

**ECONOMIC  
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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TENTH MEETING OF THE SECOND SESSION  
Hunter College, New York  
10:30 AM, Friday, 7 June 1946

PRESIDENT: The Council is in session.

The subject for the consideration of the Council is the report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations. The Council will remember that at its first session in London the Council set up a Committee of the Council to consider and report on what arrangements may be made with reference to consultation with non-governmental organizations. The Article in the Charter relating to the subject reads as follows: "Article 71. The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Members of the United Nations concerned."

In accordance with the decision of the Council setting up this Committee, the Committee considered this subject and now presents its report. The Committee had also before it, and the Council had included it in the resolution, the recommendation of the General Assembly regarding certain special non-governmental organizations. The draft report of the Committee lays down, in the first instance, certain principles which must guide the Council in its consultations with non-governmental organizations, which groups into classes the sort of non-governmental organizations, and then it lays down the form in which the consultation can take place with reference to each of these classes. Finally, by a separate resolution, it tries to put in the specific category or class the non-governmental organizations which the General Assembly had

recommended the Economic and Social Council to include in the list of organizations recognized for consultation.

This morning I propose that the Council should first discuss the draft committee's report regarding categories and classification of non-governmental organizations. After that is approved, with any amendments which any Member of the Council may seek to suggest and which the Council may adopt, it will then be for the Council to decide in which of these classifications or classes particular non-governmental organizations, referred to in the recommendation of the General Assembly, may be placed. Therefore, the first subject for discussion is the committee's draft report with reference to the classification and the kind of consultation that has to be arranged with the various classes of non-governmental organizations.

MR. HAUCK (FRANCE) (interpretation): Mr. President, it was with surprise, I might also almost say, with stupefaction, that the French Delegation has read the report of this Committee on arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations. What is the task entrusted to us in this connection, Mr. President? It seems to me that we have in the light of the Charter and of the deliberations and decisions taken by the Assembly General in London to organize consultation between the Economic and Social Council on the one hand and the non-governmental organizations, whose help the United Nations may need, on the other. The task is also, and I think there can be no doubt here in anybody's mind, to give satisfaction to the very large demand of the World Federation of Trade Unions which, first of all, of all these organizations, before the Assembly in London, raised the question of participation with the Economic and Social Council.

We all remember the long debates that took place on this subject in London and I think we all remember too how these discussions ended in the adoption of a resolution which, although not adopted unanimously, did express unanimity on certain points, and in particular on the inclusion of the principle that the World Federation of Trade Unions should be invited to share in the work of the Economic and Social Council of United Nations.

This was a point which the French Delegation considered and still considers of very great importance indeed. And what do we see in the report before us Mr. President? It seems to me that instead of organizing in a practical and simple way a collaboration between United Nations and this Organization, a cascade of different spheres of competence is presented to us; obstacles are raised of every kind between pre-collaboration between United Nations and the Trade Union Organizations of the workers. It is true that the World Federation of Trade Unions is given a right to take its place on the edge of a chair in the meetings of the Economic and Social Council and of its Committees and Commissions, but it is to be noted also that there is a kind of ante chamber provided through which the World Federation must pass, if it is to be given this honor,- ante chambers consisting of committees and sub-

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committees which constitute a kind of back door, a kind of kitchen apprenticeship through which the World Federation must pass if it wishes to collaborate with the Economic and Social Council. It seems to me that this is not at all the proper solution for such a grave problem. It is a solution which is not in accordance with the Charter, nor in accordance with the decisions taken at London.

I think it is essential that if the United Nations is to work properly it must obtain the help of the workers organized in their trade unions, and this not simply for the sake of the trade unions and the workers, but for our own sake, too, because we of the United Nations need the help of the workers organizations. The World Federation of Trade Unions has asserted repeatedly - Mr. Paul-Boncour also asserted this on several occasions in London - that there can be no comparison between the World Federation of Trade Unions and any other existing non-governmental international organization. The workers - and I think, Mr. President, this is accepted by all - must be associated with the work of the United Nations. There are in the first place technical reasons for this association. Our experience in the last few weeks here in which our Commissions had met makes these technical reasons fairly clear. I have taken part in the work of these Commissions; I have presided over one, and I think we saw quite clearly that in order to deal properly with the problems with which we are faced, we need the constant help of those people who are directly concerned in the problems. I mean the workers of the world.

Only two or three days ago the Preparatory Commission on the Health Conference decided to invite representatives of the trade organizations to participate in that work. The Delegate of the United Kingdom the other day pointed to the need for a link between the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council with a view to carrying out such sanctions as the Security Council might feel it necessary to apply. I would submit that such sanctions, since they involve the collaboration of the workers, cannot be seriously envisaged without bringing into the organization, the sanctions through collaboration of these organs with the Economic and Social Council, the workers trade union organizations.

But it is not only for technical reasons that we need the help of these organizations. There are political reasons, too. We all know too well the difficulties which face the United Nations at the present time in fields other than the social field. We all know only too well how difficult it is going to be to preserve the peace. We cannot establish peace in this troubled world purely by a policy of chancelleries. We need also the support of the popular masses of the world. If the United Nations is to succeed, is to build a peace

on a sure foundation, which is in part the task of the Economic and Social Council, it must have the enthusiastic support of the masses of the people. The United Nations is interested in proper publicity through the press and the films, and that is a clear recognition that we need the support of public opinion. If we do not associate the trade unions and the masses they represent in our work, we shall lose a very valuable support, for these organizations do represent best of all the popular masses of the States Members. If we do not accept their help we shall find ourselves enclosed in narrow debates on matters of procedure and we shall never achieve the tasks which the people of the world desire us to achieve.

There are two possible conceptions of the United Nations and its task. On the one hand, it can be regarded as an institution based upon Governments only, and on the other, as an institution based upon Governments having the support and collaboration in their work of the people of the world, the collaboration of these people in all the work of the United Nations including that of the Economic and Social Council.

Mr. President, I would draw your attention to the letter that we have received from Mr. Sidney Hillman, and I should like to bring to your attention the contrast between the points made in this letter and the contents of the report which we have before us. I think when compared with this letter, the report must be termed - and I hope I am not using too strong a phrase - must be termed nothing but a bad joke. It seems to me the letter from Mr. Hillman is a very wise and moderate letter. There is no suggestion that we should depart in any way from the Charter. All that is asked is that the World Federation should be allowed to participate in the work of the Economic and Social Council. Mr. Hillman and the World Federation of Trade Unions cannot possibly be accused of bringing into question either the text or the spirit of the Charter. All they ask is that representatives should have the right to be present in all meetings, public and private, of the Economic and Social Council and of its committees and commissions. They ask also that the authorized representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions should be allowed to put the views of the Federation either in writing or orally, subject, of course, to the Rules of Procedure of the Economic and Social Council. I don't think it

can be argued that these demands exceed what most of the Governments should be prepared to grant. I would ask if there is a single Government represented at this table which, in determining its own policy, does not consult the trade unions, the workers organizations, and take their opinions into account. All the World Federation of "Trade Union is asking, therefore, is that this constant practice in national affairs in democratic countries should be applied in the international field, too.

In short, Mr. President, I think that the report as it stands is quite unacceptable, and I would suggest that in order to permit a unanimous decision by the Council a new text should be asked for. I propose that the report be referred back to the Committee with instructions from the Council to prepare a new text which takes into account the letter addressed to us from Mr. Hillman, and to prepare a text which will permit a unanimous decision to be taken by the purposes of this Council which will serve not only for/our immediate work, but also for the long-range purposes of the United Nations.

MR. NOEL-BAKTER (UNITED KINGDOM): Mr. President, I should like, if I may, to reserve my right to speak later on in the debate, but I wanted immediately to put, if I may, a question to Mr. Hauck in order that we may understand exactly where we are.

If I followed his speech - and I tried to follow it closely in French and English - he is proposing to refer back not the report which we have received from our Sub-Commission, but the decisions made by the Assembly in February last, and what I would like to know in order to be perfectly clear, is precisely what sort of arrangements Mr. Hauck thinks ought to be made with the non-governmental organizations in general and with the WFTU in particular. May I put to him two precise questions: Is he suggesting that we should grant to non-governmental organizations participation in the work of the Council in that phrase "participation without vote"? I thought it fell from his lips a number of times. Secondly, is he proposing that that should be granted exclusively to the WFTU or to other organizations as well?

MR. HAUCK (FRANCE) (Interpretation): I want to thank my friend, Mr. Noel-Baker, for giving me the opportunity to clear up one or two points which may have been obscure in what I said.

First of all, I should like to reassure him on one point as regards the reference back that I suggested. I proposed the <sup>back</sup> reference of the report which is now before us and not of the decision taken by the General Assembly in London. The decision of the Assembly is sovereign and binds us.

Another point is this: the Assembly instructed the Economic and Social Council to have arrangements made for consultation with non-governmental bodies. It is this subject that we have to deal with today and it is these arrangements that we have to have made.

Mr. Noel-Baker asked whether I wished that the World Federation of Trade Unions should be allowed to participate without vote in the Economic and Social Council. He asked whether my proposal was that the World Federation of Trade Unions should be invited to participate without vote in the meetings of the Economic and Social Council. I did not make this proposal. I intended to make it quite clear that Mr. Hillman does not mention participation without vote in his letter, but specifies only certain practical rights which he thinks the World Federation of Trade Unions ought to be granted in this connection. I have not asked for participation without vote for the World Federation of Trade Unions because I think, in the first place, that some meticulous persons might think that the granting of such participation might be contrary to the terms of the Charter. I did not ask for this, also, because I think that the question of wording is of less importance than the practical arrangement achieved. We must aim at a practical arrangement. The World Federation of Trade Unions must be enabled to be present at meetings of the Economic and Social Council and, subject to the Rules of Procedure of the Council and the permission of the President of the Council, be allowed to put the views of the World Federation



of Trade Unions.

The last question raised by Mr. Noel-Baker was whether I refer only to the World Federation of Trade Unions in this connection or whether I refer also to other non-governmental organizations. I limited my remarks purposely, Mr. President, to the World Federation of Trade Unions because I don't want to open up a discussion in which polemics might be launched against other world trade union organizations, for which the French Government has nothing but sympathy. I therefore, refer only to the question of the participation of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

DR. RADIMSKY (CZECHOSLAVAKIA):(Interpretation): I have only one observation to make, Mr. President, but that is an observation to which my delegation attaches very great importance. Among the various non-governmental organizations referred to in this document before us, there is one which deserves our special attention because of its world-wide character, because of its power, and because of its representativeness. I refer, like the delegate of France, to the World Federation of Trade Unions. I think that the report does not emphasize sufficiently the importance of this organization as contrasted with other non-governmental organizations. We had a letter from Mr. Hillman and I think the demands made in this letter are not exaggerated. The Czechoslovakian Delegation, therefore, supports these demands and hopes that the French Delegates' proposal for a reference back of the report to the committee for amendment will be accepted, and I speak here not only for the sake of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. President, but I am concerned for the Economic and Social Council and for the success of its work.

We have here, I think, an opportunity to link millions of the workers of the world with the United Nations in its great task and I think this is an opportunity which must not be missed.

DR. PARRO:(PERU): Mr. President, as one of the members of the commission who was in charge of the study of this resolution, I should like to make it clear that so far as I know, none of the members of such commission had in mind to establish any particular obstacle to the participation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We might not be right in making an interpretation of the spirit of the Charter for any of the resolutions to which we were supposed to be bound,

but from my personal point of view, it doesn't in any way affect the opinion of the other members of this particular commission. I would be willing to support the proposal made by the French Delegate, in the first place, because as long as the Chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions has sent such a letter with different points of view from those that have been established by the commission, it is worthy of study<sup>and</sup> because the commission has to deal in the first place, with a very wide mind as to open the gates not only to the World Federation of Trade Unions, but to any of the non-governmental organizations that would be willing to collaborate with the work of this Council and with the United Nations at large. I agree with the French Delegate that it is not only the support of<sup>the</sup> governments that is going to give the strength of this organization, but the wide support of the peoples of the world expressed particularly by the worker's organizations everywhere.

So, I support the proposal made by the French Delegate.

MR. DEHOUSSE(BELGIUM) (interpretation): I want at once, Mr. President, to say that I support fully the position taken up by Mr. Hauck and defended so eloquently by him. I would at the same time like to state my position with somewhat more moderation and perhaps with somewhat more nuance than my French colleague. I do not want to repeat all the reasons in favor of this position. They have been given very eloquently by Mr. Hauck. There is one consideration however, on which I do wish to dwell for a moment. In the opinion of the Belgian Delegation the difficulties that have faced us from the beginning in this matter of arranging for the collaboration of non-governmental bodies in the work of the Economic and Social Council under Article 71 of the Charter is not a surprising thing. These difficulties could have been foreseen; they follow naturally, I think, from the limitations placed upon the Economic and Social Council when it was decided that Members of the Economic and Social Council should be exclusively government delegates. This decision, taken first at Dumbarton Oaks and then at San Francisco, is, it seems to me, a retrograde one. It adheres to the traditional, classical view of the state as an abstraction in which it is impossible to distinguish between its component parts.

Since 1919 there has been progress in this matter of the view to be taken of the State. The ILO Constitution in particular distinguishes between three component parts of the State and allots to each its proper organic function; it distinguishes, that is, between the Government, the employers and the workers. It could have been hoped that this precedent would have been followed in other international constitutions and rules. It was indeed the thesis of the Belgian Delegation from the beginning of our discussions, that such a precedent should be followed, and, if I may say so, it is still the opinion of the Belgian Delegation.

And so, Mr. President, it does not seem surprising to me that we do encounter these difficulties when we come to the problem of arranging for the cooperation of non-governmental organizations in our work. Mr. Hauck has pointed out the necessity of having the Representatives of these Organizations in our work. It is because of this necessity in modern conditions of bringing

in the popular masses into this kind of work that we have been deluged with applications as we have. It is one of the needs of modern international life that the popular masses, the working masses, should be able to play a part.

And so the Belgian Delegation would like to give the greatest possible scope, the widest possible rights to non-governmental organizations to collaborate in the work of the Economic and Social Council. I think it would be a means of correcting the excessively governmental one-sided nature of the composition of the Economic and Social Council. We therefore favor the view that non-governmental organizations, and in particular, the World Federation of Trade Unions should be given wide rights of representation in the work of the Economic and Social Council. I therefore support the proposal put forward by the French Delegate for the reference back to the Committee of this report for amendment in this sense. The report, as Mr. Hauck has said, contains some very complicated procedures and envisages a number of ante-chamber committees and commissions. It errs also, I think, in the opposite direction, for instance, in Paragraph v relating to the Secretariat.

It seems to me that if that principle were followed too far, we should have a Secretariat which did not belong to the Economic and Social Council but rather to the non-governmental organizations. That, I think, is a tendency to excess in the opposite direction. Some objections have been put forward to the proposal to refer this report back to the Committee on the ground that such a decision would conflict with the decision taken by the General Assembly in London in February. I think that is a mistake. The Assembly decision was a decision of principle that the Economic and Social Council should proceed to make arrangements for consultation. The application of this principle is entirely the affair of the Economic and Social Council. We have the full power to adopt or reject means of applying this principle which is embodied in the Assembly's decision and I see, therefore, no conflict in a decision to refer back this report for amendment to the Committee.

And so I wish to say that I formally approve and support this proposal. It may, however, emerge from our discussions that the Economic and Social Council is unable to reach a unanimous decision in the course of its present session. I think that as we are faced with an urgent session, I think the need for the representation of the workers' bodies is an urgent need. I think, therefore, that we have to envisage another compromise solution in case we are unable to agree unanimously on the amended report. If, therefore, the debates in the Council show that the Council is unable to reach a unanimous decision in the course of this session, I would have an alternative compromise proposal to put forward and it would be this: that we accept the report of the Committee in this present session, subject to the reservation that it shall be revised at a later time in the light of experience. I am sure that the experience of collaboration of non-governmental organizations in the work of the Economic and Social Council will show that the place presently given to these organizations is too restrictive and so I think it will become clear that their rights will have to be extended. Mr. Hauch referred, in picturesque phrases, to the

Committees and Commissions envisaged in the report as constituting a kind of "kitchen apprenticeship", a kitchen through which the World Federation of Trade Unions and similar bodies must pass. I would like to point out that a kitchen is not really at all a bad place. In Belgium, and France, at the present time in particular, the kitchen is a place of some importance and I think that applies to other countries too. But, this compromise that I suggest, it does not give the Belgium Delegation full satisfaction. I would only put it forward if the Council is unable to reach unanimity because I think if that were found, if we simply postpone and adjourn a decision on this point, it would mean a postponement of the admission of non-governmental organizations to our work and I think we have to avoid that. We have to admit them to our work at the earliest possible time, and so, Mr. President, if there is no unanimity in this session, I would propose my compromise, but it is only in the case that we are unable to reach unanimity.

MR. BARANOVSKY (UKRAINE) (Interpretation): Mr. Chairman, in this question of giving the right to the World Federation of Trade Unions to participate in discussions of the Economic and Social Council and to express its opinions, I want to point out that this is one of the most important organizations that exist. After all, it covers about fifty countries of the world and has a membership of over sixty million. Certainly, in view of these conditions, it must be treated separately from other non-governmental agencies.

In his address, Mr. Noel-Baker seemed to be afraid that the letter of Mr. Sidney Hillman and the words spoken by the Delegate of France seem to mean that the resolution of the Assembly would have to be revised. I don't think so, Mr. Chairman. It seems to be the resolution of the Assembly in London was quite proper and is quite wide enough and certainly, it shows that we wish to give the right to every non-governmental organization to consult and participate

in the discussion with the Economic and Social Council. In the case of the World Federation of Trade Unions, however, it seems to me that the word "consultation" should be understood in a very wide sense. It is absolutely necessary, Mr. Chairman, that a very wide consultation be given to the World Federation of Trade Unions, a very wide right of participation. I am in complete agreement with my French colleague that the present report that is before us from the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Agencies is very weak in this respect. The words spoken by the Delegates from Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Peru, strengthen my opinion in this matter, Mr. Chairman. I support, therefore, the proposal of the Delegate of France who asked that the Committee be asked to complete its report in the light of the proposals made by Mr. Sidney Hillman and especially in order to accord the World Federation of Trade Unions a better position because of its great importance.



MR. WINANT (UNITED STATES): Mr. President, the problem of establishing proper consultative arrangements with non-governmental agencies is of great importance to the future of the Economic and Social Council and its work. The Council has no legislative functions but acts only through recommendations and advice. The validity of such advice will depend on the extent to which the Council has a full grasp of the problems it will be called upon to consider. The effectiveness of its recommendations will depend on the public support given such recommendations. In other words, it is essential that the Council should be in the closest possible contact with the life of the peoples whom it is to serve so that it may be responsive to their needs and aspirations. Such consultation is essential also in order to assure the Council of the understanding and support of the peoples of the world. These considerations prompted the inclusion of Article 71, in the Charter of the United Nations. The report now before us is an attempt to give this Article its full weight and meaning. It is a good report which ought to help us to take appropriate action for consultation with the major non-governmental organizations likely to be interested in the work of the Council. It provides for different types of consultation appropriate to different fields of interests in different types of organizations, and by and large I agree with the proposals as laid down in the report.

There are a few observations I would like to add. I am glad to note from the report that a special place is to be assigned to organizations which have a basic interest in most of the activities of the Council and are closely linked with the economic and social life of the areas which they represent. This, as I understand it, would include organizations of labor, of management and business, of farmers, and of consumers. For this small group of organizations which have a basic interest in most of the Council's activities I have three suggestions to make to facilitate close consultation.

Specifically, I would suggest (1) that with reference to Article IV Arrangements for Consultation with the Council, paragraph 2, this very limited number of organizations be given the assurance that any communications they address to the Secretariat will be distributed by the Secretariat to all Members of the Council without waiting for request on the part of a Member of the Council. (2) That the Committee of the Council to be appointed by the Council to

consult with such organizations should be a standing committee accessible to these organizations at any time the Council is in session. The Council maintains the right to go into a committee as a whole and to call consultants when the standing committee so recommends; that representatives of these organizations might, whenever practicable, be able to present their views to the full commissions rather than to committees of the commissions, it being clearly understood that they would be expected to present their views only on matters of direct interest to them.

I suggest further language along the following lines which might be used in Article VI, General Arrangements, in place of the present language to point up a little more clearly the importance and nature of the responsibilities of the Secretariat. "Because the Members of the United Nations, in accordance with the preamble of the Charter, have a basic and continuing interest in the policies and operations of the United Nations, and because the arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations provide important means for insuring that their interests be fulfilled, it is urged that the Secretariat be so organized as to render all appropriate assistance to non-governmental organizations and to offer to them all appropriate facilities."

These changes could easily be fitted into the report without in any sense destroying the import of its recommendations. If adopted, I believe they will strengthen that spirit of mutual confidence which will contribute towards the constructive use of this international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advantages of all peoples.

(USSR)

MR. FECNOV/(Interpretation): Mr. President, first of all I must say that I feel very indebted to my friend and colleague, Mr. Noel-Baker. This is not the first time that he has allowed me to speak first before he takes the floor. In this connection, I remember very well at the meeting of UNRRA when the United Kingdom Delegate and the Delegate of the Soviet Union both wished to speak at the same time. The same thing happened and the United Kingdom Delegate was courteous enough and allowed the Soviet Union Representative to speak first. I hope very much that at some time in the future, I can reciprocate this kindness.

The question that we are discussing today, Mr. President, is particularly acute, it seems to me, because of the letter that has been received from the World Federation of Trade Unions. We all know that the World Federation of Trade Unions has a significant and a special importance because of its own size and because of the problems that it covers. After all, this World Federation of Trade Unions covers trade unions located in fifty-six different countries of the world, with a membership of over sixty-six million workers. This means clearly, Mr. President, that the Economic and Social Council must give it a very special close consideration and bring it into very close contact with the Council.

The Economic and Social Council, as you know, deals with economic and social problems and there is no question that trade unions are very active and their work in these questions is of great importance. I do not talk here about the abstract importance; I am talking about the practical solution of these questions. And it means, very clearly, that the participation of all workers who are members of these trade unions in fifty-six different countries of the world must be consulted. They undoubtedly, Mr. President, have a great experience in economic and social problems and it is for the Council to consult them. If the Council is serious in trying to solve the problems that are before it, there is no question about the fact that the World Federation of Trade Unions must be very closely linked with the work of the Council.

Mr. President, the World Federation of Trade Unions could be the best advisor that this Council could have in all of these questions. Therefore, I repeat, a very close link must be kept between the World Federation of Trade Unions and this Council. Not only would it help to solve these problems but it will also help in the effectiveness of our own work, Mr. President. If we do not do this, our actions in all these problems would cover only a very limited field. I have already referred to the size and the importance of the World Federation of Trade Unions and I have said that it must not be ignored. We must approach the World Union as a union of the workers of the world. This World Federation is of great importance and the close link between us and the World Federation must be maintained. If that is not so, Mr. President, it will not be the World Federation, I submit, that will suffer, it will rather be the Economic and Social Council. After all, we must allow the sixty-six million workers of the world to give us their opinion on various economic and social matters in which they have an opinion and great experience.

I should like to refer, Mr. President, to the fact that the Committee in its report apparently makes a differentiation between Article 70 and Article 71 of the Charter. It seems to me that this not a valid differentiation. The Soviet Union feels that the letter of Mr. Sidney Hillman

and the words of the French Delegate, which he spoke this morning, are perfectly in accord with the Charter and with the resolution in London.

I shall read the text of Article 71 which reads as follows: "The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence..." Now some people think that this means that the World Federation of Trade Union cannot participate in our discussion and voice its opinion. The Soviet Union disagrees with this point of view and has repeatedly said so before in London.

For this reason, Mr. President, the Soviet Delegation supports fully the proposal of the French Delegate and feels that the representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions must be allowed to send their representatives to the meetings of the Council, its Commissions, and Committees, and participate in the discussions. Mr. President, I have a few more words to say with respect to the actual text of the report but I shall reserve my remarks for later.

MR. NOEL-BAKER (UNITED KINGDOM): Mr. Chairman, I greatly appreciated what Mr. Teonov was good enough to say. I well remember the occasion to which he referred. Both the United States and the Soviet Union Delegates spoke before I did, but the thesis which I defended triumphed although they had both spoken against it. I hope that that may be a precedent for today, except that on this occasion I am in agreement with the Delegate of the United States.

Mr. President, M. Hauck said he had read with surprise and stupefaction the report which our committee laid before us. He will forgive me if I say I listened to his speech with surprise and stupefaction. A document prepared by a body of able men in which a man of his nationality had a share - it is true he made a certain reserve - that he should refer to it as a "bad joke", and that he should have done so after the discussions which took place in London for five weeks on the very points with which he dealt, causes me, as I said, surprise and stupefaction. He spoke of it being a "cascade of irresponsibilities", and then said that in a spirit of conciliation he would accept the total rejection of the work which was done in order that we might start again.

Sir, it is not my conception of conciliation, and I wish, I wish very much that M. Hauck had done what the Delegation of the United States has done, made a formal amendment, setting out exactly what it is he wants, because having listened very carefully to both his original speech and his second speech, and the interpretations thereof, I am still in difficulty about it. I am in the more difficulty because he started by saying that there were here two conceptions of the United Nations which were in complete conflict. One, which would regard it as an exclusively governmental matter in which decisions would be taken on grounds of narrow

procedural propriety, and the other which would seek to bring behind it the support of the masses of the people of the world.

Well, Mr. President, I have spent most of my life in opposition in the British Parliament, which means that I have not been concerned with governmental institutions. I have been concerned with non-governmental institutions, and a great part of my life has been given to mobilizing the support of non-governmental institutions, including the trade union movement of my own country and of the world, in support of the principles of the Charter and of the institutions which then existed, and which were not in nature dissimilar from the institutions which have now been created to insure peace and cooperation among the nations. And I resent the suggestion that this report in any way rejects or diminishes the help which the non-governmental organizations can give us; on the contrary, I believe it would mean an immense advance in securing the support of the great popular movements of the world. The trade unions are very powerful, and may they remain so. I believe in the power of free independent trade unions which can speak as they desire, whatever their governments may say.

The Cooperative Alliance of which we spoke so long in London, the great church movements, would anybody deny their power? A movement such as that of the United Nations Association in my country which at one time became more powerful than anybody we have had since the days of the Anti-Corn Law League in the 1840's? Yes, sir, of course we have got to get their support, and let no one think any word I say accepts any such conception as that which M. Hauck would impute to his opponents. On the contrary, we are determined to do everything in our power to secure the support of the popular masses, the active help of their leaders, their brain power as well as their enthusiasm

in the work which this Council and the United Nations in general have to do.

May I deal now with one or two arguments which it seemed to me introduced an element of prejudice, if M. Hauck will forgive the word, and which he used to support his case. Firstly, about sanctions: Well, of course, workers of all classes are bound to be affected very much when sanctions are applied. If it is a particular aggressor, some of them may be unemployed. I remember very well the Deputy for Haute Savoie telling me how during the elections of 1936 in France, workers came to him at his meetings and said, "Sanctions are being applied against Italy. They have thrown us out of work, but keep the sanctions on until Mussolini's aggression has been stopped."

Would that the workers had been listened to. I remember it well. Of course, the workers are affected, but the workers have always said, and I should be very much surprised to learn that they didn't say it today, that the responsibility for decisions about the imposition of sanctions must not be placed on their shoulders. Always when there is a great crisis,-- it happened at Munich, M. Hauck remembers it -- some people suggested it was for the trade unions to go forward and try to restrain Hitler by some action of their own. No, sir, governments must take their responsibilities. They must take their responsibilities and rely on their trade unions to give their full support.

But is M. Hauck's suggestion that the trade unions are not now so strongly in support of the Charter that at this moment, if anything happened, they would <sup>not</sup> give their full and absolute cooperation in every country against any aggressor nations, whoever it might be? I venture to suggest that on that point we really can be certain that we have the



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full cooperation of the trade union movement, and that nothing done in this document will affect it in the smallest degree.

Then, sir, Monsieur Hauck talked about the place of the trade unions in government. Well, I don't believe there is any government in the world that uses the trade union more than mine does, in which they are so integral a part of the mechanism of which our social and economic and life is carried on. But neither my government nor any other I have ever heard of has ever suggested that trade union representatives should be brought into their Parliament or into the committees of their Parliament to sit and to take part in the deliberations. I think, with great respect, that Monsieur Hauck's argument turns the other way. Monsieur Dehousse spoke and he carried my sympathetic agreement about the desirability of developing the participation of non-governmental organizations in the institutions of the United Nations. I quite agree. He mentioned the ILO. I was at the Peace Conference in Paris, and I was charged by my Delegation with taking a modest part in drafting the Constitution of the ILO. It is not likely that I now go back on the principles which, in my view, have proved to be so great a working success. But, sir, we cannot amend the Charter and we cannot today reverse the decisions which the Assembly has made.

Sir, I thought, with respect that Monsieur Dehousse carried his argument a little far as he did the absurdities that center around the abstraction called the State, particularly when those absurdities are put forward by dictators who always want to make the State the slave master of the citizens of their land. But while I accept that, I must also recognize that the governments are, in fact, the people who take the decisions. They are the people who conduct the administration. Governments are facts in international life, and the Charter is founded on the creation of institutions in which governments take part. Does that exclude trade union help and support? Well, of course, it is always possible for trade unionists to become members of governments. I don't suppose there have been many governments which have more trade unionists in high office than

the one to which I have the honor to belong, and my Foreign Secretary by whose instructions I acted in this matter/over five weeks of debate in London, is himself a great trade union leader. I would, therefore say, to Monsieur Dehousse that while I agree with him, I want to push the ILO principle as and when we can; at the same time in this matter today with regard to non-governmental institutions, we are bound firstly by the Charter and secondly by the resolution which the Assembly adopted a few months ago.

I come to the substance of the question, and in particular, to the Assembly Resolution. Someone said that the Assembly had only settled a principle, leaving the modalities, the methods of consultation to be worked out. Perfectly true, but when you say it only adopted a principle, in point of fact, it adopted one positive principle and two negative principle.

The positive principle was that there must be consultation with non-governmental organizations and that in accordance with Article 71 of the Charter, which Mr. Feonov has read, machinery must be worked out. It laid that duty on us.

Two negative principles were that consultation did not mean participation in the sense of other Articles of the Charter to which I also refer, and secondly, that that participation, that that consultation should not be exclusive to any one organization whatever it might be. Sir, I can prove that the Assembly Resolution meant those things by reading the text of the Amendments which I have here, proposed by various Delegations and rejected by the Assembly by very large majorities, indeed.

Now, sir, Monsieur Hauck accepted the resolution of the Assembly as sovereign. I am glad. But, when I asked him whether what he was proposing was excluding the WFTU, he said "No", because there were other trade unions of which he did not want to make any polemical observations, but perhaps he was referring to the AFL. Of course, the AFL was discussed at the very greatest length in

London. Amendments about it were proposed. Decisions were made by the Assembly and we will not reject them. There were also others such as... the International Cooperative Alliance. It is said that the WFTU is by far the greatest of all bodies. One Delegate said that there was no relation, no comparison, between the WFTU and any other of the bodies with which we ought to be concerned. I could hardly accept that proposition. I argued on it only in London on one particular example, namely, the International Cooperative Alliance, but I think we are bound to make a comparison to get the thing in perspective. The WFTU was formed nine months ago. It has an estimated membership of 65,000,000. The organization, I don't think its own warm supporters would claim was yet very tight. The International Cooperative Alliance has existed for fifty years. It has had a long series of international conferences. It has had offices in many countries. It has had a membership of 70,000,000 families and if that membership has been a little diminished during the war, it will certainly be once again reestablished. And, of course, if you think that the other great popular movements to which I referred, including the Churches --everybody will see that there are other mass movements which this Council cannot possibly ignore. In fact, sir, it is one of the very important points and it was brought out also by Mr. Winant that if we do accept any arrangement here for one organization, we may have to apply it to a considerable number of others, and you may make all the categories set out in this report, Part 1 and 2 and the rest laying down the principles on which an organization shall be chosen and the machinery for which they should be selected, category A and so on.

I think all that is admirable. However, you read it, you will reach a considerable number of organizations which will have the same rights. It is an essential fact because if you were to give anything like participation in the work of this Council to one of them, you would be adding greatly to the numbers of people who sit around this table and you would be inevitably making it more

difficult for us to reach solutions of the problems with which we have to deal and to bring our work, meetings, to a close within a reasonable period of time. And, Mr. Chairman, this session shows that we are going to have prolonged sessions to deal properly with our work and if you once start on a process which might transform this Council from being a small committee of eighteen into being a wider body of twenty-five or thirty, I, for one, for my part, would not only consider that only unfortunate, but I should think that it was a fundamental change in the conception which the Charter lays down. Now, let me look at what "participation" means and "consultation" and "with the consent of the Council". I will read, not only Article 71 to which Mr. Feonov referred, but also Article 69 and 70. Article 69 says that this Council may invite any member of the United Nations which does not belong to it to participate without vote in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that member. That is to say, at present, thirty-eight and someday forty-five governments will always be absent from this table although they would very much like to be here unless there is some question on which they can claim a particular interest, and we have already shown by the decision made in London that we cannot be too liberal in deciding when an interest exists.

Article 70 says that the Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies, the inter-governmental agencies, to participate without vote in its deliberations. But Article 71 says that the Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Sir, any one of the forty-five and any non-governmental agency, and any one of the fifteen, on a matter in which it has a great and proved practical interest, can, on one item, come to the table and take part. Already that may increase our numbers very considerably. On some item from eighteen to a number perhaps nearer twenty-five, but if we look at the proposals put before us, I can no doubt say that they would

give to non-governmental organizations a wider right -- that is, the right for an authorized representative to present the views of the WFTU before the full membership of the Council on any matter under discussion, the right of an authorized representative to present any proposals, all informal, to the Council. Sir, that goes beyond my humble submission to what is given to the governments under the Charter, to the governments who are not members of this Council. I think it goes widely beyond that and as for the other suggestion that is made, that the WFTU should always be present when there are secret meetings, well, I hope we are not going to have any secret meetings, Mr. Chairman, I don't believe in secret meetings.

I have battled from the first day when the Executive Committee came together in London and those who were present will remember that it wasn't always an easy battle. I have always battled for the principle that the meetings for organs of the United Nations should be held in public. I don't want secret meetings, but if for some overwhelming reason, eighteen governments decided that a secret meeting must be held, could we really admit a large number of non-governmental organizations to come in? I think it is extremely doubtful.

I won't argue it further. I venture to think, with the utmost sympathy for the W.F.T.U., and with the ardent belief of a life-time in the Trade Union Movement and in all that it / can do to help the furtherance of organized peace, with an ardent admiration for all it did between the wars to help the cause of organized peace. I still think that the proposals made would go beyond the Charter, that they would make nonsense of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly after the rejection of the amendment to which I have referred, and that therefore we ought not to consider proposals as wide as that. Practical amendments to the report - Mr. Winant's amendment - I very readily accept. I agree with him in thinking that it is an admirable report. I am very sorry, as I said before, that this discussion may tend to make people forget how large a participation these non-governmental organizations will have; what an immense change it is from the days of the League of Nations; how we shall be able to get more power behind us through this mechanism which is suggested. I agree with Mr. Winant's amendments. I wish that Mr. Hauck had put in amendments, too, and I hope he will do it now in order that we may very soon see in a practical form just what it is he wants.

Sir, I would end by saying that I was touched by the constructive speech made by the Belegate from Belgium. He suggested as a compromise that we should accept the report subject to reconsideration perhaps in the fairly early future, and he said he was confident that the reconsideration, when it came, would mean the granting of more prerogatives to the non-governmental organizations than this report sets forth. I accept that proposal. I hope the Council will unanimously accept it. I hope they will do nothing in haste that would appear to cause doubt on the immense value of this report or appear to challenge the Assembly's resolution. I hope they will accept our Belgian colleague's proposal. I think with him that experience may show that we can do more, and if we can, I should be the first to support it because, I say it again, unless we can capture the power of the organized movements of the world behind this United Nations, then in the long run it will fail.

PRESIDENT: I think, Gentlemen, the Council will have to come to a conclusion at this time. It is obvious that all Members of the Council are anxious that as far as possible a unanimous conclusion should be reached on this very important subject, and that it is neither the desire of the Council nor the desire of any individual Member of the Council not to get the greatest benefit from non-governmental organizations of such importance by consultation with them, and that it should be in any way misunderstood. I think that the course that we shall take now is to see whether by further discussion in our own Committee such a happy and unanimous conclusion may not be arrived at. I suggest, therefore, that the report of the Committee which is of the greatest importance and of the greatest value, - and I would like to emphasize what more than one Delegate has said, about that report, that it should be sent back to the Committee to be considered further, in the light of the suggestions that have been made and specifically the suggestion that has been made by the Delegate of the United States, whether a further amendment of the report is desirable. If after the Committee states they come to a fairly unanimous conclusion, I am sure the Council will welcome it as a happy result of these observations.

I therefore propose that the Committee be requested to consider further its own draft report in the light of the observations and specific suggestions for amendments that have been made at this session.

MR. HAUCK (FRANCE) (Interpretation): I just want to say, Mr. President, that I fully agree with your proposal which corresponds to my wishes expressed at the beginning of my remarks. I should like to add that I hope the Committee will take into account not only the amendment of the United States Delegation but also the new fact which is constituted by the letter submitted to us by Mr. Hillman, in the name of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

MR. NOEL-BAKER (UNITED KINGDOM): Mr. President, I don't at all object to the proposal which has been put forward. Indeed, I welcome it, but I find it a little difficult to regard the letter written by Mr. Hillman as a new fact. It seems to me to be remarkably like the main facts on which these discussions started many months ago, namely, in similar applications made at an earlier date. But, of course, I am more than happy that the letter should go to the Committee; it must go to the Committee, but I do also suggest with great respect



that those who desire to make amendments to this report should put in their specific amendments of their own. That is their duty, and it ought to be, in my view, such amendments that the Committee considers, and, Sir, in asking the Committee to work again. I hope it is quite plain that this Council is not asking them to tear up their report and start again, but only to consider what changes, if any, should now be made.

MR. DEHOUSSE (BELGIUM) (interpretation): Mr. President, I also wish to associate myself with your proposal, but I would like to ask for a clarification of one point. Do you mean that the report should be submitted for decision during the present session of the Economic and Social Council or at the next session?

PRESIDENT: My intention is that the Committee should report back to the present session of the Economic and Social Council. I would also like to state with reference to what the Delegate from the United Kingdom said that of course the Committee will consider only specific amendments which are placed before it by members of the Council.

MR. MALIK (LEBANON): Mr. President, I just want to ask a question. If I have one or two amendments to suggest should I make them now? Should I hand them in in writing? Or make them this afternoon?

PRESIDENT: They can be passed on to the President, and he will be the custodian of those amendments.

MR. BARANOVSKY (UKRAINE) (interpretation): Mr. President, I just wanted to say this: if it is decided to ask the Committee, to instruct the Committee, to work over this report again, it should also be told that the Committee must take into account not only the words of the United States Representative, but all the other speeches made at today's session, and they must be specifically instructed to give their opinion and comment on the letter addressed to us by Mr. Sidney Hillman.

PRESIDENT: The Delegate of the United States was the only Delegate that put forward specific amendments at this session of the Council. There were of course a great many observations made by other speakers. That is why I said the Committee will specifically consider the amendments proposed by the United States Delegate. But of course the Committee will also consider the observations made by the Members of the Council. And for the rest, I think the Committee should be left to chart out its own program of work.

Then the program for this afternoon has to be slightly amended in view of this conclusion. The Council will meet at quarter to three and take up the general discussion of the report of the Transport Commission. That dis-

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cussion will close sharp at four o'clock. It may be continued if members are willing to further address the Council on the subject. But for today the discussions will close at four o'clock sharp. And the inter-governmental Committee Negotiating with Specialized Agencies will meet at four o'clock the Negotiating Committee of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

The Council stands adjourned.

(the meeting adjourned at 1:27 p.m.)