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President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 95

Fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation (*concluded*)

1. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): The Venezuelan delegation is impelled by gratitude and justice to take part in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

2. By gratitude because Venezuela, like many other Latin American countries, has benefited from the generous collaboration of the ILO. Suffice it to mention, for example, the assistance which the ILO has given Venezuela in drafting its labour and social security legislation; the beneficial influence exerted now and in the past on the legislation, doctrine, jurisprudence and administrative practices of my country by the conventions and recommendations approved by the ILO, many of which have been ratified by Venezuela; the technical assistance which we have received for various important programmes, and the inspiration which our trade unions and managerial associations have found in the principles and activities of the organisation.

3. By justice, because the ILO merits a special tribute from all peace-loving nations that accept and abide by the principles laid down in its Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia¹ relating to its aims and purposes, and more particularly from the developing countries, for whom the idea expressed with simple eloquence in the first sentence of the preamble to the ILO Constitution is of fundamental importance: "Whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice".

4. For the Venezuelan delegation this statement of belief lights a path not only for the ILO but for the whole United Nations family and, more generally, for all mankind. We have advanced a good way along that path, particularly in

the highly industrialized countries, but, sad to say, not in international relations.

5. As Mr. Aristides Calvani, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, pointed out in his statement during the general debate at this session [*1779th meeting*], what is needed today is international social justice directed towards the universal common good.

6. How important is the principle embodied in article I (c) of the Declaration of Philadelphia, that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". And how little attention is paid to this principle, which is not merely a truth that has been borne out time and again by events, but also a warning and an admonition.

7. The revolutions that have shaken the social and economic organization of not a few States to their foundations, and the protests and conflicts, past and present, that have arisen even in some others which seemed to be immune to this type of confrontation, give fair warning that a nation cannot achieve peace and security unless the rule of justice prevails in it.

8. Similarly, it has become increasingly clear in international relations that tensions exist which have been provoked by the division of the world into two groups of nations: those with the means to provide their inhabitants, or most of them, with living conditions compatible with the inherent dignity of the human personality, and those others—regrettably the majority—in which millions of people, in fact two thirds of mankind, are deprived of the most elementary material and spiritual benefits.

9. Nothing could be more to the point in this respect than the admirable words uttered by His Holiness Pope Paul VI in his address to the International Labour Conference on 10 June 1969. His Holiness said:

"You must also ensure the participation of all peoples in the building of the world, and take thought now for the less favoured, just as yesterday your first care was for the least favoured social categories. This means that your legislative work must continue boldly and strike out resolutely along new paths, to guarantee the common right of peoples to their integral development and enable in each instance 'all peoples to become the artisans of their destiny'. This challenge is made to you today, at the dawn of the Second Development Decade. It is for you to take it up. It is for you to take the decisions which will avert the disappointment of such great hopes, and disarm the temptations of destructive violence. You must express in rules of law that solidarity which is becoming ever more definite in the consciences of men. Just as, yesterday, you guaranteed by your legislation the protec-

¹ Declaration concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation, adopted by the General Conference at its twenty-sixth session at Philadelphia on 10 May 1944. The text is annexed to the Constitution.

tion and survival of the weak against the power of the strong . . . so now and henceforth you must master the rights of strong peoples, and favour the development of weak peoples, by creating the conditions, not only theoretical but practical, for a real international law of labour, as between the peoples. Like each man, so too each people must be able by its work to develop itself, to grow in humanity, to pass from less humane conditions to more humane ones. For this, appropriate conditions and means are necessary, and a common will, of which your Conventions, freely worked out between governments, workers and employers, could and should progressively provide the proper expression. Several specialized organizations are already at work to construct this great edifice. It is upon this path that you must advance.”²

10. What has been said shows the wisdom and vision of the men who created the ILO and of those who drafted and approved its Constitution and fundamental texts, in establishing principles which preserve all their validity and force despite the years that have passed since their formulation.

11. The ILO has been faithful to these principles, and can today point to a record of work impressive in its magnitude and quality and in the influence which it has exerted on the establishment of more equitable working and living conditions in many countries.

12. It would take too long to enumerate all that the international community owes to the ILO; but we cannot refrain from mentioning its extensive work in international labour legislation, its highly significant contribution to the promotion of respect for human rights and their effective enjoyment, its vast work of international assistance, and the part it has played in the study and investigation of the world's social problems. To these activities we must add the very important work of training governmental, labour and managerial cadres through courses and seminars and, indeed, through the meetings of its principal and subsidiary bodies.

13. This rapid and very general glance at the more outstanding aspects of the work of the ILO nevertheless brings out the importance of its contribution to the common task of building a new international community founded on co-operation and friendship among men and directed towards the integrated and harmonious development of all peoples.

14. The ILO therefore well deserves the Nobel Peace Prize, which is reserved for individuals and institutions having rendered outstanding service to the cause of peace. My country and I myself wish to extend to the ILO and its staff through Mr. Morse, its Director-General, the most cordial and sincere congratulations on this well-merited recognition of their work.

15. The principles which have played a pre-eminent part in the life and work of the ILO are its tripartite arrangements and its universal mission. The active participation of workers and employers side by side with Government

representatives is an original and typical feature of the ILO which gives its deliberations a spontaneity and sincerity not always to be found at meetings in which only Government representatives participate.

16. Without discarding this structure that has produced so many good results, the ILO has been faithful to its universal mission and numbers among its members today States with different social and economic systems and at different levels of development.

17. The ILO has remained faithful to the principles that governed its establishment and has been able to do great work and to adapt itself to the drastic changes that have taken place in the last 50 years, because it has responded to the real felt needs of the peoples of the world and has had the good fortune and privilege to inspire leaders of prophetic vision who have foreseen the future without neglecting the present or forgetting the past. The names of Albert Thomas, Harold Butler, John Winant, Edward Phelan and David Morse will for ever be associated with the history of the life and work of the ILO, which is to a great extent the life and work of those distinguished international servants.

18. Without disregarding or decrying the merits of his predecessors, I should like to dwell for a while on the personality of the present Director-General of the ILO, Mr. David Morse. I do so not merely because of our personal friendship or of the opportunity that I have had to work in close co-operation with him for many years as my country's representative in the Governing Body of the ILO and the International Labour Conference, but also because it has been his lot to guide the Organisation for more than 20 years through a difficult period marked by far-reaching changes. That the ILO has proved capable of facing those difficulties and of adapting itself to the demands of the times is largely due to the vision, tact, industry and devotion of David Morse, at the head of an executive team of highly distinguished men from various continents and nations.

19. The ILO is now preparing to launch a World Employment Programme to deal with one of the most serious problems confronting mankind and the developing countries in particular. The Programme, which is the principal contribution of the ILO to the Second United Nations Development Decade, has met with general satisfaction and deserves our full support.

20. This and other tasks guarantee the vitality and permanence of the ILO, which in the developing and even in the industrialized countries can and should play during the next few years a supremely important part in the establishment of social justice in the world as the sole basis of true peace.

21. Mr. ZAKHAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Permit me, on behalf of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to salute the International Labour Organisation, which is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary this year. In extending its good wishes the delegation of the USSR does not desire to praise what has been done well or to criticize what the Organisation has failed to do or has not done properly.

² Address delivered at the ninth (special) sitting of the fifty-third session of the International Labour Conference (Geneva, 4-26 June 1969).

22. Expressing the will of a socialist State, where all power belongs to the working people—the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia, we think of the future rather than of the past; although of course it is important and necessary to derive lessons from the past for future action.

23. The International Labour Organisation was founded at a time of great social advance, during the rapid growth of the revolutionary labour movement in the countries of Europe and North America, while powerful forces of national liberation in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America began to awaken. That was precisely the time at which large national and international trade and political organizations and headquarters of the working class, the most progressive and revolutionary force of our age, were created. The most striking manifestation of the international labour movement's revolutionary upsurge was the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, which ushered in a new period in the struggle for the liberation of the working people from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and enslavement, a period when the socialist economic system took shape and developed, based on the public ownership of the means of production and on the work of free producers of material and spiritual wealth, enjoying equal rights. Apart from these progressive phenomena, the emergence of the conditions for the establishment of the International Labour Organisation and for the formulation of its aims and the manner of its operation were also influenced by other political, social and economic processes characteristic of the early twentieth century. I have chiefly in mind the processes connected with the passage of capitalism to the monopolistic stage of development, when free competition of *entrepreneurs* is superseded by the ascendancy of monopolistic unions and amalgamations. These are processes accompanying the rise of State monopoly capitalism, when all-powerful monopolies and bourgeois States combine in the face of the growing solidarity of the labouring masses in the struggle against the dominance of capital, and many nations of the world are oppressed by a few colonial empires and all-powerful imperialist monopolies.

24. All these difficult and pressing social and economic problems had to be reflected in the character of the international organization which was to take part in the establishment of the principles of inter-State relations in matters concerning the organization of social labour and of labour legislation. The scope of its activities had to enable this international organization to meet the exacting challenge of our age. And today, when we sum up the results after 50 years, we may affirm that the International Labour Organisation, having travelled a difficult road, has shown that it is by no means artificial and that a number of the principles governing its programme prove its sense of responsibility to the working people of the world.

25. True to its basic policy of international co-operation with all States irrespective of their social and economic systems, the Soviet Government regards the International Labour Organisation as one of the important specialized agencies in the United Nations system. The Soviet Union is particularly interested in that part of the ILO's Constitution which lays down tasks relating to improved working and living conditions for the working people, a part which corresponds to the basic Leninist principles of international

solidarity with the working people of all countries throughout the world. The Soviet State has been guided by these principles from the very first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution which, confirming the power of labour over a sixth part of the world, at the same time gave the working people of the world immeasurable help in their struggle for their political, social and economic rights against unbridled exploitation. Since that time vast changes have taken place in the world. One third of mankind has already taken the road of socialism. The world system of socialism is a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Peoples formerly under direct or indirect colonial oppression have now assumed leading roles on the stage of history. Dozens of new States have risen from the wreckage of former colonial empires. The part played by the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process is steadily increasing in importance. One of the great revolutionary forces in the contemporary world is the international working class. Within its ranks the ties of brotherhood and class solidarity are being strengthened and the struggle of the working peoples for their vital interests is being waged everywhere. In the capitalist world the pressure of the masses for social changes is being sharply intensified. Characteristically, the struggle of the working class is becoming ever more closely interwoven with the workers' action against the military adventures of the imperialists, against the rebirth of fascism and for the preservation and extension of democratic freedoms and for national independence. The victory of the forces of socialism, of the international labour movement and of the national struggle for liberation during the past decade bears witness to the great vitality of the ideas of Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

26. The growing organizational strength of the workers fighting for their vital interests is a characteristic feature of the stage which the class struggle in the capitalist world has now reached. The forecasts of bourgeois economists, sociologists and historians have not come true: the working people of the developed capitalist countries have not become a passive unit of society under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. In our days their struggle has become organized and purposeful in face of the stubborn resistance of State monopoly capitalism, which is resisting a solution of pressing problems and the satisfaction of the working people's justified aspirations. The scientific and technical revolution occupies a particular place in the arguments advanced by the apologists of capitalism, who have thought up the so-called theory of the extinction of the class struggle. It has not solved, and indeed could not solve, social problems. On the contrary, it has sharpened the contradictions inherent in capitalism between labour and capital, between the social character of production and the private capitalist method of acquisition. The progress of science and technology has brought about appreciable changes in the productive forces, the most important element of which, as we all know, is the working man. Not only has the productive machinery assumed new forms, but the working class has taken on characteristics new in quality, and the whole level of its skills and its general education has been raised. At the same time, large numbers of working people are experiencing the heavy social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of capitalist production methods. Under State monopoly capitalism and the menacing domi-

nance of the military-industrial complex, this revolution has brought fabulous wealth to huge capitalist corporations and has strengthened exploitation, intensified labour and increased unemployment.

27. In these circumstances the useful efforts of the International Labour Organisation to frame international standards on social and labour questions are assuming great importance. Many of its decisions have had a positive influence on the development of social legislation in various countries. However, if these standards are to be applied in practice, the International Labour Organisation must support the just and hard struggle waged by the working people in many countries of the world against unemployment, for shorter working hours, and for an extension of the rights of their organisations.

28. The International Labour Organisation can and, we are convinced, must do much to support the demands made by the international labour movement in the interests of the working people. The present international situation is deeply disturbing for all peoples. The world still lives in a state of tension. Again and again the flames of military conflict are kindled in various parts of our planet. Some 40 million people are still languishing under the yoke of colonial slavery. Tens of millions of people on our planet are unemployed. In the circumstances the International Labour Organisation cannot stand aside, ignoring problems of such vital importance to all working people as the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security, full employment and better living conditions for the working people, the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and its tragic political, economic and social consequences.

29. The growth in recent years of the International Labour Organisation's membership is bound to be a cause for satisfaction. At the same time it cannot be regarded as normal that in this matter some of the worst features of the cold war still survive.

30. The International Labour Organisation does not admit to membership, for example, the German Democratic Republic, a socialist State which has achieved enormous success in all sectors of its national economy. The first workers' and peasants' State in the history of Germany is an important integral part of the modern world. The establishment of the German Democratic Republic, whose twentieth anniversary was widely celebrated the other day, is the outcome of a long struggle fought with many sacrifices by the German working class against militarism and war, exploitation and oppression. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that participation of the German Democratic Republic in the work of the ILO is an urgent need of our time. The Organisation's authority will be enhanced, and the cause which it is called upon to serve will gain.

31. With regard to the question of the ILO's universality, the Soviet delegation would also point out that in violation of this principle other socialist States, such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, are not admitted to participation in the Organisation's work.

32. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expresses the hope that the International Labour Organisation, as it enters the last third of the twentieth century, will prove equal to the tasks imposed on it by the present international situation and by the struggle of the working people of the world against all forms of oppression and exploitation. The working people are entitled to expect the ILO to apply the principles of its Constitution in more energetic and daring action contributing to the profound social changes and to a true solution of the key problems of life and work which are agitating millions of working people. The ILO has every opportunity to make its contribution to the noble struggle for a wise organization of human society where, in place of poverty and military or political folly, the lofty principles of peace and labour will prevail.

33. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom is proud of its association with the International Labour Organisation. We are proud of our part in starting it 50 years ago. We are proud of our consistent support in its first half century—a half century during which its membership has risen from 45 to 121 States. We are determined that our participation and our support shall be fully maintained.

34. It is in that spirit that we express our gratitude for the outstanding and challenging speech which the Director-General delivered this morning [1793rd meeting].

35. It is in that spirit that today, in Lancaster House in London, a national ceremony is taking place in joint celebration by Her Majesty's Government, the Trades Union Congress and the Confederation of British Industry on the anniversary of the opening of the first session of the International Labour Organisation on 29 October 1919.

36. It is also in the spirit of proud participation that we recall, as my Prime Minister did in his message of congratulations delivered at Geneva in June this year, that 50 years ago the United Kingdom delegation at the Peace Conference at Versailles presented the outline of the basic structure, which was adopted in the establishment of the International Labour Organisation.

37. It is, however, in no spirit of self-congratulation that we meet today. The ILO itself has not called for praise, still less spoken in complacency. Rather, at the meeting of its Governing Body last March, it sought to make its anniversary year a time for seeking more constructive co-operation with other organizations. That was the sensible and practical aim it set.

38. Just as we are determined that we shall mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations next year, not with complacent congratulation, but with a determination to make our own efforts more effective, so the ILO seeks to live up to its high reputation for adaptability—for what it calls its "fertility of resource in adapting old traditions to new exigencies".

39. Though the ILO itself has not called for congratulation, we cannot today resist expressing our delight at the award this month to the Organisation of the Nobel Peace Prize.

40. I happened to be with the Secretary-General on that morning when news of the award arrived and when David Morse came in to receive the Secretary-General's congratulations. It was a time for rejoicing—a joyful moment which for David Morse represented the culmination of the achievement of a lifetime's cheerful and devoted labour in a fine cause. David Morse's name and his contribution will never be forgotten as the world-wide organization he leads and serves so well goes on from strength to strength in the future.

41. Today I like to remember too the contribution of Wilfred Jenks, the Principal Deputy Director-General, who has been a friend of mine since we were at Cambridge together—not so very long after the ILO was founded. Let me show my respect for him by borrowing his eloquent words. Speaking to the United Nations Institute for Training and Research earlier this year he said:

“The common man has come to the centre of the world stage; he is not going to be pushed back into the wings in the name of global strategy, over-all economic development, or anything else; he is going to keep the spotlight; and he is going to keep it, not for any unworthy purpose but to ensure that the right of every man and woman, irrespective of race, creed or class, to live freely with fulness of opportunity is not merely recognized but respected throughout the world; that is his continuing challenge to the whole United Nations system. The ILO has voiced that challenge for half a century and we propose to continue to voice it during the next half century.”

42. That is the articulate voice of practical idealism. It is with that practical idealism and constructive dissatisfaction that David Morse speaks to us.

43. No wonder that the ILO has been progressive, forward-looking, imaginative, when it bases its thinking and its planning on a mandate of such sound purpose and principle.

44. No wonder that it does not shirk from tackling the vast challenge of unemployment about which Robert McNamara spoke to us so forcefully on Monday morning in the Economic and Social Council and on which David Morse gave us such a grave warning today.

45. No wonder the Organisation eagerly stretches out to deal with new modern issues—population control, for instance, which has such a direct and decisive influence on the whole problem of unemployment, and pollution of environment, application of computers to management, the aspirations of youth and the need for rural development, to take but a few examples.

46. No wonder that, while still building on its labour code of nearly 300 conventions and recommendations, it is restless to turn from precept to practice. No wonder that it turns to new fields of research and training and technical assistance.

47. The oldest of the international agencies is, in its versatility and its adaptability, in its vigour and in its resourcefulness, as young as any.

48. The ILO marks its honourable anniversary by calling for closer co-operation and seeking new means of international service. It is for all of us to respond. We shall do so in admiration for what has already been achieved and in the spirit of new endeavour in which the organization sets us so excellent an example.

49. Mr. SHAW (Australia): As the representative of one of the founding members of the International Labour Organisation, I should like on behalf of Australia to join others in expressing our congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.

50. There are very few international bodies which can claim a longer life, and we acknowledge the long-standing traditions and the experience of the ILO. The aims of the ILO as founded in 1919 and the terms of the Philadelphia Declaration of 1944 are in entire accord with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Indeed it is through such organizations as the ILO that practical effect is given to those principles.

51. I speak with a special sympathy for the work of the ILO because I had the honour and pleasure of representing the Australian Government for many years on the Governing Body and in the conferences and the committees of the ILO in Geneva. I witnessed the re-establishment of the ILO in Geneva after its war-time exile in Canada and I saw its integration into the newly established United Nations family of organizations and its adaptation to new needs and circumstances. That was by no means an easy process. It required the gradual evolution of the organization to meet new world situations. The tripartite structure of government, employer and worker representatives has enriched the ILO and has made it in a sense more universal than other international organizations. But this concept, based on the internal practices of parliamentary democracies and of mixed economies, had to be adapted to provide for representation from countries which claimed to be neither, and despite some stresses and strains the system survived.

52. I witnessed, moreover, the change in the emphasis of the work of the ILO from what could be called international legislation to what could be called operations and technical assistance. The convention-making and recommendation-making power of the ILO has served a useful purpose in setting standards—although different members sometimes interpret those standards in different ways. Over recent years, however, the importance of the Organisation has lain less in that form of legislation and more in the practical help which it has given to the less developed countries.

53. That shift in emphasis is welcomed by Australia. In particular, we expect the ILO to play an important part in its spheres of competence in preparing for and in realizing important objectives for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

54. Development is not simply a matter of economic planning and of production statistics or even of increases in gross national product. Economic and social development must serve the basic human purpose of providing productive and dignified opportunities for work. That is the human aspect which the Director-General of the ILO

rightly emphasized in his enlightened and enlightening statement of this morning [1793rd meeting].

55. We endorse the attention which Mr. Morse gave to the problems of unemployment and under-employment. We agree that in the past many countries' national development plans and policies paid too little attention to employment considerations. The prime responsibility for action in this field rests with national Governments and on the resourcefulness of the employers' and workers' organizations in the countries concerned. Nevertheless, the ILO has an important contribution to make. The unemployment and under-employment situation is of such dimensions in so many countries—and I think particularly of the region of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East—that a massive effort is required. The ILO can provide invaluable experience and help in planning and initiating action.

56. The award this year of the Nobel Peace Prize to the ILO is a just and fitting tribute to the Organisation itself and also to its Director-General, Mr. Morse. It has been my privilege to work with Mr. Morse over a number of years. The international community is well served by such a dedicated, capable and apparently tireless official. We wish him success in his further term of office.

57. We recognize the noble aims and ideals which inspire the International Labour Organisation. We recognize also the hard-headed, practical steps which have to be taken in individual countries, by Governments and by organizations of management and labour alike, to realize those ideals. We acknowledge what the ILO has done in the past, and it carries our hopes and expectations for the future.

58. Mr. SHULTZ (United States of America): First, I have the honour to read a telegram to Mr. David Morse from the President of the United States:

"Fifty years ago today one of the great visions of mankind began to acquire substance. The Washington Conference of the International Labour Organisation convened here in Washington, two blocks from the White House. The League of Nations had begun to operate. The great dream of Woodrow Wilson began to assume a measure of reality. Half a century later the International Labour Organisation continues, its Constitution intact, its purpose undiminished, its achievements ever mounting. Your history is first of all a tribute to the extraordinary courage and persistence of those who have committed themselves to the ideal of the ILO, and not less a measure of the power of a great idea pursued. Nothing could be more appropriate than for the ILO to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace on the eve of this anniversary. No honor could be more deserved.

"Richard Nixon"

59. A prerequisite of an organization's effectiveness is relevancy to the times. The International Labour Organisation meets—and has met—this criterion. It has recognized the dimensions of social problems, the opportunities for effective work on them, and the factor of change as essential to human existence. Its programmes and policies have been governed accordingly.

60. Underlying these policies and programmes is an awareness of the breakthroughs in modern technology which give man undreamed-of powers for both preserving life and sowing destruction, and underlying the success of the ILO—the Organization whose fiftieth year of service we are honouring here today—is its pervasive awareness of the basic principle that we now live in a mutually dependent world community.

61. Recognition of the wisdom of those principles in the operation of the International Labour Organisation was provided by the awarding of the 1969 Nobel Peace Prize to this unique organization, which, in the words of the Nobel awards body, strives "to improve working conditions . . . and thereby contribute to the safeguarding of world peace".

62. In its early years the ILO's primary instrument for action was standard setting. Its International Labour Standards take the form of conventions, treaties open to ratification by Governments, and recommendations for guidance of national legislatures, and they represent a consensus among tripartite elements of the Organisation's membership on desirable goals for national legislation and practice.

63. After the Second World War a new generation of statesmen, meeting in the city of Philadelphia, gave the ILO and working people the world over a new lease on life. In the Philadelphia Declaration, the ILO articulated once again the principle of social and economic interdependence of States by stating the fact that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere" [article I (c)]. It was this Declaration that heralded two decades of activity during which the Organisation played a leading role in formulating the concept and executing the policy of technical assistance to the newly emerging countries of Asia and Africa.

64. As a large number of former colonies achieved independence, and very quickly thereafter full membership in the ILO, the Organisation rapidly became a nearly universal body. The result was a significant shift in the ILO's membership. Whereas before the war it consisted in large part of the highly industrialized countries of Europe and North America, today more than half of its members are developing countries. As a result, the ILO's emphasis over the past 20 years has been placed less on protecting workers from certain adverse consequences of industrialization—although this is still a major concern—and more on helping to bring about economic and social development to ever-expanding programmes of technical assistance.

65. The ILO seeks to provide training not only for technical skills but also for responsible leadership in the developing countries. The trade union freedom which the ILO continually advocates will have little meaning and will be short-lived if not accompanied by the trade union leadership which the Organisation actively encourages. Managers and employers, too, must provide effective direction and competent leadership as emphasized by the ILO's expanding programmes in this area.

66. The Organisation is firmly committed to the achievement of human rights for all. In addition to its safeguarding

of trade union rights and its attack upon forced labour, it has condemned all forms of discrimination in employment; and with the same forthrightness with which it upholds the principle of freedom of association it has opposed the practice of *apartheid*.

67. Now, in this fiftieth anniversary year, the ILO's Director-General has launched a World Employment Programme, arguing to his 121 constituent member States, both developed and developing alike, that the creation of jobs for people everywhere in the world must be given top priority. His argument that job security is as vital as, and is vital to, political security, and that unemployment in far-flung developing countries can be a real danger for affluent nations, once again falls into the pattern of the ILO philosophy that human betterment is indivisible.

68. Thus is the ILO relevant to its times. Relevancy was built into the Organisation's conception and structure with the adoption of the tripartite composition of Governments, employers and workers. Radical alterations in the world's social and economic structure, and the ILO's ability to minister to the needs of its members within the context of change, attest to the Organisation's viability.

69. For half a century the ILO has effectively worked to adjust to these changes as well as to achieve a deeper understanding of the role each of its three component groups must play in national and international development. Accordingly, a recognition has evolved that more must be done to remove or lessen tensions where they exist if the world is ever to attain the goal of balanced economic and social development.

70. In noting the ILO's relevance to its times, one must acknowledge that this alone is not sufficient to make the Organisation the important institution it has become. Leadership is another factor. It is fortunate that the ILO has always had able and distinguished men to guide it through the many difficult years: through wars and depressions as well as times of prosperity.

71. Albert Thomas, the first Director-General, was able to build from the wreckage of the First World War an organization that has improved the lot of mankind. Today the United States Government salutes the work that has been done over the past 21 years by another great Director-General, David Morse—an American who is also a citizen of the world, and one of whom my country is justly proud. Mr. Morse has presided over the office through years of unparalleled change in which our understanding of the world and human relationships has deepened and even the cosmos itself has begun to reveal its secrets. Through all this the Organisation has been able to adjust, to maintain its relevancy.

72. Our agenda for the future is full. We can take no comfort from the fact that there are still millions verging on starvation, deprived of elementary medical care, doomed to illiteracy, suffering discrimination and denied a share in the most basic liberties and human dignities. There is much work to be done in the fields of employment policy, social security, industrial safety, the fight against discrimination, solving the problems of youth and older workers in vocational training and rehabilitation.

73. There are danger signs ahead, and the ILO has joined with other groups in pointing out the inherent threat posed by over-population. Until this problem is contained, no increase in gross national product alone will be able to generate the right social climate for effective human development. Production increases alone will not be able to neutralize the effects of over-population in the developing world which could destroy the peace and security of the more affluent nations.

74. For this reason we also endorse the inclusion of social objectives in the Second United Nations Development Decade. I believe the ILO can make no greater contribution to the Second Development Decade than its World Employment Programme, for economic growth and national development cannot be achieved without adequate and systematic development and utilization of human resources. The recent Pearson Commission report to the World Bank,³ as well as the address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank by its President, Mr. McNamara,⁴ give prominence to the development of human resources as a key to rapid economic development.

75. On behalf of my Government I extend warm congratulations to the International Labour Organisation on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary of service to mankind. In the words of President Nixon:

“We rededicate ourselves to the ILO as an instrument toward the realization of lasting peace through the attainment of economic and social justice for peoples everywhere.”

76. Mr. ARORA (India): It gives me great pleasure to take the floor today to participate in the tributes that are so deservedly being paid to the International Labour Organisation on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary. For me it is a case of personal pride, for I have had the privilege of devoting a lifetime to the organization of trade unions in my country.

77. It took an event of catastrophic magnitude, such as the First World War, to give birth to the ILO. It was that war, which till then had no parallel in the history of mankind, which strengthened more firmly than ever before man's determination to rid the world not only of wars but of all the causes that give rise to violence and discord. Certain men with prophetic vision saw, even then, that in the era of peace that was being inaugurated in the history of the world, the absence of war or latent conflict is not enough, but a positive concept must be developed that is based on social justice—that is, on the economic and social well-being of all the peoples of the world, on satisfactory conditions of work and adequate remuneration.

78. This goal of promotion of social justice as a means of furthering the cause of world peace was written into the Constitution of the ILO to underscore its importance. The end of the First World War also confirmed the power of industry, as well as the pre-eminent position of those employed in it. This led to the realization that the creation

³ *Partners in Development—Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

⁴ Given at Washington, D.C., on 29 September 1969.

of an organization such as the ILO could, through research and frank confrontation, demonstrate that the spirit of industrial disharmony could be overcome and new understanding achieved within all fields of industry. Above all, it was left to the ILO to emphasize the dignity of the worker, of his profession, and to evaluate the constructive role which he could play in the economic and social development of his country.

79. This gave rise to the unique method of work known as the tripartite system, consisting of the representatives of Governments, workers and employers dealing with all matters pertaining to labour everywhere in the world. With the passage of time this system has progressed from strength to strength and is today the most firm pillar on which the ILO's achievements rest.

80. Consequently, throughout its existence the ILO has been primarily concerned with human rights, such as freedom of association, freedom of labour, the elimination of discrimination, equality of opportunity, the right to work and social security, the right to a minimum wage or income, the right to adequate conditions of work and life, and so on. Its preoccupation with these can be gauged from the fact that in the years following the First World War the standards in most Asian countries, to cite an example, bore the imprint of ILO standards prohibiting the employment of young persons and women at night, promoting public employment, regulating the recruitment of workers, limiting hours of work, providing for weekly days of rest and holidays with pay, for maternity protection and compensation for employment injuries, and so on.

81. A study of the influence of ILO conventions on the legislation of my country during this period clearly points to its valuable contribution. A few examples of the legislation promulgated in India will illustrate the point. Such legislation included revision of the Factories Act of 1911; the Indian Mines Act of 1923; the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923; the Indian Merchant Shipping Act of 1923; the new Factories Act of 1934; and the Payment of Wages Act of 1937. The trend was continued in the period after the Second World War with the adoption of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act of 1946; the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947; the Minimum Wages Act of 1948; the Plantation Labour Act of 1951; various amendments to the Factories Act, and many others. As a matter of fact, it has been contended that the influence of the ILO on this record of labour legislation has been direct and tangible as well as indirect and subtle.

82. It was no wonder, therefore, that the good work done by the ILO during the inter-war period engendered a feeling of complete confidence, resulting in its surviving the Second World War, and emerging from it with renewed vigour and determination. The fact of its rejuvenation was clearly manifested in the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944, which declared that the essential basis of world peace must be social security, liberty and social justice for all in every country. The Declaration referred to the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development, including freedom, dignity and economic security. Just as some infectious disease somewhere can pose a danger to healthful conditions elsewhere, the Declaration of Philadelphia significantly stated that "poverty anywhere

constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere" [*article I (c)*].

83. Until recently there has been a certain faith in the inevitability of prosperity resulting from progress. Such confidence was born of the assumption that the achievements of science and technology in recent years would make such a goal attainable. Unfortunately, despite all such achievements, there are more millions living in misery and poverty today than there were at the turn of the century. In the face of such a depressing picture, it is not surprising that the ILO has added fresh dimensions to its responsibilities which hitherto revolved mainly around the protection of the human rights of the worker. Consequently, on its fiftieth anniversary we witness the fact that the ILO has been able to maintain its dynamism and efficiency as a result of the continued adjustment of its objectives—and above all, its means of action—to the economic and social needs of the developing countries.

84. This has made it possible for us to contemplate its future with even greater optimism and confidence, and we attach very considerable importance to its role in the coming Second United Nations Development Decade. More specifically, I am referring to the development of the ILO's plans for a concerted attack on poverty and misery caused by the waste of human productive capacity. This has resulted in the emergence of the concept of the World Employment Programme launched this year, of which the Asian Manpower Plan adopted by the Sixth Asian Regional Conference in Tokyo held from 2 to 13 September 1968 is an integral and necessary part. The above-mentioned Programme of the ILO consists, in the first place, of the exploration of the practical possibilities of increasing productive employment, and the formulation of programmes of action needed to exploit these possibilities to the full, leading, in the second phase, to their implementation.

85. The Asian Manpower Plan affirms the urgent need for "immediately initiating concerted and effective action by the countries of the region to attain the highest possible level of productive employment in Asia".⁵ This Plan also seeks to co-ordinate, facilitate and harmonize the flow and efficient utilization of multilateral and bilateral development assistance. It appeals both to the developing countries of the region and to the more highly developed countries of the world to adopt measures of national policy designed to further the objectives of the Plan.

86. Therefore, we see much evidence of the ILO's continuing dynamism and of its intention to continue to work tirelessly for the achievement of the ideals of social justice and universal lasting peace, which are set out in the preamble of its Constitution.

87. As the representative of a developing Asian country, I have no hesitation in saying that the ILO will continue to have an important role to play in the social development of Asia and, similarly, Asia will have a useful role to play in shaping the future of the ILO. Whereas in 1960 Asia had a labour force of 730 million out of a total world labour force of 1,300 million, in 1970 it is expected to have 860

⁵ See resolution 1 of the Conference.

million out of a total of 1,510 million, and by the year 2000 the estimate is about 1,500 million out of a world labour force totalling 2,540 million.

88. I am proud to say that my country has been a member of the ILO since its very inception and, therefore, naturally takes pride in its achievements. A tripartite national committee has drawn up a programme of activities for the purpose of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of this body in India, and a special postage stamp was issued by the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department to commemorate the occasion. Pamphlets on India's association with the ILO have also been prepared and are being published with a view to giving the widest possible publicity to the ILO and its activities in our country. A special issue of the Government's *Indian Labour Journal* is also being planned to mark the occasion.

89. India is grateful to the Organisation for the technical assistance it has provided, particularly in the field of vocational training. We have no doubt that the extent of the ILO's technical assistance to and co-operation with the developing countries will continue to grow, resulting in a relationship that can only be mutually satisfying.

90. I should like to take this occasion to wish the ILO further and continuing success in its noble endeavours, and to add my humble felicitations to it on being awarded the 1969 Nobel Peace Prize.

91. I also take this opportunity, on this momentous occasion in the history of the development of human rights in general, and the ILO in particular, of pledging my Government's whole-hearted and continuing support to the ILO and its activities.

92. Mr. UMRATH (Netherlands): May I assure you, Madam President, that the delegation of the Netherlands deems it a great honour to have been invited to this rostrum, on the occasion of the ILO's fiftieth anniversary, on the same day that Her Majesty Queen Juliana takes part in the solemn celebration of this event in the Netherlands?

93. Although most of the old generation of leaders of employers' and workers' organizations and Government representatives of fifty years ago are no longer in our midst, there is still a vivid memory and a high appreciation of the then unheard-of adventure of tripartite co-operation. This sort of co-operation became very familiar and successful in many sectors of social and economic activities in my country after the Second World War. That is emphasized by the fact that the delegation of the Netherlands requested its trade union member to deliver this speech.

94. It has often been emphasized that, in the 1920s and early 1930s, the ILO, under the inspiring leadership of Albert Thomas, laid the foundations of international labour law and of international standards of working conditions. This has been especially important for a number of nations, among them the Netherlands, which had started widespread industrialization around the time of the First World War. For them the 1920s became a decennium of rapid change from an economy overwhelmingly based on trade, commerce and agriculture to a more and more industrialized and urbanized society. However, not only did the ILO's

conventions and recommendations concerning comprehensive social insurance systems and industrial relations serve as guidelines for national policies, but the very fact of regular international contacts and exchanges of views and experiences between those who formulated these national policies was most fruitful.

95. The great depression and its aftermath made the 1930s a time of economic decline and social misery. Export of unemployment, by protective measures and devaluation, was the main instrument of social and economic policies in many countries.

96. The second Director-General of the ILO, Harold Butler, tried, like few other outstanding men, but with little success, to convince the leaders of the nations that only international co-operation and not economic nationalism and isolation could help the world to get rid of unemployment and poverty and their social and political consequences.

97. It seems to my delegation that this celebration should not pass without paying tribute once again to Canada for offering the ILO as well as others who had to leave their homelands temporarily a safe haven during the dark years of the Second World War.

98. Soon after the end of the war the present Director-General, our friend David Morse, took over the leadership of an ILO which was to change greatly and rapidly in size, outlook and activities. It says much for his perseverance and imagination that the ILO became one of the pioneers of technical co-operation aiming at the rapid development of the human and material resources of the under-privileged regions, a programme which deserves, in the opinion of the Netherlands people and Government, one of the highest priorities.

99. The ILO has also developed the *corpus juris* of social justice, constituting a unique body of international standards for the promotion of economic and social rights and the protection of civil liberties as well. The Organisation added a great deal to the significance of its standard-setting activities by establishing a balanced system of international supervision. The effectiveness of these supervisory procedures largely depends on a fruitful dialogue between the supervisory organs and the member States.

100. It may safely be said that the experience gained in this respect by the ILO is a hopeful example of the possibilities of international co-operation in the field of supervising international humanitarian standards. My delegation would like to point out that the United Nations, in its endeavours to promote and encourage universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, may profit from the ILO's experience and should tread the roads which have already been successfully explored by the ILO.

101. As the country experiencing the largest population increase in the industrialized western part of the world, the Netherlands knows the importance of creating employment opportunities. We therefore congratulate the ILO for launching the World Employment Programme, covering the industrialized as well as the developing countries. Here again it is to the Director-General's credit that he empha-

sizes the fact that in a number of countries economic growth has failed to achieve its essential purpose since at the same time unemployment and under-employment are on the increase. Therefore, the strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade must take into account the fact that growth without additional employment is detrimental to the goal of the Decade. In our opinion, these new goals can be achieved only if all organs of international co-operation co-ordinate social and economic policies more and better than ever before.

102. I shall give just one example. At present, rising rates of interest are becoming a serious handicap to the employment efforts of the developing countries and to programmes aiming at social progress in many parts of the world. Looking at the 50-year record of the ILO, the Netherlands delegation is confident that that organization will again take the initiative in the right direction. International co-operation in the service of progress everywhere and for everyone, and peace within and between the nations: that is the record which has just been rewarded by the Nobel Prize for Peace.

103. We want to congratulate the Director-General and all the members of his Organisation on this timely recognition of 50 years of unrelenting effort.

104. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): The delegation of Israel wishes fully to associate itself with all the tributes which have been paid from this rostrum to the International Labour Organisation, following the well-deserved award to it of the Nobel Peace Prize on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of that organization. Fifty years is, in Jewish tradition, so the Talmud tells us, the age for good advice, and what a happy coincidence it is, as Lord Caradon and other speakers have reminded us, that this meeting is taking place 50 years to the day after the convocation of the first International Labour Conference in 1919.

105. This fiftieth anniversary has been marked in Israel by an outpouring of sincere satisfaction and admiration for the Organisation and its achievements in widely separated fields of human endeavour and human existence. As befits the tripartite structure of the International Labour Organisation, the different sectors of public and private life in Israel have each contributed to the commemoration in their own way. The President of the State himself was gracious enough to extend his patronage over the principal celebration. There were special sessions of the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Trade Unions, the Histadrut, representing the workers, and of the Manufacturers' Association, which is responsible for the representation of the employers. The jubilee was marked by a formal address in the Knesset by its speaker, Mr. Kadish Luz. The Ministry of Posts issued a special stamp. Many public meetings were devoted to the occasion, which was also featured prominently in the country's Hebrew and foreign-language press. Perhaps most important of all, in all the schools in the country special classes were devoted to the International Labour Organisation and to its importance for all of us.

106. The reason for this outpouring is clear. In the enlightened efforts which are being made to trace out the

path to a world of peace and justice, of social and civil equality and of freedom regardless of race, religion, ethnic origin and political adherence, the International Labour Organisation, one of the most successful of human enterprises operating in the social sphere, stands in the forefront.

107. The International Labour Organisation epitomizes the eternal truth that the serenity and well-being of man will never be achieved by means of force or oppression but only by the development of the human personality, working in harmonious unity with all the advantages that the achievements of modern technological advances have made available to us, and in circumstances, material and spiritual, which will ensure fit and proper conditions of work. The almost 300 international labour conventions and recommendations concluded under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation—covering, as they do, vast areas of social relations, and all of them texts of a most remarkable quality, many of which Israel has freely accepted—mark, each one of them, one more stage in the advance towards the achievement of these great and forward-reaching ideals.

108. The tripartite participation in the jubilee celebrations at home is a reflection of our earlier experiences with the International Labour Organisation. Since our independence, the Government of Israel has always regarded its becoming a member of the International Labour Organisation as being very next in practical importance and significance to its entry into the United Nations itself. It lost no time in 1949 in availing itself of its right to join the International Labour Organisation. Israel became a Member of the United Nations on 11 May 1949, and joined the International Labour Organisation two days later, on 13 May 1949. Since that time, we have consistently congratulated ourselves on our participation in all the forms of activity of the organization. Organized labour in Israel has, through the Histadrut, maintained close ties with the Organisation, and particularly with the workers' representation in it, for something like 40 out of the 50 years that the Organisation has existed. The same is true for the organized employers' groups.

109. The International Labour Organisation is a specialized agency devoted to the fulfilment, in a practical way, of the ideals of social justice which we hold so dear and which we have inherited from the teachings of our ancient prophets and sages. At a time when we in Israel were badly in need of it, the Organisation furnished us with a great deal of technical assistance. But this was not to be a one-sided effort; today we are gratified that many Israeli experts are able to make their experience and knowledge available to others in need of them through the auspices and within the framework of the technical assistance programmes of the International Labour Organisation.

110. My delegation, and I myself personally, would like to add our voice in praise of the present indefatigable Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, Mr. Morse, whom we are glad to see in this hall today, and whose constructive, statesmanlike and thought-provoking address of this morning will long be a source of inspiration to us. It is a keynote speech for the World Employment Programme. Aided by his able lieutenants, he has had the heavy responsibility of guiding the Organisation through a

particularly stormy period of post-war recovery and reconstruction, of decolonization and, now, of the universalization of the sphere of operations of the International Labour Organisation. If I single him out for special mention, and in silence pass over his eminent predecessors, it is because I have the honour of knowing him personally, being privileged, as a member of the International Law Commission, to enjoy the warmth of the International Labour Organisation's hospitality in Geneva and also to learn at first hand something of what is being done under his dynamic guidance.

111. We would also pay tribute to the Organisation's devoted staff, whose notions of service and duty have been such an important contribution to the development of the very concept of an international civil service. They have all carried on, and enriched, the noble traditions bequeathed to us by those who conceived of the idea of the International Labour Organisation and who devoted so much time and effort to its fruition over 50 years ago.

112. Finally, we would salute the very deep perception and sense of propriety of those responsible for the decision to award this year's Nobel Peace Prize to the International Labour Organisation.

113. Mr. ZOLLNER (Dahomey) (*translated from French*): The doyen of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, and in fact the oldest of the international organizations in the United Nations system, the International Labour Organisation this year celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. On this occasion the Republic of Dahomey joins other countries in expressing its admiration and satisfaction at the work of justice and peace performed by the ILO. The 1969 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to this international organization is a just reward for its splendid work, which we Africans fully appreciate.

114. Though late-comers to the international scene, the African countries are well aware of what they owe to the ILO. The social justice for which the ILO is working and the need to give man his true dignity are the poles round which our claims to the achievement of our independence have crystallized. In this struggle for greater social justice and for human dignity our trade unions have played an important part, inspired by the principle that guides the ILO: that peace can be lasting only if it is based on social justice.

115. We know—and it should be repeated until it becomes fact—that, as His Holiness Paul VI has said, "development is the new name for peace", development in the broad sense, the development of natural and material resources, of course, but above all the development of human resources. His Holiness knows this full well, and his visit to Geneva for the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO, like that of several Heads of African States, is a real testimony to the importance of the work for development and peace performed by the ILO in its promotion of greater social justice.

116. The World Employment Programme recently launched by the ILO, an ambitious but very necessary programme, is whole-heartedly supported by all the African countries and especially by the Republic of Dahomey. One of the

factors hampering our development is the under-employment or non-employment of our human resources, unemployment actual or disguised, which throws on the streets thousands of young people who could contribute effectively to the country's development.

117. The Republic of Dahomey is gratified by the ILO's co-operation in this respect. The Organisation's assistance in promoting employment in agriculture and in the establishment of vocational training programmes in co-operation with FAO and UNESCO is a step which my Government appreciates, and we note the gratifying co-ordination established among the various United Nations agencies in helping to solve the serious problem of under-employment and unemployment in our country.

118. The promotion of co-operatives, another ILO programme, and the training of cadres for development are steps whose importance to a developing country is self-evident.

119. The ILO is also interested in labour management, workers' education and the promotion of social security, all of them matters whose progress has an impact on our countries' general development and the exploitation of our natural resources.

120. The spirit in which the ILO regards the necessary co-operation between workers, employers and Governments to ensure greater social justice should be extended to the whole world through a more just distribution of world resources and fruitful discussions between the industrialized and the developing countries with a view to finding an equitable solution for the urgent problem of the prices of commodities, from which the agricultural countries mainly derive their income.

121. The Republic of Dahomey greatly admires the activities of the ILO. The African countries have appreciated them so deeply that they all support this agency, which has now become familiar in Africa; for since it has been decentralized it has set up an office at Addis Ababa, where the Organization of African Unity also has its headquarters, and regional offices at Cairo, Algiers, Dakar, Yaoundé, Lagos, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka and Kinshasa.

122. We commend the devotion of the staff of the ILO to the advancement in Africa. When the Director-General was re-elected in 1966, the African countries unanimously sponsored the candidature of Mr. David Morse, an international personality of the first rank, who has understood and assisted the aspirations of what we have come to call the proletarian nations. His remarkable statement this morning testifies once more to his concern for us.

123. On this fiftieth anniversary of the ILO the Republic of Dahomey wishes to express its whole-hearted support for the activities of this agency, in which we participate very closely. Even before our independence, indeed as early as 1950, one of our outstanding citizens played a considerable part in the Labour Commission of the Senate of what was then our administering Power in collaboration with the ILO in the African territories. Today the first Assistant Director-General of the ILO whom Africa south of the Sahara has ever had happens to be a national of Dahomey.

124. The African countries will continue to support the International Labour Organisation; and the Republic of Dahomey is resolved to support its efforts on behalf of mankind. We reaffirm at this fiftieth anniversary our full confidence in and support for this agency, which, though already of comparatively long standing, continues to display an exemplary vitality and energy commensurate with the problems confronting the modern world.

125. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*translated from French*): The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation at the General Assembly of the United Nations is a worthy sequel to the ceremonies held in Geneva during the fifty-third session of the International Labour Conference and in the capitals of member countries.

126. We heard this morning [*1793rd meeting*] two most inspiring addresses, one by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the other by Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the ILO.

127. During this commemorative meeting I cannot but remember, especially after these addresses and the statements of several of my colleagues, the eyes which everywhere in the world turn hopefully towards the seventies as towards a "world renaissance", and also the relatively realistic strategies which will be submitted to the international community to help its search for the way towards balanced development.

128. Placing the emphasis on its main objective, peace based upon social justice, the ILO has approved the World Employment Programme. Mr. David Morse, its Director-General, in a report both illuminating and convincing because of the spirit of universality in us to which it appealed, explained to us this morning, quoting figures and they were most disturbing figures, that the very peace of the world is at risk if we fail to provide work for hundreds of millions of young people. At the same time the World Employment Programme draws international attention to the basic requirement for progress—"man and his dignity". It does this too at a time when the limited and inadequate results of the first Decade are often attributed to the attachment of primary if not sole importance to purely economic aims, in the conviction that the almost automatic consequence of economic development is an improvement in living conditions and social progress.

129. The world today is very different from that of Albert Thomas, the first Director-General of the International Labour Office. Clearly, however, his basic principles have lost none of their validity. On the contrary, they shine out more clearly and more widely today, because they affect all the inhabitants of the globe.

130. Injustice, poverty, destitution and privation afflict the race of man, which in some parts of the world is daily increasing at a disturbing rate unparalleled in the past, especially in the developing countries; and these social evils threaten the peace and progress of the world.

131. The fiftieth anniversary has provided the ILO with a unique occasion both to review its achievements and to realize that new and wider tasks await it. It must tackle this

work with different strategies while remaining faithful to its mission and to the goals established 50 years ago.

132. This significant turning-point marked by the launching of the World Employment Programme makes the ILO a modern, vital and energetic organization capable of adapting itself with the necessary flexibility and promptness to respond more readily to the rapid changes in societies wherever situated and at whatever stage in their history.

133. I venture to add that if the ILO had done nothing else—and this is certainly not so—during its 50 years of life but make possible equal and constructive collaboration among representatives of Governments, employers and workers, all of whom enjoy equal rights within it, this in itself would be an extraordinary title to commendation, an unparalleled success on which all the Organisation's achievements are based.

134. If need there were for testimony, and testimony at the highest level, to the vitality of the ILO, we need only mention the visit by His Holiness Paul VI to Geneva during the Conference, and the award to the ILO of the Nobel Peace Prize. We welcome this outstanding and well-deserved distinction just conferred on an international organization whose achievements for half a century have been inspired by the ideal of social justice.

135. Italy, a founding member of the ILO and a member of its Governing Body, has always shared in its goals with faith and conviction. The ever-increasing contribution by the Italian Government to the activities of the ILO alike with money and with ideas and programmes is even more readily explicable today since Italy regards the ILO as one of the most valuable and most effective means of devising a policy calculated to benefit the developing countries.

136. Italy's social legislation is one of the most advanced in the world, and Italy is now among the first two or three members of the ILO to have applied—very often on their own initiative, as in my country's case—the principles embodied in almost all ILO recommendations and conventions.

137. As part of the technical assistance provided through the ILO, I must mention the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin. The International Labour Office felt it needed machinery enabling it to guide the planning, execution and control of the advanced training programmes for highly skilled workers from countries in the course of industrialization.

138. The Italian Government, ever eager to make the best contribution it can to the progress of the developing countries, made available to the ILO not only the necessary premises for housing the requisite teaching equipment, but also residential accommodation to house the fellows within the Centre itself. It has enacted legislation to provide for the cost of operating the Institute, which now amounts to \$800,000 yearly.

139. I should also like to remind you that if this institution, which has already been in operation for four years, is to work at full capacity, it must be given a firm financial base within the economy of the ILO in order to

provide all the developing countries with an institution in Turin for the technical and vocational training of senior and middle-level managers as well as of workers.

140. Italy believes that the celebration of the ILO's fiftieth anniversary provides a favourable opportunity to get the Turin Centre running at its "cruising speed" by setting up a regular budget enabling it to train an average of 1,500 to 2,000 fellows a year. Though it is not, of course, for this Assembly but for the member countries of the ILO to take decisions on this subject in the fairly near future, I can at least draw their attention to it, since they are assembled here today.

141. As part of the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary, my Government issued a series of postage stamps in June and is arranging an extensive programme of functions, information on which will be disseminated by radio, television and the press. Tomorrow an official ceremony at the Capitol in Rome will be attended by the President of the Republic and the highest official authorities and representatives of the workers, the employers and the ILO.

142. I would not wish to conclude my statement without conveying to the Director-General of the ILO, Mr. David Morse, and all members of his secretariat the Italian Government's thanks for the intelligent, modern and devoted work they have undertaken for the social welfare of all countries in general and the developing countries in particular.

143. It is a source of satisfaction to the Italian Government to observe that, owing to Mr. Morse's prudent and indefatigable activities, the ILO has been able to render its administrative and operational structures more flexible so as to make the greatest possible contribution in its own field to the Second United Nations Development Decade.

144. Italy wishes on this solemn occasion to reiterate its whole-hearted support for the ILO's activities in its traditional area of international social legislation as well as in the more recent area of technical assistance. Social justice and technical co-operation are two basic principles of the modern world, and without them a peaceful world could not conceivably be established. Universal and lasting peace can only be based on international justice and the economic and social development of all nations.

145. The Italian Government, which acts on this very principle, hopes that the ILO will pursue its indispensable activities for the welfare of the workers of the third world, and indeed of the whole world.

146. Mr. YASSEEN (Iraq) (*translated from French*): It is appropriate for us to celebrate here in the General Assembly the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation, which survived the League of Nations and became the first specialized agency, specially competent in the United Nations system for labour problems and social matters.

147. The ILO sprang from a social need, the need to regulate the conditions of human life and labour throughout the world; its purpose was and is to secure social justice. Owing to a well-devised structure and a secretariat

as able as it is clear-sighted, in half a century of fruitful activities the ILO has managed to adapt itself to the new facts of international life and to speed up social developments while achieving its aims.

148. In paying a tribute to this great Organization on this solemn occasion, I need only emphasize certain aspects of its work in the service of the international community. I will therefore comment briefly on its technical assistance to developing countries and its internationalization of labour law.

149. We are becoming more and more aware that the world is in fact one and that therefore the noble struggle for development has become an international task. It is intolerable that anyone anywhere in the world should not enjoy a level of living compatible with human dignity. The international organizations, each in its own field, are trying to expedite development in order to achieve a balance which is essential if the world is to be a better place. The ILO has spared no effort to this end. It provides the developing countries with technical assistance under its technical assistance programme whose purpose is to make the experience it has acquired available to these countries. To this end it has had to adapt its structure to new circumstances by introducing a system of regional conferences, regional advisory committees, field offices and expert meetings. These new activities ensure direct contact and consequently a better view of the developing countries' problems. Furthermore, the ILO is instituting a programme for improving employment opportunities throughout the world, in the developing countries in particular. One of the prerequisites for development—and certainly not the least of them—is the more extensive use of human resources.

150. The ILO's outstanding work is the internationalization of labour law. It is right that workers should everywhere be ensured a status guaranteeing a minimum subsistence compatible with human dignity. The tripartite structure of the ILO has enabled it to gain a better grasp of what was needed and so to draft regulations in a more effective form. The process by which conventions and recommendations are worked out within the ILO promotes the development of international regulations in all matters relating to labour. The system of notifying States of every convention adopted results in speedier ratification while safeguarding the sovereignty of States; and the system by which the application of conventions is supervised after their ratification has already proved effective. The rules embodied formally in the conventions and reflected in the recommendations are the fruit of long experience. They form a body of law which applies to all mankind, and which may inspire legislators and thus make for social progress even if the conventions are not ratified.

151. At this solemn celebration of the International Labour Organisation's fiftieth anniversary I should like on behalf of my delegation to commend it for all it has done in the service of mankind throughout the past half century to secure human rights, achieve social justice and promote understanding among nations. In conclusion I take great pleasure in congratulating its secretariat, and I must express our deep appreciation to Mr. David Morse, its Director-General, that great international civil servant who for so many difficult years has discharged his duties with a competence matched only by his zeal.

152. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*translated from French*): The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation is an event remarkable enough in itself, for only a very few members of the great United Nations family have a history lasting half a century. The International Labour Organisation has, however, in addition to its quantitative achievement—if I may so term it—a very important record of qualitative achievement. Its work has not only taken root in the daily life of all nations but has also stimulated the ever-increasing spread of social progress throughout the world. Conversely, it has affected the structure and even the purpose of the ILO. The Organisation was conceived at the outset as a world parliament of labour for the drafting of conventions and recommendations to regulate relations between employers and workers; but over the years it has much widened its functions. The Conference which met in Philadelphia in 1944 proclaimed that “poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere (article I (c) of the Declaration of Philadelphia). The ILO thus became the first organization to give concrete expression to a stage in the development of the world’s conscience, a stage which was to dominate international relations and give birth to the concepts of modern economic development. This is, I believe, a triumph that may well excite our fervent admiration and gratitude.

153. I therefore take great pleasure in joining the speakers who have preceded and will follow me in extending on behalf of my delegation our most sincere congratulations to Mr. David Morse, the Director-General of the ILO.

154. I should also like to extend my personal greetings to Mr. Morse, who is present here; for he has honoured me with his friendship ever since the sadly distant days when I represented the first Secretary-General of the United Nations at various meetings of the ILO.

155. A country like ours, whose enlightened monarch has inscribed on the pediment of its revolution the motto “No political democracy without economic democracy”, is bound to approve and support the international activities carried out by the ILO for the past 50 years. Our links with the Organisation reach far back into the past; and that in itself is the best earnest of our sincerity. We have benefited and will continue to benefit from our collaboration with the ILO, whose purposes and achievements have always been our guide and inspiration. We hope that our modest contribution to its work has been useful. We can only pray that its work will constantly be strengthened throughout our world of change.

156. Permit me to add that, though 50 years is a large part of the life of a man, it is only a short period in the life of an organization. Though the ILO is celebrating its fiftieth birthday today, it is only on the threshold of its youth, and has important programmes awaiting it. The Swedish Academy has quite rightly recognized this fact in awarding it the Nobel Peace Prize. To solve the problem of full employment in a world undergoing a population explosion is undoubtedly one of the best means of serving peace. This is the theme of Mr. David Morse’s admirable address to us this morning. We hope that the International Labour Organisation’s second half century will be even more fruitful than its first.

157. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): On the occasion of United Nations day, last week, the Secretary-General, U Thant, referred to the fact that the United Nations had gone through the stages of childhood and adolescence and had now become a full adult. But by the measure employed by the Secretary-General, the International Labour Organisation whose golden anniversary we celebrate this year is not only an adult but a mature adult with a vast store of experience and wisdom.

158. At the same time, the ILO has known how to preserve its youthful vigour in the service of labour and in the solution of international manpower problems. Throughout its half century of existence it has made a mighty contribution towards enhancing the dignity of labour, assisting Governments in training programmes, conducting research on labour problems, elaborating labour standards and, in general, helping the social and economic development of Member States.

159. When we compare working conditions in the world today with what they were in past decades, we note a tremendous transformation, and much of the credit goes to the ILO for making this transformation possible.

160. The success of the ILO is in no small measure due to its unique tripartite structure bringing together Governments, labour and management for the common purpose of serving the working man. The long services of the ILO to mankind received just recognition when it was selected to be the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for this year.

161. I wish to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the eminent Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, Mr. David Morse, for the inspiring leadership he has provided for so many years to this great Organisation. Likewise, I should like to congratulate the loyal and hard-working staff of the Organisation, both at its headquarters and in the field. We wish to commend the ILO’s initiative under the guidance of the Director-General in launching the World Employment Programme, which will be one of the basic elements of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The ILO’s past record is the best guarantee we have that it will be equal to the great challenges that it will have to face in the future.

162. Finally, I should like to express the satisfaction of my Government at the cordial and fruitful co-operation that exists between Turkey and the International Labour Organisation.

163. Mr. CHENG PAO-NAN (China): At the time when we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation many thoughts pass through our minds. First and foremost among them are thoughts directed to the initiators who conceived the idea of an organization on the international level devoted to promotion of the dignity of labour. Fifty years ago that idea in itself was a revolutionary one.

164. Secondly, we are impressed with the role which the ILO has played, not only in drafting hundreds of recommendations and conventions, but in being able to implement them through methods of persuasion—some quiet,

some not so quiet—but never losing sight of the fundamental principle of not interfering in the internal affairs of member States. That practical and realistic approach has created confidence among member States in the International Labour Office and Organisation. It is also recognized that recommendations and conventions of the ILO are, in most cases, setting standards for the labourer's welfare, whether in the developed or the developing member State.

165. Thirdly, the ILO has created a cadre of loyal and competent personnel during the last 50 years. Many of them have made a career in the ILO at great personal sacrifice.

166. Fourthly, while some may say that the ILO tripartite system has worked well, by and large harmoniously, it is the fourth and unacknowledged party—the ILO Office—which makes the tripartite system work.

167. Finally, I cannot let this occasion pass without mentioning the honour which has been bestowed this year on the ILO by the Nobel Prize Committee. It is recognition of all the facts I have just stated. This should be a proud day for the ILO, for its staff, and for Mr. David Morse. It should encourage all those in the ILO, and all those outside the ILO, to promote further the dignity of labour and social justice for all peoples of the world, because only through social and economic justice can we have domestic tranquillity. If we have domestic tranquillity in all countries, then peace on earth and goodwill towards men have a better chance of being achieved. We are confident that Mr. Morse and his staff will not relax their efforts to this challenge in the many years to come.

168. Mr. DAHMOUCHE (Algeria) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly is allocating this day to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation. This is in fact a double ceremony, since the ILO is celebrating not only its fiftieth anniversary but also the well-deserved award to it of the Nobel Peace Prize.

169. By its public international functions, the ILO, whose authority is beyond dispute, is linked with a group of international organizations that pursue the same goal as itself by different roads. My delegation does not wish to go back over the history of the ILO, but cannot ignore 50 years of hard, tenacious work, including a considerable degree of self-sacrifice. The ILO has now set itself the task of permanently reshaping its structure and improving its methods of work, so as to give even better service to the world's workers. It has done more than merely protect their interests; it has helped to restore their lost dignity and has given them a new status. It has made real the concepts of duty, responsibility and discipline while resisting the very natural temptation to adopt a narrowly corporate—even though an international—attitude. It has linked work with the human rights and freedoms which are work's natural companions.

170. No one today would deny that the ILO has achieved some of its objectives. But there is still much to do.

171. Historically, the foundation of the ILO was the result of social thinking that had been developing in Europe

throughout the nineteenth century. All those who wished to promote social reform, whether trade unionists, industrialists, sociologists or statesmen, had realized that any country or industry which wished to improve the conditions of its workers was, on account of the resulting increase in labour costs, weakening its competitive position in relation to other countries and industries. Clearly, the only solution to the problem was to draw up international agreements. The idea of international labour legislation gradually gained ground.

172. Thereafter, in stages, the organization that we know today began to take shape. In 1890 the Congress of Berlin was convened; in 1897 the International Congress of Labour Law, meeting in Brussels, laid the foundations of the International Association for Labour Legislation, which was established three years later. That Association started to publish the social legislation of various countries, thus initiating the Legislative Series still published by the ILO. In 1901 it founded an international labour office at Basle, which became a centre for documentation, study and research and thus to some extent foreshadowed the present International Labour Office. Although in 1914 war interrupted work on the plans then in preparation, the first steps towards international social co-operation had been taken, and turned a slight trend into a decisive force. The labour movement became aware of its strength and gradually but continuously built up a pressure powerful enough to persuade the Peace Conference, when it met in Paris in 1919, to take the unprecedented step of creating a Commission on International Labour Legislation, composed not only of Government representatives but also of spokesmen for workers and employers. This Commission adopted a text which became Part XIII (Labour) of the Treaty of Versailles and thus fathered the International Labour Organisation, whose Constitution is, apart from some amendments, still based on that original text.

173. The structural advantages of the ILO enabled it to survive the Second World War and after an interruption of five years it resumed its task of defining the aims and objectives best suited to the new era it foresaw.

174. The vicissitudes of the intervening years and the fortunes and misfortunes that befell the ILO may be passed over. In 1946, however, an important event took place: the ILO became the first specialized agency to become associated with the United Nations. Close and effective collaboration was established between the two bodies in numerous fields, a few of which were technical instruction, vocational training, rural and industrial development, and health protection for workers. Since it called for co-ordinated efforts, it led to common advantages. If proof is needed, it can be seen in the increased participation by Governments in the work of the ILO. In 1969 these numbered 120, a figure that shows clearly enough that the activities of the ILO will henceforth cover all parts of the world—and doubtless raise new problems.

175. The reassessment of objectives which the ILO carried out in 1944 is fairly evidently needed again today. As I said just now, the ILO has achieved some of its objectives but still has much to do. My delegation is sure that the ILO is itself aware that the changes in the nature of the battle to be fought, the wider participation in the

common task, and the recent developments in technology now urgently require it to take a new look at its future work. In a changing world, in which the poverty of two thirds of the population is becoming generally recognized as a source of social instability and cultural disruption and even as a danger to world peace, absolute priority must be given to objectives that would not so much enable the working classes to extract from their employers concessions that can have no future in the developing countries, but rather to develop opportunities for every individual to obtain the work to which he is entitled—in other words to make his personal contribution to increased prosperity as an integral part of a more general cultural, social and economic effort.

176. My delegation has noted with interest that the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO which we are celebrating today coincides with the preparations for the Second United Nations Development Decade, to be launched in 1971. This is indeed more than a coincidence; it is a symbol. We should like to ask the ILO and its leaders—and here we would refer particularly to the personal contribution of Mr. David Morse, to whose tireless devotion and efficiency we should like to pay a tribute—to give further thought to the Organisation's course of action, so that they can direct themselves resolutely towards the new approach called for by the wide variety of situations existing in the countries of the third world. We are thinking more specifically of a redefinition of the objectives of the International Labour Organisation in the light of the contribution that the workers of the third world may make to their national development; of the great need for training and education of workers and their families; of employment programmes, and above all of the final elimination of the racist and discriminatory policy of *apartheid*, which is still flourishing in southern Africa and appears to have inspired dreams in new sorcerers' apprentices in areas under colonial domination.

177. One cannot help feeling that the great victories won by organized labour must seem rather hollow in the light of the terrible and apparently endless suffering endured by the vast majority of the world's population.

178. In conclusion, I should like to quote from the message recently delivered by President Boumédiène on behalf of Algeria's Revolutionary Council to the International Labour Conference:

"We are happy to address to you our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO. Fifty years of hard work, over a period which included two world wars, prove the effectiveness of the Organisation which devotes all its efforts to the most noble mission, which consists in working for the working class and its rights in life. The hopes of the world are directed to your Conference and the decisions which you will take, which will serve as new bases for international co-operation and for the better conditions to ensure social justice and peace. May the fiftieth anniversary constitute a new milestone in the life of the ILO."⁶

⁶ The text of this message is contained in the record of proceedings of the twenty-ninth sitting of the fifty-third session of the International Labour Conference.

179. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): In January 1919, the year in which the International Labour Organisation was established, and before our independence was recognized, my country's first Parliament of modern times adopted as its first act a Declaration of Irish Independence and a "Democratic Programme". That Programme set out the hopes and aspirations of our Parliament for an independent Ireland. As its seventh and final directive, it contained the following:

"It shall also devolve upon the national Government to seek the co-operation of the Governments of other countries in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour."⁷

180. Four years later, in 1923, Ireland took a significant step in the field of international co-operation by joining the League of Nations. At the same time the Government, in compliance with the national policy directive adopted in 1919 by the Irish Parliament, became a member of the International Labour Organisation.

181. In January of this year we in Ireland celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the first meeting of our national Parliament. In June my Government participated in the commemoration in Geneva of the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO, being represented by a delegation headed by Dr. P. J. Hillery, our then Minister of Labour, now Minister for External Affairs. Today we are happy to join in the celebration by the United Nations of the first half century of the International Labour Organisation, where so much has been done to give effect to the hope of that first Irish Parliament for the achievement of a satisfactory standard of social and industrial legislation designed to improve labour conditions.

182. The concern of the first Irish Parliament with labour questions was natural in view of the very important role played by labour in the Irish independence movement. A prominent leader of the historic Easter Rising of 1916, and of the provisional Government then proclaimed, was James Connolly, a man who devoted his life to advancing the cause of labour—in Scotland, in the United States of America and above all in Ireland—and to propagating the principles of social justice.

183. In its 46 years of membership my country has tried to advance the objectives of the ILO. We have subscribed to a very great number of the conventions it has elaborated; and we like to see a tribute to our attachment to its objectives in the fact that in its 50 years of existence the office of President of the annual conference has been held by two representatives of Ireland—in 1937 by Mr. Sean Lemass, then Minister for Industry and Commerce and later Prime Minister, and in 1962 by his successor as Minister for Industry and Commerce and later his successor as Head of the Government, our present Prime Minister, Mr. John Lynch.

184. In one of his writings, in 1910, James Connolly took as his text the following statement:

⁷ See *A Source Book of Irish Government*, edited by Basil Chubb (Dublin Institute of Public Administration, 1964), p. 52.

"It is not to be wondered at that the spirit of restless revolt which has gained such predominating influence over the nations of the world should have passed beyond the arena of politics to assert itself in the domain of practical economy. The causes likely to create a conflict are unmistakable. They are the marvellous discoveries of science, the colossal development of industry, the changed relations between workmen and masters, the enormous wealth of the few and the abject misery of the many, the more defiant self-reliance and the more scientific organization of the workers, and finally a widespread depravity in moral principle and practice."⁸

185. These words, taken by Connolly from the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891, seem strangely apposite today. For it cannot be denied that certain of the disquieting factors to which Pope Leo XIII then called attention are still present; but whereas in 1891 no forum existed in which an effort could be made to overcome, through international co-operation, the dangers then foreseen, we are fortunate in having today an organization which has proved itself over half a century and which can tackle, with enhanced vigour and energy, the task of eliminating those factors. In confronting that task the Organisation derives support and strength from the fact that it is a member of a closely-knit family of organizations and agencies all of which strive towards the same broad goals under the auspices of the United Nations.

186. The high ideals enshrined in the Constitution of the Organisation and in the Philadelphia Declaration, antedating as they do the establishment of the United Nations, are rightly reflected in the Charter. Many speakers have already pointed out that close co-ordination between the ILO and the United Nations is all the more necessary now when the world community has embarked upon a programme of development designed, in the words of both the Philadelphia Declaration and the Charter, to promote social progress and better standards of living in the conviction that, to cite the Preamble to the ILO Constitution, "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice".

187. The present Pope, His Holiness Paul VI, has reminded us in his encyclical entitled *Populorum Progressio* that "development is the new name for peace". The ILO has long been committed to the proposition that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere", and it has this year fittingly launched the World Employment Programme, which Mr. Hillery warmly welcomed on behalf of the Irish Government in his statement at the fifty-third session of the ILO Conference in Geneva on 9 June 1969.

188. It is a source of deep satisfaction to all those committed to the objectives of the ILO that its past activities have this year been crowned by the award of the Nobel Prize for Peace, an award which is at the same time a well-deserved recognition of the dynamic leadership of the Director-General, Mr. Morse, and of the services of his devoted staff.

189. Some years ago a distinguished Irishman, Mr. Edward Phelan, Director-General of the ILO from 1946 to 1948,

⁸ *The Best of Connolly* (Cork, Mercier Press Corporation, 1967), p. 100.

wrote as follows about relations between the ILO and the United Nations in an article entitled "The Contribution of the ILO to Peace":

"... when the United Nations has had time to anchor its authority deep in the minds of men, when the political habit of turning to it for leadership and decision has been firmly established, when in short it occupies to the full the position which the aspirations of all men of good will design for it and is securely throned in the temple of enduring peace, the ILO will reflect with joy and thankfulness that it had some part in the building of that edifice and quarried some of the strongest stones for its foundation".⁹

190. Today, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Charter itself, when, in the words of the late Mr. Phelan, the United Nations has "had time to anchor its authority deep in the minds of men", it is fitting that we here warmly congratulate our sister organization and that we gratefully acknowledge all it has done to better social conditions in the world, thus contributing powerfully to world peace.

191. Mrs. RADIĆ (Yugoslavia): It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I take the floor on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation to pay tribute to the International Labour Organisation, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, for its great achievements and tireless efforts in promoting labour relations and the dignity of workers. I should like to join previous speakers who have so eloquently and warmly commended the ILO for its vigorous work and its contributions—the ILO which has deserved the Nobel Peace prize.

192. On this occasion, I should also like to congratulate its Director-General, Mr. Morse, on his devotion and on the efforts he has made and is making.

193. The fiftieth anniversary of the ILO, from the standpoint of its achievements and progress during the past half century, is a historic occasion in itself, a chance to review past accomplishments, a source of renewed efforts in important activities and, for us assembled here today, an occasion once more to pledge our faith in the ILO.

194. The ILO was born in 1919, following the First World War, in a period of unprecedented revolutionary change during which working conditions were a matter of immense social concern, demanding urgent, positive action. For the first time in human history, representatives of the working class were in a position to make their demands within an international organization, to fight for better working conditions and higher standards of living, and to fight for their human, social and economic rights. We are happy to see that Organisation expanding notwithstanding its difficult and challenging 50-year period of fruitful existence.

195. Since 1919 the problems of workers have been posed in a continuously changing political, social, economic and technological milieu. We have witnessed the emergence of

⁹ Edward Phelan, *The Contribution of the ILO to Peace* (reprinted from the *International Labour Review*, vol. LIX, No. 6, June 1949), p. 26.

new needs, approaches, demands, means and methods; in addition, the means for action have been enriched. There are now not only activities on international conventions and recommendations and research in labour relations, but also technical co-operation and various means for the exchange of views. A particular working standard that was achieved 25 years ago could today well be an obstacle. The process of change during which the ILO was born is continuing at a continually increasing pace today. In this respect, the impact of the revolution in science and technology plays a predominant role. Therefore, those ILO activities concerned with human rights, equal opportunity, the elimination of discrimination, the right to work, social security, and so forth, are obviously necessary and we shall do our utmost to further them. The fact that ILO conventions have become, in many instances, a base for national policy and legislation in the field of labour relations and that many of its standards have served as models for national legislation and practice is proof enough that the work of the ILO is necessary and useful and should be vigorously continued.

196. The ability of the ILO to adapt itself to change and to exercise leadership in the field of labour relations is evident from the fact that it has given greater attention to the needs of the developing countries, particularly in recent years, to their employment problems and to the development and utilization of human resources.

197. In this context, one cannot but note the importance of that remarkable undertaking, the World Employment Programme, to which we wish every success, and the important role of the ILO in the coming Second United Nations Development Decade. I take this opportunity of pledging Yugoslavia's full support to the ILO and its programmes of activity.

198. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): Brazil warmly congratulates the International Labour Organisation, of which we are one of the founding members, on the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. During this very session of the General Assembly, the Brazilian Government has more than once called upon Members of the international community to renew their efforts towards the establishment of the spirit of justice in their relations among nations, whether large or small, as an indispensable condition for the maintenance of world peace.

199. It is precisely in this spirit of justice, wherein lies the very root of the International Labour Organisation's quest for a greater degree of humanity and equanimity in labour relations, that we find the reason for the longevity of that Organisation. Being the senior among the specialized agencies, it was able to survive the historical difficulties of the thirties and the forties precisely because it responded to an elementary and fundamental need: dignity and justice in labour relations. To the profound significance of the noble eight years which inspired the work of Albert Thomas and of his contemporaries, we must add another element of no less importance. I am referring to the policy of development in which the great majority of our nations are engaged, and whose success depends largely on optimum conditions of employment of labour. Thus, it is both for ethical and economic reasons that the International Labour Organisation has increasingly participated in the building of

a better and more just world—an aspiration so often voiced by delegates who took part in this Assembly's general debate.

200. The precepts of social and labour justice have been traditionally embodied in Brazilian law and jurisprudence. Brazil has always been an active member of the International Labour Organisation. We have led the fight for a majority of its conventions, and we have always supported the work of the ILO. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of such an outstanding organization, the Brazilian Government wishes continued success to the work of the ILO so that the dignity and prosperity of workers of all nations will be a permanent foundation for world peace.

201. In this connexion, the Nobel Peace Prize just awarded the International Labour Organisation fittingly crowns the Organisation's outstanding achievements during the years of its existence. On this auspicious occasion, we extend our warmest congratulations to the Director-General, Mr. David Morse, who has played such an outstanding role in fostering the ideals of the Organisation.

202. On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the appeals for new ways to assure international security—a goal not as yet attained—have renewed significance. It is particularly timely to meditate on the efficacy of the idealism of the Organisation, to which we so properly pay tribute today.

203. Mr. NSANZE (Burundi) (*translated from French*): On behalf of my country I rise with great pleasure to congratulate the International Labour Organisation sincerely on its fiftieth anniversary, a cause for pride in all countries that aspire to peace and social justice.

204. Personally, I have had many different opportunities of fruitful collaboration with Mr. David Morse, the Director-General of the ILO. Although the ILO is now in its fifty-first year, it is going through a period of rejuvenation thanks to the steadfast efforts of its Director-General. In his statement this morning he used words which vividly illustrate his deep concern for economic and social development, namely, "We must be organized in such a way that we can move with and even ahead of the times in which we live". [1793rd meeting, para. 34.]

205. During the many years in which the leadership of the ILO has been in the able hands of Mr. Morse, it has moved forcefully towards the achievement of the main object laid down in its Constitution: to contribute to world peace through economic and social development and progress. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the ILO is a clear indication of the part it has played in the quest for a secure world.

206. The future programme described to us by the Director-General in his statement this morning is also a good example of what he proposes to accomplish during the Second United Nations Development Decade. All the efforts and resources of the ILO, we learn, are to be devoted to the search for a sovereign remedy for poverty and hardship—because there can be no true peace without compassionate progress.

207. Because of this combination of circumstances, events and situations, my delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. David Morse and the organization he leads. Burundi, since its independence, has benefited from co-operation with the ILO in numerous directions. That co-operation can be expected to increase and expand now that new leaders have been elected by the people to govern the Republic. Not only has there been a sharp improvement in that co-operation, but entirely new conditions have also been established that will prepare and ensure its unimpeded development.

208. The areas in which the ILO has provided aid and technical assistance in my country are too numerous to list. None the less, mention must be made of those where it has had a particularly beneficial influence. Its technicians and experts have helped to prepare the Labour Code; it has taken part in the completion of numerous social, vocational, educational and agricultural projects; and it has helped to found the Burundi Workers' Union on principles and laws that correspond exactly with its own Constitution.

209. As I have already said, apart from Burundi's gratitude for the ILO's beneficial activities in the areas I have mentioned, my Government has other reasons for its unreserved appreciation. We welcome most warmly the extension of Mr. David Morse's term of office. At one time in Burundi certain factions stirred up trouble and attempted, under the union banner and by various unprincipled methods, to supplant the Burundi authorities in matters falling wholly under their national jurisdiction. However, thanks to the coolheadedness, impartiality and absolute integrity of the Director-General and his staff, this improper interference was successfully resisted and the whole matter could be seen in its true light.

210. My Government, for its part, is proud to say that it has guaranteed that the laws of social justice shall be applied in full and that trade union rights shall be freely enjoyed in accordance with the spirit, principles and guidelines of the ILO.

211. As a result of the Director-General's great interest in Africa, he has done his utmost to grant our young continent its rightful place in the family of nations that make up the ILO by appointing a Deputy Director-General from Africa. In doing so he has given further evidence of his keen interest in the new nations, which, after all, need more than the developed countries did to enable them in their turn to achieve economic and social self-sufficiency.

212. Consequently we wish to convey our warmest wishes to the ILO and its Director-General, and also to express the hope that their steadfast efforts will help to establish a world in which, pending military disarmament, the ILO will succeed in overcoming hunger, poverty and social and economic under-development, particularly in the third world.

213. Mr. RESICH (Poland) (*translated from French*): I am happy to be speaking on the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation, whose work has recently been honoured by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize. My delegation much appreciates its preparation of a large number of international instruments that will help to

improve the world labour situation by guaranteeing, among other benefits, the rights of women and children.

214. Poland is a founding member of the ILO, and it has always given and will continue to give its full support to the Organisation's objectives. The representatives of Poland, of its Government, its workers and its employers participate actively in the ILO's work, particularly in the drafting of conventions, most of which have been signed by the Polish Government. The Polish delegation to the fiftieth session of the International Labour Conference also supported and contributed to the World Employment Programme, which was formally promulgated during that session.

215. Fifty years of existence is a fine span. In our opinion, the fiftieth anniversary provides more than merely an occasion to express our appreciation of achievements and successes. It is also a good opportunity to pause for reflection and to consider how the ILO's activities might be constructively improved. During those 50 years the world has undergone profound changes, which have not been fully reflected in the structures of the ILO. In the opinion of my Government, therefore, these must be brought up to date and made more democratic. In some of its bodies the socialist countries, like the new countries of Asia and Africa, do not have the representation that corresponds to their position in the contemporary world. There is no doubt that this situation is prejudicial to the ILO and to its ability to achieve the very important tasks that remain to be performed.

216. That is why my delegation, when offering its congratulations to the International Labour Organisation on its achievements during the past half century, also wished to make these few comments, which, if accepted, would help the Organisation to fulfil more amply and effectively the hopes reposed in it by hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world.

217. Mr. NJINE (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): The ceremonies organized at Geneva, the seat of the International Labour Office, and in the various member countries to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation are sufficient in themselves to illustrate the general satisfaction felt by all those, far and near, who have benefited from its assistance. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that the delegation of Cameroon should follow the many other speakers to this rostrum and pay a tribute to the work of all those men, from Albert Thomas to David Morse, whose flexible leadership of the ILO has adapted it to a world of constant change.

218. That the ILO is one of the few remaining institutions born of the peace of 1919 is due in part to its energetic approach to its noble task and to its ability to adapt its structures and methods to new requirements. But it has survived also because from the very beginning its mission has placed it at the centre of our overriding problem, that of social justice.

219. The first factors that come to mind in connexion with social justice in nation States are distribution of income, promotion of employment, and improvement of working conditions: in other words, equal opportunities for all citizens.

220. But there is another sphere in which the ILO has been able with its limited resources to complete its task successfully. I refer to the establishment of the partnership between Governments, employers and wage-earners. And as Mr. Morse, the Director-General, to whose untiring efforts we wish to pay a tribute, has himself said in his World Employment Programme, the ILO is regarded, because of its tripartite structure and the extent of its responsibilities and activities, as the institution in which the nations of the world should join together to translate principles into facts by specific practical international action. The induction by the ILO of the individual into the international community may sharpen its general awareness of the need for collective action against under-development.

221. Some persons are still, of course, complacent about the injustice, poverty and privation which are still the lot of the vast majority. They seem unaware that, whereas social justice is a prerequisite for peace in a community of States, an equitable distribution of the fruits of civilization is still essential for general and permanent peace; for, to borrow from Mr. David Morse again, war violates peace but so does injustice. The ILO is a prime exponent of that concept, and the recent and timely award to it of the Nobel Peace Prize was well judged.

222. Since my country's independence it has benefited regularly from co-operation with the ILO; and President Ahidjo recently had the opportunity at Geneva to refer to Cameroon's great interest in that co-operation and to speak of the need for international action on behalf of the poor countries of the world. He said: "I have already indicated how much the Cameroon people appreciates this practical and positive assistance—just as it appreciates the assistance of other United Nations agencies—especially in the field of basic and advanced training of manpower and, generally speaking, in the rational utilization of human resources both in urban and rural areas."¹⁰ In the view of my Head of State, the purpose of the ILO's support of our countries is to "build on the basis of the common material aspirations of mankind a sense of moral unity based on common values. We must develop a universal civilization nourished by the unique contribution of each people and calling on all nations to share in its blessings."¹¹

223. One page in the history of the ILO has just been turned. Another begins with the next decade. In that connexion Cameroon notes with great satisfaction the contribution that the ILO intends to make to the preparation and implementation of a sound and concerted international development strategy. I am sure that the strategy for social progress, which is to be based on the World Employment Programme and to aim at creating more opportunities for productive work, will help to solve the most crucial problem facing the developing countries. The difficulties of this undertaking are enormous; but let us hope that the ILO will succeed. Who knows what marvels men might accomplish if they made peace and lived together in brotherly amity and justice?

224. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): Since I am the last but one of the thirty-odd representatives to speak from this rostrum

today in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation, and in view of the lateness of the hour, I shall endeavour to be brief.

225. The Director-General has today given us a very eloquent and graphic report on the ILO's operations, objectives and goals, and I do not wish to dwell on statistics. However, I do wish to say that, having participated personally in the meetings in Geneva, and having supported the ILO in my own country, I was moved by the stirring report of the Director-General and wish to take this opportunity of congratulating him on it.

226. On the occasion of the historic observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation, which has weathered the storms and aftermaths of two world wars, I wish on behalf of the Liberian delegation to extend sincere and warm congratulations to that organization, its Director-General, Mr. David Morse, and all his co-workers who have, over the years, rendered such meaningful and effective service to mankind as a whole.

227. In accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation has played a significant and effective role in achieving international co-operation and in the solution of international problems of an economic nature. Thus it has rendered, and we sincerely hope it will continue to render, valuable assistance in the raising of standards of living throughout the world; and we hope it will also continue to champion social justice.

228. The Director-General, Mr. Morse, has shown complete dedication to the work of the Organisation and through his efforts and those of his co-workers has made the Organisation a living reality in meeting the challenges of today's world by pushing back the frontiers of want and poverty.

229. As a member of the Organisation, my country, Liberia, has supported its policies and programmes and is determined to contribute the best of its efforts towards a more complete realization of the goals and aspirations set by it.

230. It is a matter of great significance that, coincidentally with the observance of the golden anniversary of the ILO, the Nobel Peace Prize should have been awarded in high recognition of its outstanding work and service to mankind.

231. Liberia, as a developing country, has seen and felt the effectiveness of the ILO, and therefore we are proud to associate ourselves with fellow representatives in recording our profound appreciation and support for the Organisation on this historic occasion, an occasion on which Mr. Morse, his predecessors and his many co-workers should look back with reassuring pride at having achieved so much in a world torn apart by strife, mistrust and rivalry. May the work and efforts of the Organisation continue to rank high in service that guarantees life and hope to mankind.

232. Therefore it is my privilege and pleasure, speaking on behalf of the Liberian delegation and the Government and people of Liberia, to extend through you, Madam President, to the Director-General and to the Organisation our

¹⁰ Statement made at the 22nd meeting of the fifty-third session of the International Labour Conference.

¹¹ *Idem*.

congratulations and the expression of our desire to assist in whatever way we can in furthering and realizing fully its goals and aspirations.

233. We also wish to extend warm felicitations to Mr. Morse, in particular, on his dynamic leadership and our best wishes to the Organisation for the continued promotion and achievement of its goals and aspirations and for added success in the greater development of human and economic resources, which will enable us to meet the challenges of our times. May his dedication influence men like himself to continue to inspire and lead more like him to take up the gauntlet and move forward boldly into the next decade as strong arms of the United Nations!

234. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): On the doubly significant occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Organisation, the Austrian delegation extends its warm congratulations to the ILO and to its Director-General, Mr. Morse. Under his able guidance for more than 20 years, the International Labour Organisation has created a unique record of positive achievement among the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Since the International Labour Organisation was founded at Versailles in 1919 with the purpose of contributing to a lasting peace through social justice, more than 130 conventions and many other international instruments have emerged through the activities of the International Labour Organisation, dealing with nearly all aspects of the social field with the object of establishing on a world-wide basis progressive international labour standards. This great achievement demonstrates not only that there exists a collective responsibility on the part of mankind to act in favour of social justice but that there was and is the will to carry out constructive deeds.

235. The will to joint action is a dominant factor in the ILO, despite the fact that the machinery of that specialized agency is based on a tripartite system representative of Government, employers and employees. Although the representatives of each of those three groups have to defend their particular interests, nevertheless the joint will to succeed has been so strong that the tangible results I have mentioned did emerge.

236. Thus the International Labour Organisation became one of the main pillars of the United Nations and of the international community as such. Those who had the privilege of knowing the dynamic personality of Mr. Albert Thomas and listening to his convincing speeches will realize that, at the beginning of the existence of the International Labour Organisation, the first Director-General of that organization devoted all his energy to keeping the ILO going with increasing success. He was therefore called in that period the "father of the ILO".

237. Austria fully agrees with what the very able present Director-General has stated this morning in his address [1793rd meeting]: that a campaign for productive employment possibilities should be one of the central goals of the Second Development Decade and therefore it should be integrated in the United Nations programme for the Second Development Decade.

238. In that connexion, I should like to mention that a little country like Austria was recently able to provide in its

territory employment for more than 60,000 nationals of two countries, one a south-eastern European country and the other a west Asian country.

239. The International Labour Organisation, however successful in the past, must look ahead and it will undoubtedly have to face obstacles which will emerge in the future, but we are convinced that the Organisation will be an effective instrument for international co-operation in the social field, as it has been in the past. As far as Austria is concerned, it is willing to continue to place its confidence not only in the United Nations but also in the successful future activities of the International Labour Organisation.

240. Mr. ZIKIE (Ethiopia): During the last ILO Conference and commemoration ceremony held in Geneva, my august sovereign, Emperor Haile Selassie, addressed the Assembly, but, as a founder member of the Organisation, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the International Labour Organisation on this particular day when the Organisation celebrates its fiftieth anniversary. The well-known achievements of the Organisation during its half-century of existence have been recognized by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, and we salute that decision. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to the Director-General and the members of his staff.

241. The PRESIDENT: On the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation, with your permission, I should also like to make a few remarks.

242. The fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation has a particular significance in the long struggle for human dignity. The International Labour Organisation has done much in this respect, and the Nobel Peace Prize it has so appropriately been awarded reminds us of a basic but often forgotten truth, that there is no peace without social justice.

243. During its 50 years of existence, the International Labour Organisation has pursued one aim: to improve the lot of the working man and the working woman. Through the adoption of many labour conventions, it has progressively secured our basic human rights. It has fought discrimination in employment. It has worked towards the abolition of forced labour. It has established the principles of equal pay for equal work and of the freedom of association.

244. The International Labour Organisation began to set the standard in the early part of this century, at a time when the poor countries had little weight in world affairs, and many were not even independent. To narrow the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots", the International Labour Organisation has increasingly devoted more and more of its efforts in recent times to developing countries. It is now engaged in a vast programme of technical assistance, endeavouring to give industrial and agricultural workers at all levels the ability to earn a more decent living through education and training. Hundreds of experts bring hope and self-confidence to the many millions who were neglected for too long.

245. However, as Mr. Morse has often noted, rising industrial and farm output has little meaning for those who, because of unemployment, do not have the means to benefit from technological progress. In the developing world today, between 200 and 300 million people are unemployed or under-employed, and thus only able to maintain themselves in squalor. Furthermore, in the years to come, the population explosion will add millions more to the labour force. Recognizing this enormous challenge, the International Labour Organisation has now launched a World Employment Programme to help create more jobs.

246. The International Labour Organisation has always remained dedicated to its basic purpose—the betterment of the working man. At the half-century mark the International Labour Organisation reminds us that social justice, like peace, is indivisible. This is a good augury for the future. It is also fitting that, while this fiftieth anniversary has been celebrated by the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, the United Nations itself—as the most wide-ranging organization in the modern world—should today pay a proper tribute to the great human achievements of the International Labour Organisation.

247. I will now give the floor to the Director-General, Mr. Morse.

248. Mr. MORSE (International Labour Organisation): Allow me, Madam President, through you, at this very late hour at the end of a long day, to express my appreciation and thanks to all those who have participated in the discussion today and who have expressed their support for the objectives and activities of the International Labour Organisation.

249. Allow me also to take one moment to say how much this will mean to the staff of the International Labour

Office, the international civil service that works night and day—to those presently employed and to those now in retirement—who have been honoured by these expressions of confidence which have come from all sides of the hall today. This is the greatest compensation that those of us who work in the public service can receive.

250. Let me also say that I render these expressions of appreciation and thanks not only for my staff and myself but for the entire International Labour Organisation—for its Governing Body, for its Conference, for its organs, for the representatives of the workers of the world, for the representatives of management of the world, and for the Governments, like yourselves, which serve so diligently as the member States of our organization. If we are honoured today by the United Nations, and if we have been honoured during this year by others, these are honours which we can all share together and in which we can all take personal pride.

251. There is just one final point. What has struck me as I have listened here today to this discussion is that men with political and diplomatic responsibilities are anxious, when confronted with the larger human issues of our time, to stand above their immediate preoccupations and to join hands in a common, solid effort to deal with social betterment, human betterment, and the general welfare of people everywhere. This has been a splendid demonstration of how we can transcend political, ideological, sectoral and national considerations and join in man's greatest effort—the brotherhood of man and peace.

252. I shall take back to Geneva, to my Governing Body, to our constituents, your best wishes. Again, my sincere thanks.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.