



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

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President: Mr. Raymond SCHEYVEN (Belgium).

Present:

The representatives of the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France, India, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Observers from the following countries: Chile, Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Japan, Netherlands.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund.

Annual report of the Economic Commission for Latin America (E/2405 and Corr.1 and Add.1, and E/L.529) (continued)

[Agenda item 5]

1. Mr. ADARKAR (India) commended the excellent statement, made by Mr. Prebisch at the preceding meeting, in which the fundamental principles underlying the work of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) had been described. Such a clarification of issues was an essential requisite for effective action.

2. The statement had been made that the reorientation of Latin American economy was necessary for the maintenance of equilibrium. In under-developed countries, however, the maintenance of external equilibrium was secondary to the problem of raising the standard of living, ensuring full employment and building a more balanced economic structure upon agriculture, primary production and secondary industries. A balanced structure of any region would eventually produce greater external equilibrium, a long-term solution worth aiming at. Unless its economy was rapidly balanced Latin America would for many years be facing a chronic external disequilibrium.

3. The problems of the regions of ECLA and of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

were similar, although Latin America was under-populated while Asia and the Far East were somewhat over-populated. It was wrong to think, as the Belgian representative had suggested, that, when under-developed countries wished to become mechanized and industrialized, they were really asking for autarky. Few countries apart from the United States, the Soviet Union, China and, perhaps, India, could attempt to produce everything at home, and pressing needs would arise from time to time as the growth of the economic and industrial structure of the country progressed. With rising standards of living, the demand for imports in under-developed countries must rise. Also, with the growing structure of industry, there will be growing gaps, causing the demand for imports from abroad to increase. It was for that reason that trade between highly industrialized countries was far greater in volume than that between industrial countries and States with an agricultural economy such as those of Latin America or Asia. It was thus vain to fear that industrialization would lead to autarky or that it would have a detrimental effect on international commerce.

4. Reference had been made to the disastrous consequences attendant on absence of external equilibrium. The Indian delegation considered that the consequences, good or bad, for Latin America were mainly the result of one-sided terms of trade. The gains registered by Latin American countries which had concentrated on primary production in the period immediately preceding the post war crisis had been equal to the deficits sustained by purchasing countries producing manufactured goods. The buyer's gain was matched by the seller's loss or *vice versa* and therefore the terms of trade could not be made the basis for the lasting prosperity of any group of countries either in Latin America or elsewhere. In the post-war crisis countries with a more balanced economy had fared better; the United States, for example, with its broad structure of finance and industry, was in a better position than others to withstand economic stresses. India, likewise, with its more balanced economy, had stood the post-war strain better than less well-balanced countries such as Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan. The lack of balance in Latin America meant that that region was harassed by disequilibrium with every fluctuation in world prices.

5. The question of the terms of trade could only be dealt with effectively by international action, and the measures advocated in paragraph 2 of resolution 46 (V) of the Commission were of a practicable nature. There was no suggestion that the terms of trade should be altered by manipulating prices; instead, steps to further the industrialization of Latin America were called for. That solution, although slow, was undeniably sure.

6. The Indian delegation would have no hesitation in subscribing to a resolution with a similar wording to that of the resolutions on the other two regional commissions. It had therefore become the joint sponsor of an amendment (E/L.529) to the draft resolution adopted by the Commission for action by the Council.

7. Mr. ABDEL-RAZEK (Egypt) observed that the Executive Secretary of the Commission had painted a rather gloomy picture of the situation of the under-developed countries, which were in urgent need of economic development. That development necessitated a change in their economic structure and a special policy designed to make good the deficit in their balance of payments. The deficit was due to the increase in *per capita* income, which resulted in an increase in imports of manufactured goods. But the economy of the under-developed countries depended mainly on exports of foodstuffs and raw materials, the prices of which were subject to dangerous fluctuations.

8. Consequently, the programmes contemplated were designed to replace imports by locally manufactured products. The industrialization of the under-developed countries was thus a necessity, not a caprice.

9. Unfortunately, the execution of the programmes was hindered by lack of capital. If the countries in question had to increase their national income by their own resources they would meet with tremendous difficulties, and a long time would be required; foreign investment must therefore be encouraged during a transition period. The process of industrialization which was to bring about a reduction in imports itself required technical knowledge, capital and capital goods.

10. Now that the end of the cold war might be expected, the Egyptian delegation believed that the war against poverty, disease and ignorance should be carried on unceasingly. It was true that the essential purpose of economic development was to improve the lot of humanity, but the advantages should be equitably distributed between rich and poor. An equitable relationship must therefore be established between import and export prices. Certain members of the Council had said that they did not understand what was meant by this phrase, but the expression was in common use in the Council. The French representative had referred in that connexion to agreements on primary commodities, but it was clear that such agreements were not enough, since they related only to certain products of strategic importance.

11. The existing resources of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were clearly insufficient to meet a world depression, while the Bank was a commercial organization which granted only loans guaranteed by governments. The Egyptian delegation therefore stressed the need for an international financial corporation to encourage private investment and a special fund to grant subsidies and long-term loans to under-developed countries, to enable them to accelerate their development and finance their non-amortizable undertakings.

12. In conclusion, he hoped that the Council's forthcoming consideration of the question of the economic development of under-developed countries would prove

fruitful, for it was important that the Council should be able to submit practical observations on the subject to the next session of the General Assembly.

13. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines), expressing his appreciation for the work of ECLA during the period covered by its report, said that many of the complex problems facing Latin America were also common to Asia and the Far East. Both regions needed technical assistance, accelerated economic development and the investment of foreign resources; both had to deal with problems of under-employment, land reform, and the inherent instability of economies huilt on the proceeds from the sale of one or two basic crops or raw materials.

14. For 200 years low income levels in Latin America had resulted in meagre savings, and the resulting lack of capital had obstructed economic development, thus perpetuating low incomes. The vicious circle could only be broken by encouraging foreign investment capital to supplement the scanty local resources.

15. The industrialization of Latin America was necessary not only for the Latin American countries, but also for the well-being of the highly developed countries themselves. As the Indian representative had said, the industrialization of under-developed countries inevitably created new needs and new markets for the products of manufacturing countries in other regions. The rising standard of living owing to industrial development in countries such as Argentina, India, Venezuela and the Philippines would not injure the economies of the United States, Belgium or the United Kingdom. Indeed, industrial advance created large gaps that could only be filled by the goods imported from highly-developed countries.

16. There was need for much work in integrating Latin American economies in order to avoid the evils of competition and overproduction and the depressed prices for primary commodities which they entailed. He hoped that ECLA's influence would result in complementary and mutually supporting economic activities in the region.

17. Mr. Santa Cruz of Chile, a prime mover in the establishment of ECLA and a former President of the Council, had emphasized the parity between the Charter's clauses on international security and those relating to economic and social progress. The activities of ECE, ECLA and ECAFE, and the co-operation between them, bore witness to the truth of that statement.

18. Mr. BAKER (United States of America) said that the visit made by Mr. Prebisch to Washington on his way to Geneva had provided a welcome opportunity for officials of the new Administration to learn at first hand of the work of ECLA and to reaffirm the support for that work voiced by the United States delegation at the Commission's plenary session in Rio de Janeiro in April 1953. His Government was grateful to the Secretariat for amassing a wealth of information about the economic situation of Latin America and analysing it skilfully in publications such as the comprehensive "Economic Survey of Latin America 1951/52" (E/CN.12/291), *A Study of Trade between Latin America and Europe*,¹

¹ United Nations Publication—Sales No.: 1952.II.G.2.

and the pioneering "Preliminary Study of the Technique of Programming Economic Development" (E/CN.12/292). Such significant contributions to an understanding of Latin American economic problems opened the way to further improvement in the situation.

19. Although *per capita* income was still very low, the average annual rate of growth of the economy during the 1946-1952 period was remarkable, reaching as it did the figure of 4.7 per cent. A noteworthy feature was the expansion of manufacturing, the value of which in 1952 was 36 per cent above the value of the area's agricultural output. The United States welcomed the growing diversification of the Latin American economy, the expansion of which was also advantageous to industrialized countries outside the ECLA region.

20. His delegation was confident that continued progress would be made, in spite of the Commission's doubts whether the 1946-1952 rate of development could be maintained. It would be essential, however, for governments to pursue appropriate policies in relation to production, finance and external trade. Inflation, the inefficient use of resources, and restrictive trade practices all militated against the development of a thriving, expanding world economy.

21. The Commission had not neglected agricultural development in favour of industrialization, since nine of its twenty-seven resolutions dealt with agricultural problems; nor had it limited itself to research. It was helping to solve technical problems facing the Latin American iron and steel industry, and was stimulating economic integration in Central America.

22. His delegation heartily welcomed the Executive Secretary's account of the growing co-operation between ECLA and other agencies, including the Secretariats of ECE and ECAFE. He drew attention to the terms of reference of the regional commissions, under which they were required to submit for the Council's *prior* consideration any proposals for activities that would have implications extending beyond the region. It was assumed that the Secretariats and the headquarters office would continue the conscientious observance of that requirement of their mandate.

23. The United States supported the work of all three Economic Commissions and held their Executive Secretaries in equal esteem. It had therefore jointly sponsored the amendment (E/L.529) to the Commission's draft resolution in order to bring it as closely as possible into line with the resolution adopted on the ECE report.

24. Mr. SHAW (Australia), commenting on chapter 1, section 6 of the "Economic Survey of Latin America 1951-52" furnished comparative figures dealing with the financing of capital development in Australia. After the war, Australia had embarked on a far-reaching programme to develop electric power production, irrigation, transport and coal-mining, and to build schools and hospitals, in an attempt to compensate for the time lost during the war and the pre-war crisis. In 1949/50, 24 per cent of the gross national product had been devoted to investments; the funds had come partly from savings, partly from budget surpluses and partly from overseas borrowing. The latter, together with rising wool export prices, provided a high rate of imports.

The comparable figure for the year 1950/51 was 29 per cent of the gross national product, which was higher than a practicable upper limit. By the following year (1951/52) the pressure of high export prices, higher consumption and higher investments had created inflationary tendencies that had to be counteracted by government action, and the fall in export prices in the same period had imposed a severe strain on the Australian economy and created a severe financial stringency, and had also reduced the funds available for economic development.

25. Australia, which needed a continuing flow of capital to sustain a satisfactory rate of development, had contracted a loan from the Bank totalling 150 million dollars. Those sums, although considerable, were by no means adequate when it was considered that before the war capital investment in Australia had averaged a sum that at current values would be equivalent to some 250 million dollars a year. It was believed that the remaining investment would have to be found primarily from local resources.

26. His delegation agreed with the United States representative's remarks on co-ordination. His country was a firm believer in the necessity for inter-regional co-operation, but it believed there should be an appropriate procedure for co-ordinating the policy of the regional commissions on matters such as the consolidation or works programmes and the assessment of priorities.

27. For the reasons expounded by the French and American representatives, the Australian delegation would vote in favour of the joint draft amendment (E/L.529).

28. Mr. STERNER (Sweden), referring to the Belgian representative's remarks on autarky and to the passage concerning the substitution of domestic production for imports in the Executive Secretary's speech quoted on pages 45 and following of the report (E/2405), said that doubtless industrialization would bring about substitution of domestic production for imports in the case of some products, but the Council would agree that the general result of industrialization would be to make available in Latin America an even bigger market for the products of other countries, unless definitely autarkic devices were resorted to. Moreover, industrialization and the "technicalization" of agriculture would enable Latin American countries to provide the world with even bigger quantities of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods. It would be more appropriate to speak not of a substitution but rather of a simultaneous growth of production and foreign trade.

29. The need of Latin America for higher agricultural production was not a simple matter of increasing the output of food by so much per cent; it was also necessary to increase the income of those who were to buy the food by an even larger percentage. That did not mean that agriculture had to stand still until industrialization gained momentum, and he was pleased to see that ECLA had attached so much importance to agricultural matters.

30. Mr. STANOVNIK (Yugoslavia) observed that the Executive Secretaries of both ECE and ECLA had

singled out the economic development of under-developed countries as the starting point of any long-term economic action. Latin America was meeting certain specific problems, such as the problem of population, in connexion with the "technicalization" of agriculture. The introduction of modern techniques depended also on the relative density of the agrarian population and the possibility of expanding the areas under cultivation.

31. According to the Executive Secretary's report, the rise in the demand for imports in the United States of America rose 0.66 per cent with every 1 per cent rise in the national income. In Latin America the propensity to import increased 1.8 per cent for every 1 per cent rise in national income, and the rate of increase in imports was thus three times larger than in the United States. That meant that if the terms of trade remained favourable, the under-developed countries of Latin America could expect to cover an ever smaller proportion of the cost of their essential imports from their export earnings.

32. It was wrong to blame the under-developed countries for autarkic tendencies; the fact was that the over-all decrease in the propensity to import in the highly developed countries caused a related decrease in the export earnings of the more backward States. It was essential that the insufficient demand in the under-developed countries should be satisfied by the provision of some source of international capital.

33. Mr. ISIK (Turkey) noted with satisfaction that the economic development of the Latin American countries was making vigorous and systematic progress; those countries were constantly concerned to improve their conditions of living and had joined together in a common effort to accomplish that arduous task. They should be congratulated on their courage and perseverance; there was no doubt that their efforts would be crowned with success.

34. He congratulated the Commission and its Executive Secretary on their excellent work.

35. Mr. WARNER (United Kingdom) said that the value of the debate had been the discussion of ECLA problems in a world-wide setting. He congratulated the Executive Secretary on the "Economic Survey of Latin America 1951/52".

36. His delegation would vote for the joint draft amendment (E/L.529).

37. Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) observed that the Economic Commission for Latin America believed that it had passed the study stage and had reached the point where it could make definite recommendations to governments. Although the Polish delegation did not subscribe to all the conclusions reached by ECLA as a result of its studies, it wished to draw attention to certain points of interest.

38. He had noted with interest ECLA's view that short-term measures would not suffice to ensure the economic development of Latin America, and that a long-term policy was needed. ECLA had, moreover, pertinently remarked that such a policy should envisage structural changes involving an appreciable expansion of both heavy and light industry.

39. ECLA had also come to the conclusion that the development of agriculture and of industry were completely interdependent. He recalled the fact that his delegation had repeatedly advanced that idea in the Council. The development of agriculture was manifestly a dynamic factor only when it took place in the context of general economic development. That implied changes in the structure of agriculture, particularly as regards land ownership.

40. He had also noted with interest that ECLA recognized the necessity of co-ordinating the international trade of the area in question on the basis of a common policy. Poland had always supported the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) in its efforts to develop Europe's economic relations with other parts of the world. The same principle held good as regards the efforts made by ECLA, with particular reference to its relations with ECE.

41. Hence, although the thesis developed by ECLA was not entirely shared by Poland, it unquestionably marked an important advance in the economic development of Latin America. But the practical application of that thesis depended on its being accepted by the peoples themselves and, for that, political and social conditions favourable to its application had to be created. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that ECLA's efforts would be directed to that end.

42. Mr. PREBISCH (Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America) thanked members of the Council for their encouraging remarks, which he would have pleasure in conveying to the Secretariat.

43. The Venezuelan representative had made highly interesting and constructive remarks on the subject of the iron and steel industry in his country. These remarks would be duly taken into consideration in the revision of the work on iron and steel presented to the Rio Conference.

44. The Chinese representative had mentioned the relationship between the speed of development and the investment coefficient in Latin America. The amortization of capital has been duly considered in the figures and the relatively high rate of development reflects real growth, and has been accompanied by a great increase in the amount of capital.

45. The Belgian representative was afraid that the substitution of imports could lead to a tendency to autarky in Latin American countries. It is true that after listening to the last part of the exposition of the Executive Secretary this morning, his doubts were dispelled. However, he would like to have a clarification. The Swedish representative also made some comments on this point. Mr. Prebisch was glad to make this clarification. The substitution of imports does not respond to the idea of restricting imports below the capacity to pay for them, but of reducing some imports that can be economically substituted by local production, in order to allow for the increase of other imports that tend to grow intensely with economic development.

46. In reply to the United States representative, he said that the Council resolution was constantly borne in mind when co-operation with other regions was envisaged, and

that was precisely the case in the joint report with ECE.

47. After a discussion during which Mr. BUNGE (Argentina), Mr. MALET (Uruguay) and Mr. MONTOYA (Venezuela) advocated the adoption of the draft resolution for action by the Economic and Social Council submitted by the Economic Commission for Latin America (E/2405, paragraph 210), and Mr. DE SEYNES (France), Mr. ADARKAR (India), Mr. ISIK (Turkey) and Mr. BAKER (United States of America) defended the joint amendment (E/L.529) thereto, the PRESIDENT proposed that the proponents of the ECLA draft resolution and the sponsors of the amendment should be asked to try to draft a compromise resolution. If they were successful, the vote could be taken at the Council's next meeting. If they failed, the Economic Committee might be instructed to work out a draft for subsequent submission to a plenary meeting.

It was so agreed.

**Report of the Fiscal Commission (fourth session):
report of the Economic Committee (E/2429 and
E/2478) (resumed from the 712th meeting)**

[Agenda item 9]

48. The PRESIDENT asked the Council to vote on the draft resolution on international tax problems recommended for adoption by the Economic Committee (E/2478).

The draft resolution was adopted by 15 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

49. The PRESIDENT reminded the Council that it had still to vote on draft resolution E, part II, of the Fiscal Commission (paragraph 54), action on which had been deferred, since it had been anticipated that the vote on the Economic Committee's report might have some bearing on it.

Draft resolution E, part II, was adopted unanimously.

50. In reply to a question by Mr. WYNNE (United States of America), Mr. MUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) explained that the draft resolution which his delegation had originally submitted (E/L.510) was no longer before the Council, but he intended to introduce it again at the appropriate time and place.

**Allegations regarding infringements of trade union
rights received under Council resolutions 277 (X)
and 474 (XV) (E/2434 and E/2464)**

[Agenda item 17]

51. The PRESIDENT reminded the Council that the Council Committee on Non-governmental Organizations had authorized three non-governmental organizations to address it on item 17 of the agenda and, in addition, had permitted the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) to speak on item 22 of the agenda (report of the International Labour Organisation), since the Committee had not met until after the Council had completed the debate on that item. Item 17 of the agenda had political

aspects; he appealed to the members of the Council to confine themselves to the technical approach which they had hitherto maintained and asked the non-governmental organizations concerned to bear in mind the unanimous wish of the Council that politics should not be allowed to intrude into the discussion.

52. Mr. DIALLO (World Federation of Trade Unions), speaking at the invitation of the PRESIDENT, said that the Council had to deal with only one allegation—although, it was true, a very serious allegation—regarding infringements of trade union rights. But that was because the Council had delegated most of its powers in the matter to the International Labour Organisation. However, the procedure adopted by the Committee on Freedom of Association of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office had proved ineffectual.

53. First, that Committee had accepted statements to the effect that governments had taken action not against trade union activities, but against so-called subversive activities, in the interest of public order. But those were the arguments which had always been used against militant trade unionists. It might be said, on the contrary, that public order was only disturbed when the workers were impeded in the proper exercise of their trade union rights.

54. Secondly, the Committee had failed to act in certain cases on the pretext that the information supplied was inadequate. That was a purely negative attitude, since it was clear that trade unions which were subject to all sorts of persecution were not in a position to prepare detailed documentation. Moreover, civil law procedure should not be applied in such cases; the Committee should collect the necessary information by all means at its disposal.

55. Thirdly, it was regrettable that the Committee's procedure was so dilatory. Since the most frequent cases concerned dismissals from employment, imprisonment and even death brought about by the infringement of trade union rights, the protection which it was the Committee's duty to afford should be forthcoming without delay. He would refer the Council to the cases of the Vice-President of WFTU and of the victims of the Matsukawa action.

56. Fourthly, there was no justification for the secrecy at present shrouding the proceedings; public denunciation of infringements of trade union rights could help to put an end to them.

57. Moreover, WFTU considered that the Committee's present procedure was confined within too narrow limits. Private undertakings were also responsible for infringing trade union rights, but the Committee at present dealt only with allegations relating to action by governments or to legislation.

58. The colonial territories, too, seemed to be placed at a disadvantage in regard to the observance of trade union rights.

59. Generally speaking, it was to be noted that the Committee accepted the most fanciful arguments advanced by governments. Hence the existing procedure could produce no results of any value.

60. Any concrete improvements achieved were the result of joint action by the workers in defence of their rights. He might add that WFTU had initiated an international campaign on those lines. If, therefore, the Council wished to take effective action in that field it should adopt a public procedure calculated to win for it the support of the workers.

61. Going on to review the position in many countries where trade unions were either prohibited, or under government control, or subject to severe restrictions, he observed that in most of the capitalist and colonial countries, trade union delegates were constantly being dismissed, and were arrested, sentenced and sometimes even killed in the exercise of their trade union rights. It was quite common for trade union publications, particularly those of WFTU, to be declared illegal. Trade union meetings were subject to prior authorization, while trade union funds were subject to State control.

62. Thus the soothing findings submitted to the Council by the Committee on Freedom of Association failed to agree with the facts, and their adoption could only detract from the Council's authority in the eyes of the workers as affording no evidence of the desire to defend trade union rights effectively. The preponderant influence within the International Labour Organisation of governments and employers was the main cause of its supineness; yet the question of trade union rights, which was bound up with all the fundamental freedoms, was too important to be treated lightly.

63. The normal functioning of trade unions was an essential factor in raising living standards, promoting economic and social development and defending peace and freedom. It was only right, therefore, that the action taken by WFTU and the workers in the matter of trade union rights should receive the Council's fullest attention.

64. WFTU would like to begin by proposing, as an immediate step, that the allegations concerning States Members of the International Labour Organisation should again be distributed to the members of the Council so as to make them acquainted with the facts, while the publication of the allegations would also help in some cases to put an end to the infringements. In addition, WFTU felt that the Council should maintain stricter control over the measures adopted to defend trade union rights so as to have the backing of public opinion and the workers in all trade union groupings.

65. The Council, by proceeding on those lines, would effectively defend trade union rights in the spirit of the Charter and in accordance with the workers' aspirations.

66. The PRESIDENT said that, although the debate on item 22 could not be reopened, the representative of the International Labour Organisation should be given the opportunity of replying to the observations of the WFTU representative if he wished to do so.

67. Mr. JENKS (International Labour Organisation) wished merely to express his appreciation of the constructive character of the criticisms offered by the representative of WFTU with regard to the procedure at present followed by the International Labour Organisation. That did not of course imply that he necessarily

accepted all those criticisms, but merely that the Organisation appreciated that the points raised were fully worthy of further consideration. As the Director-General of the International Labour Office had stated when presenting the report of the Organisation, the whole question whether improvements should not be made in the present procedure was at present under review by the Governing Body. He could assure the Council that the statement which had just been made and any further statements on that subject would receive the fullest consideration in the course of that further examination.

68. Mr. EGGERMANN (International Federation of Christian Trade Unions), speaking at the invitation of the PRESIDENT, said that, true to its traditions, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) had always shown its loyal attachment to the principle of freedom of association. Though sometimes alone in its endeavours, it had always resisted all authoritarian pressure, whether from the Left or from the Right.

69. Freedom of association was an undeniable natural right, but rights entailed duties, and any arbitrary exercise of rights was limited by the duty to respect the rights of others. When any association pursued aims or used methods contrary to the general good or to moral law, the State was entitled to protect the public interest against such abuses. It must, however, take care not to deprive citizens of rights and freedoms conferred on them by natural law. Workers and their families should be able to live under equitable conditions calculated to increase the prosperity of the country. The State must understand that trade unions were instruments for social justice and that they contributed to the general welfare; it must recognize that freedom of association was an inalienable right of the workers, which was of great importance and worthy of protection.

70. Recalling a manifesto signed in France during the Occupation by the leaders of the *Confédération générale du travail* and the *Confédération française des travailleurs chrétiens*, he said that freedom of association included the right of workers to join or not to join a trade union organization. That was a right which must be respected and guaranteed to all workers, without distinction as to occupation, sex, race, colour, religion or nationality.

71. Workers' organizations should enjoy full autonomy in all matters concerning their activities and the State should not impose restrictions on those activities by arbitrary decisions. Employers' and workers' organizations should be recognized by the State and should recognize each other's authority. Those principles were in accordance with Christian social doctrine and had been adopted in 1932 as a basis of organization and a doctrinal and working programme for Catholic trade unions. He quoted from that doctrine to show that the most effective means of defending the interests of the workers was the trade union constituted solely by the workers of one industry, and that strikes and boycotts were legitimate weapons, if all means of conciliation had been exhausted. The doctrine also rejected the single compulsory union. It was in defence of those principles that the Federation had often protested against the

trade union system now in force in several countries, and it considered that the time had come to put trade union life in those countries back on a sound footing, which would have tremendous repercussions beyond their frontiers.

72. In conclusion, the Federation asked the Council to appoint a small committee to examine allegations against governments which were not members of the International Labour Organisation and to formulate, in consultation with the free trade union organizations, recommendations for subsequent action by the Council in respect of those governments.

73. Miss SENDER (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), speaking at the invitation of the PRESIDENT, said that her organization regretted that it had once more to draw attention to the violation of trade union rights. It was compelled to do so because no reply had yet been received from certain countries to the letters sent out by the United Nations Secretariat on that subject. As the name of her organization indicated, its primary task was to do everything in its power to free trade unions from control by employers and governments.

74. It had been decided to establish an arrangement between the United Nations and the International

Labour Office for ascertaining the facts in cases of alleged infringement and to act on them as necessary, but the result had been the creation of two groups which were treated differently. One group consisted of countries that were Members of the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation. The Organisation acted according to its rules on complaints concerning its members, but unfortunately no way had yet been found for taking action with an equal measure of justice in cases concerning countries which were not members of the Organisation. That was a very unhealthy situation. Some mechanism should be found whereby the United Nations would be able to act on all cases that came under its jurisdiction. Her organization had submitted to the Council's fifteenth session a document suggesting means for dealing with that matter. The Council should make every effort to establish special machinery for taking action in the case of countries which were not members of the International Labour Organisation, with due regard to equality before the law, and regardless of whether the countries were large or small. Until that was done, the question would have to remain on the Council's agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.