée au paragraphe précédent, ne fera pas usage de la faculté de dénonciation prévue par le présent article sera lié pour une nouvelle période de dix années et, par la suite, pourra dénoncer la présente convention à l'expiration de chaque période de dix années dans les conditions prévues au présent article.

Article 13

1. Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail notifiera à tous les Membres de l'Organisation internationale du Travail l'enregis-

tration of all ratifications, declarations and denunciations communicated to him by the Members of the Organisation.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organisation of the registration of the second ratification communicated to him, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the date upon which the Convention will come into force.

Article 14

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations full particulars of all ratifications, declarations and acts of denunciation registered by him in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 15

At such times as it may consider necessary the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 16

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides—

- (a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall *ipso jure* involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 12 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force ;
- (b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 17

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.

(6) Recommendation (No. 95) concerning Maternity Protection.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Thirty-fifth Session on 4 June 1952, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to maternity protection, which is the seventh item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation supplementing the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952,

adopts this twenty-eighth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952.

I. MATERNITY LEAVE

1. (1) Where necessary to the health of the woman and wherever practicable, the maternity leave provided for in Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, should be extended to a total period of 14 weeks.

(2) The supervisory bodies should have power to prescribe in individual cases, on the basis of a medical certificate, a further extension of the ante-natal and post-natal leave provided for in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6

trement de toutes les ratifications, déclarations et dénonciations qui lui seront communiquées par les Membres de l'Organisation.

2. En notifiant aux Membres de l'Organisation l'enregistrement de la deuxième ratification qui lui aura été communiquée, le Directeur général appellera l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation sur la date à laquelle la présente convention entrera en vigueur.

Article 14

Le Directeur général du Bureau international du Travail communiquera au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, aux fins d'enregistrement, conformément à l'article 102 de la Charte des Nations Unies, des renseignements complets au sujet de toutes ratifications, de toutes déclarations et de tous actes de dénonciation qu'il aura enregistrés conformément aux articles précédents.

Article 15

Chaque fois qu'il le jugera nécessaire, le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail présentera à la Conférence générale un rapport sur l'application de la présente convention et examinera s'il y a lieu d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence la question de sa révision totale ou partielle.

Article 16

1. Au cas où la Conférence adopterait une nouvelle convention portant révision totale ou partielle de la présente convention, et à moins que la nouvelle convention ne dispose autrement :

- a) la ratification par un Membre de la nouvelle convention portant révision entraînerait de plein droit, nonobstant l'article 12 ci-dessus, dénonciation immédiate de la présente convention, sous réserve que la nouvelle convention portant révision soit entrée en vigueur ;
- b) à partir de la date de l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle convention portant révision, la présente convention cesserait d'être ouverte à la ratification des Membres.

2. La présente convention demeurerait en tout cas en vigueur dans sa forme et teneur pour les Membres qui l'auraient ratifiée et qui ne ratifieraient pas la convention portant révision.

Article 17

Les versions française et anglaise du texte de la présente convention font également foi.

6) Recommandation (n° 95) concernant la protection de la maternité.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, Convoquée à Genève par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 4 juin 1952, en sa trente-cinquième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la protection de la maternité, question qui constitue le septième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation complétant la convention sur la protection de la maternité (révisée), 1952,

adopte, ce vingt-huitième jour de juin mil neuf cent cinquante-deux, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation sur la protection de la maternité, 1952 :

I. CONGÉ DE MATERNITÉ

1. 1) Lorsque cela sera nécessaire à la santé de la femme et chaque fois qu'il sera possible, le congé de maternité prévu au paragraphe 2 de l'article 3 de la convention sur la protection de la maternité (révisée), 1952, devrait être prolongé pour atteindre une durée totale de quatorze semaines.

2) Les organes de contrôle devraient être autorisés à prescrire dans des cas individuels, sur production d'un certificat médical, en plus de ce qui est prévu aux paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 de l'article 3 de la convention

of Article 3 of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, if such an extension seems necessary for safeguarding the health of the mother and the child, and, in particular, in the event of actual or threatening abnormal conditions, such as miscarriage and other ante-natal and post-natal complications.

II. MATERNITY BENEFITS

2. (1) Wherever practicable the cash benefits to be granted in conformity with Article 4 of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, should be fixed at a higher rate than the minimum standard provided in the Convention, equalling, where practicable, 100 per cent. of the woman's previous earnings taken into account for the purpose of computing benefits.

(2) Wherever practicable the medical benefits to be granted in conformity with Article 4 of the said Convention should comprise general practitioner and specialist out-patient and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting ; dental care ; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital ; nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions ; maintenance in hospitals or other medical institutions ; pharmaceutical, dental or other medical or surgical supplies ; and the care furnished under appropriate medical supervision by members of such other profession as may at any time be legally recognised as competent to furnish services associated with maternity care.

(3) The medical benefit should be afforded with a view to maintaining, restoring or improving the health of the woman protected and her ability to work and to attend to her personal needs.

(4) The institutions or government departments administering the medical benefit should encourage the women protected, by such means as may be deemed appropriate, to avail themselves of the general health services placed at their disposal by the public authorities or by other bodies recognised by the public authorities.

(5) In addition, national laws or regulations may authorise such institutions or government departments to make provision for the promotion of the health of the women protected and their infants.

(6) Other benefits in kind or in cash, such as layettes or payment for the purchase of layettes, the supply of milk or of nursing allowance for nursing mothers, etc., might be usefully added to the benefits mentioned in subparagraphs (1) and (2) of this paragraph.

III. FACILITIES FOR NURSING MOTHERS AND INFANTS

3. (1) Wherever practicable nursing breaks should be extended to a total period of at least one-and-a-half hours during the working day and adjustments in the frequency and length of the nursing periods should be permitted on production of a medical certificate.

(2) Provision should be made for the establishment of facilities for nursing or day care, preferably outside the undertakings where the women are working ; wherever possible provision should be made for the financing or at least subsidising of such facilities at the expense of the community or by compulsory social insurance.

(3) The equipment and hygienic requirements of the facilities for nursing and day care and the number and qualifications of the staff of the latter should comply with adequate standards laid down by appropriate regulations, and they should be approved and supervised by the competent authority.

IV. PROTECTION OF EMPLOYMENT

4. (1) Wherever possible the period before and after confinement during which the woman is protected from dismissal by the employer

sur la protection de la maternité (révisée), 1952, une prolongation supplémentaire du congé prénatal et du congé postnatal, si une telle prolongation se révèle nécessaire dans l'intérêt de la santé de la mère et de l'enfant, et notamment en cas de conditions anormales existantes ou susceptibles de se produire, telles que fausses couches ou autres complications prénatales ou postnatales.

II. PRESTATIONS DE MATERNITÉ

2. 1) Chaque fois qu'il sera possible, les prestations en espèces devant être accordées en vertu de l'article 4 de la convention sur la protection de la maternité (révisée), 1952, devraient être fixées à un taux supérieur au taux minimum prévu par ladite convention ; chaque fois qu'il sera possible, le taux devrait être fixé à 100 pour cent du gain antérieur de la femme pris en considération pour le calcul des prestations.

2) Chaque fois qu'il sera possible, les prestations médicales devant être accordées en vertu de l'article 4 de la convention devraient comprendre les soins de praticiens de médecine générale et de spécialistes à des personnes hospitalisées ou non hospitalisées, y compris les visites à domicile, les soins dentaires, les soins donnés par une sage-femme diplômée et d'autres services de maternité, aussi bien à domicile que dans un hôpital, les soins d'infirmière soit à domicile, soit dans un hôpital ou dans une autre institution médicale, l'entretien dans un hôpital aussi bien que dans toute autre institution médicale, les fournitures pharmaceutiques, dentaires et autres fournitures médicales ou chirurgicales, et les soins fournis par des membres d'une autre profession légalement reconnus compétents pour fournir des services associés aux soins de maternité sous un contrôle médical approprié.

3) Les prestations médicales devraient tendre à préserver, à rétablir ou à améliorer la santé de la femme protégée, ainsi que son aptitude à travailler et à faire face à ses besoins personnels.

4) Les départements gouvernementaux ou institutions attribuant les prestations médicales devraient encourager les femmes protégées, par tous les moyens qui peuvent être considérés comme appropriés, à recourir aux services généraux de santé mis à leur disposition par les autorités publiques ou par d'autres organismes reconnus par les autorités publiques.

5) En outre, la législation nationale peut autoriser lesdits départements ou institutions à prendre des mesures tendant à élever le niveau de la santé des femmes protégées et de leurs enfants.

6) Il serait désirable d'ajouter aux prestations mentionnées aux sous-paragraphes 1) et 2) ci-dessus d'autres prestations en nature ou en espèces, telles que layettes ou allocations pour l'achat de layettes, fournitures de lait ou allocations d'allaitement aux femmes allaitant leurs enfants, etc.

III. DISPOSITIONS EN FAVEUR DES MÈRES QUI ALLAIENT ET DES NOURRISSONS

3. 1) Chaque fois qu'il sera possible, les interruptions de travail aux fins d'allaitement devraient représenter une durée totale d'au moins une heure et demie pendant la journée de travail ; des modifications quant à leur fréquence et à leur durée devraient être permises sur production d'un certificat médical.

2) Des dispositions devraient être prises afin d'organiser, de préférence hors des entreprises où travaillent les femmes, des installations pour l'allaitement des enfants ainsi que pour les soins à leur donner pendant la journée ; chaque fois qu'il sera possible, des dispositions devraient être prises pour que ces installations et ces soins soient payés, ou au moins subventionnés, aux frais de la collectivité ou dans le cadre d'un système d'assurance sociale obligatoire.

3) L'équipement des installations pour l'allaitement et les soins que l'on donne aux enfants pendant la journée, les conditions d'hygiène auxquelles elles doivent répondre, ainsi que le nombre et les qualifications de leur personnel devraient être conformes à des normes adéquates établies par une réglementation appropriée, et devraient être approuvés et contrôlés par l'autorité compétente.

IV. PROTECTION DE L'EMPLOI

4. 1) Chaque fois que cela sera possible, la période pendant laquelle il est illégal pour un employeur, en vertu de l'article 6 de la convention

in accordance with Article 6 of the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, should be extended to begin as from the date when the employer of the woman has been notified by medical certificate of her pregnancy and to continue until one month at least after the end of the period of maternity leave provided for in Article 3 of the Convention.

(2) Among the legitimate reasons for dismissal during the protected period to be defined by law should be included cases of serious fault on the part of the employed woman, shutting down of the undertaking or expiry of the contract of employment. Where works councils exist it would be desirable that they should be consulted regarding such dismissals.

(3) During her legal absence from work before and after confinement, the seniority rights of the woman should be preserved as well as her right to reinstatement in her former work or in equivalent work paid at the same rate.

V. PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF EMPLOYED WOMEN DURING THE MATERNITY PERIOD

5. (1) Night work and overtime work should be prohibited for pregnant and nursing women and their working hours should be planned so as to ensure adequate rest periods.

(2) Employment of a woman on work prejudicial to her health or that of her child, as defined by the competent authority, should be prohibited during pregnancy and up to at least three months after confinement and longer if the woman is nursing her child.

(3) Work falling under the provisions of subparagraph (2) should include, in particular—

(a) any hard labour involving—

(i) heavy weight-lifting, pulling or pushing ; or

(ii) undue and unaccustomed physical strain, including prolonged standing ;

(b) work requiring special equilibrium ; and

(c) work with vibrating machines.

(4) A woman ordinarily employed at work defined as prejudicial to health by the competent authority should be entitled without loss of wages to a transfer to another kind of work not harmful to her health.

(5) Such a right of transfer should also be given for reasons of maternity in individual cases to any woman who presents a medical certificate stating that a change in the nature of her work is necessary in the interest of her health and that of her child.

sur la protection de la maternité (révisée), 1952, de congédier une femme, devrait commencer dès le jour auquel l'employeur a pris connaissance d'un certificat médical attestant l'état de grossesse de cette femme, et être prolongée jusqu'à un mois au moins après la fin du congé de maternité prévu à l'article 3 de ladite convention.

2) Des motifs tels qu'une faute grave de la femme, la cessation de l'activité de l'entreprise où elle est occupée, ou l'échéance de son contrat de travail peuvent être considérés par la législation nationale comme motifs légitimes de congédiement pendant la période au cours de laquelle la femme est protégée. Lorsqu'il existe des conseils d'entreprise, il serait désirable qu'ils fussent consultés au sujet de tels congédiements.

3) Pendant l'absence légale avant et après l'accouchement, les droits d'ancienneté de la femme devraient être sauvegardés ainsi que son droit d'être occupée à nouveau à son ancien travail ou à un travail équivalent rétribué au même taux.

V. PROTECTION DE LA SANTÉ DES FEMMES PENDANT LA PÉRIODE DE MATERNITÉ

5. 1) Le travail de nuit et les heures supplémentaires devraient être interdits aux femmes enceintes ou allaitant leur enfant, et leurs heures de travail devraient être réparties de telle sorte que des périodes de repos adéquates leur soient assurées.

2) L'emploi d'une femme à des travaux reconnus par l'autorité compétente comme dangereux pour sa santé ou celle de son enfant devrait être interdit pendant la grossesse et pendant trois mois au moins après l'accouchement ou plus longtemps encore, si la femme allaite son enfant.

3) Les travaux visés par le sous-paragraphe 2 devraient inclure en particulier :

a) tout travail pénible :

- i) obligeant à lever, tirer ou pousser des poids lourds ;
- ii) exigeant un effort physique excessif et inaccoutumé, notamment la station debout prolongée ;

b) des travaux exigeant un effort d'équilibre spécial ;

c) des travaux où sont employées des machines trépidantes.

4) Une femme employée habituellement à un travail reconnu par l'autorité compétente comme dangereux pour la santé devrait avoir le droit d'être transférée sans réduction de salaire à un autre travail non préjudiciable à son état.

5) Un tel droit de transfert pour cause de maternité devrait également être accordé dans des cas individuels à toute femme qui produit un certificat médical indiquant qu'un changement dans la nature de son travail est nécessaire dans l'intérêt de sa santé et de celle de son enfant.

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