The 1944 International Labor Conference

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Social security objectives and methods of attaining them were embodied or implicit in the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the International Labor Conference at its 26th session in Philadelphia from April 20 to May 12, at which delegates from 41 member nations were present.

The conference adopted three major resolutions and seven major recommendations formulating principles to be referred by the delegates to their respective governments for adoption and action. The first of the resolutions, "an international bill of social and economic rights for the common man" which became known as the Philadelphia Charter, dealt with the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization and the principles which should inspire the policy of its members. The second, adopted at the final session, stated the social objectives suggested for inclusion in any peace treaty or treaties adopted at the end of the war. The third dealt with economic policies for the attainment of these social objectives. All three resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The seven recommendations—each adopted by at least a two-thirds majority—included proposals for further steps within each country toward attaining income security by unification or coordination of existing or future social security programs, and extension of such programs to all workers and their families; national programs of medical care, to be provided for entire populations either through social insurance and supplementary social assistance, or through a public medical care service; minimum standards of labor policy for dependent territories; and organization of employment in the transition from war to peace.

The keynote of the 26th Conference was sounded in a message read at the opening session by President Roosevelt in which he declared that the conditions of lasting peace can be secured only through soundly organized economic institutions fortified by humane labor standards, regular employment, and adequate income for all. In the recommendations to be considered by the delegates, the President said, "will lie the foundation of those agreements in the field of labor and social standards which must be a part of any permanent arrangement for a decent world," and he saw the ILO as a permanent instrument of representative character for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field.

In his address as Conference president, Walter Nash, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, made a plea for an ILO program that would "maximize production" and free people throughout the world from want. He emphasized that maximum production can be obtained only on the basis of full employment and added that the objective of full employment may properly be the first aim of not only the present Conference but also all conferences and intergovernmental discussions concerned with the formation of post-war economic and social plans and policies. This Conference must formulate recommendations to ensure that the principles of the Atlantic Charter are written enduringly into the future peace, he continued, and the ILO must be ready to furnish constant advice and guidance to government, management, and labor on the measures which must be taken, internationally and nationally, to ensure full employment, social security, and rising standards of living.

Organization of the Conference

In the International Labor Organization, each member state has a tripartite representation—of government, management, and labor. As Conference representatives, the United States Government sent a Cabinet member and a Senator. New Zealand's representatives included its Deputy Prime Minister, Great Britain's a Member of Parliament, and eleven other countries sent delegates of ministerial rank.

Of the 41 member states represented, 20 are also members of the United Nations. Fourteen of the 20 Central and South American republics were represented at the Conference; all but 6 of these 14 are also members of the United Nations. The countries represented were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia. Official observers from Iceland, Nicaragua, and Paraguay were also present, although these countries are not member states.

During the weeks while the Conference was in continuous session, three reports a week were broadcast by OWI overseas radio. Some knowledge of the aims and work of the Conference thus reached people in many other countries.

The wide diversity of nations represented at the Conference raised many barriers to be surmounted. English, French, and Spanish were the official languages, and official interpreters were present to translate all proceedings into two or, if necessary, all three.

Other problems arose from the varying stages of economic and social development and the different situations which the various countries must face at the end of the war. In connection with the resolution concerning the social objectives of the peace settlement, a declaration of the occupied countries, supported unanimously by the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia, stressed the fact that their immediate post-war concern would not be to reconvert industry but virtually to reconstruct entire nations. One of the French Government delegates, in discussing the standards for employment services in the transition period, declared that the plans outlined obviously would not fit the problems which the devastated countries...
must face. However well organized the employment services, he pointed out, they will be unable to utilize labor if there are no machines or raw materials available; the employment services will be conditioned by the possibilities of replacing destroyed equipment and reconstructing exhausted stocks. In another session, a delegate from India remarked that the recommendation referred to “further” steps to be taken, whereas in this particular field his country had yet to take its first step.

In a report on the Conference, Senator Thomas pointed out that it might be considered as one of a series of general international technical conferences whose aim is to put together the fragments of a broken world. Two of its predecessors were the Food Conference of May 1943 and the UNRRA Conference at Atlantic City. “Events seem to suggest,” he continued, “that the forthcoming peace settlement will be built on a broad, firm base, with dozens of minor, technical matters talked out and thought out before the great political issues are settled and agreed upon. It is my firm belief that such a peace will be more enduring than one which—so to speak—was worked out in one prolonged session, where both technical and political matters are threshed out together, at the same time. Perhaps it is not always possible to separate the technical from the political, but it can be said of the recent International Labor Conference that it approached questions primarily from the technical point of view.”

In summing up the results of the Conference, Senator Thomas declared that it “threw out a few handfuls of extremely difficult problems at an embattled world and raised some of the most important issues of a stable peace. It has, I am glad to say, found no panacea, for panaceas do not exist; it has not solved the problems or met the issues, of course, but it has offered hope that the problems are not insoluble, the issues not unsurmountable. It has created follow-up machinery in the form of Governing Body committees to advance the work begun in Philadelphia, while its secretariat has the mandate to undertake studies and organize further meetings—all of which tend toward the goal of peace through social justice.”

The Declaration of Philadelphia

The declaration of the aims and purposes of the ILO and the principles which should inspire the policy of its members—the Philadelphia Charter—was adopted unanimously by the Conference on May 10.

The declaration first reaffirmed the fundamental principles on which the ILO is based, particularly the principles that labor is not a commodity; that freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress; that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere; and that the war against want must be carried on with unrelenting vigor both within each nation and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of the workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

The Charter recognizes as “the solemn obligation of the ILO to further among the nations of the world” those principles which would achieve:

1. Full employment and the raising of standards of living;
2. The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;
3. The provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and economic and social development in each country, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilized world.

Social Security

On behalf of the United States Government, Secretary Perkins and Senator Thomas introduced the second resolution, the result of 6 months of conferences of interested agencies and departments of the Federal Government. The resolution, suggesting the social objectives to be included in any peace treaty or treaties, was adopted unanimously by the Conference in its final session on May 12. Senator Thomas has described this document as being possibly of “even greater historical interest” than the
Philadelphia Charter. It implements both the Philadelphia Charter and the social provisions of the Atlantic Charter, which, in article 5, called for "full est collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security." Included in the resolution is an amendment offered by Australia providing for an international conference on domestic problems of employment and unemployment in the near future.

The preamble to the resolution affirms the recognition by the signatory governments of "their common obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to insure that workers and productive resources shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied." It also calls on the governments to realize "that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations," and that the attainment of the social objectives sought requires "increasing collaboration among nations."

Beyond that comes the statement, in article 2, that all arrangements for international economic cooperation "should be framed and administered" to serve these objectives. Seven specific points which are matters "of international concern and should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy" are outlined in article 3:

(1) Opportunity for useful and regular employment to all persons who want work, at fair wages or returns and under reasonable conditions, with provision for protection of health and against injury in all occupations;
(2) Raising standards of living to provide adequate nutrition, housing, medical care, and education;
(3) Establishment of minimum standards of employment to prevent exploitation of workers, whether employed or self-employed, whose opportunities for high wage employment are limited;
(4) Provision for child welfare;
(5) Provision for a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age or by lack of employment opportunity;
(6) The effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining;
(7) Provision of facilities for training and transfer of labor.

In carrying out these objectives, article 5 of the resolution states, the governments, through appropriate international agencies, shall develop standards and statistical measures and shall maintain uniform statistics and other information; they shall interchange among themselves and make available to the ILO such information and reports as may be necessary to assist them and the ILO to develop recommendations on these matters; they shall take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration between the ILO and any other international bodies established for the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being; and shall have placed on the agenda of the International Labor Conference annually the subject of the extent to which the social objectives have been attained and the measures taken during the year for their accomplishment.

Other articles authorize the ILO to collect from and interchange with the signatory governments, as occasion requires, uniform statistical and other economic information in the fields covered by the objectives. In addition, it is recommended that the Governing Body of the ILO be authorized to call a special conference of the organization when, in its opinion, there is danger of a substantial general decline in employment levels; the conference would recommend appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored.

It is also recommended that the Governing Body appoint a consultative committee on labor provisions in the peace settlement, to be ready to advise, on the request of the United Nations or of particular groups of the United Nations, on framing standards concerning conditions of labor which should be made binding in the peace settlement.

The Conference further recommended that the United Nations should undertake, among other tasks, to apply to any dependent territories for which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability, the principle that all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress.

Finally, the Conference recommended to the governments that a conference of representatives of the several governments be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the ILO, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment. The full cooperation and assistance of the ILO is pledged in calling such a conference and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make.

Economic Policies for the Attainment of Social Objectives

The economic policies which will be necessary in attaining the social objectives which were the substance of the second resolution, were outlined in the third resolution, voted unanimously on May 12. After acknowledging the importance of the work of UNRRA and of the Food Conference of May 1943, the resolution endorses the establishment of a sound international monetary system, of trade on a multilateral basis, and of orderly migration. Liberated countries, it declares, should receive priorities in materials required for reconstruction. It urges that monopoly be discouraged and technological progress fostered.

Appropriate international measures should be taken, the resolution declares, to guarantee sufficient contact and consultation with regard to the policies outlined; these contacts should be maintained both among governments and among different international institutions. At the same time, it is urged that governments and employers' and workers' organizations formulate comprehensive and coordinated programs, suited to the particular needs of their countries, for prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction, and economic expansion. These programs should be prepared and applied simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures recommended.
Social Security Recommendations and Resolutions

Three of the seven recommendations adopted for referral to member governments, and four additional resolutions, dealt specifically with social security proposals. The three recommendations related to income security, medical care, and social security for members of the armed forces and war workers. The four resolutions concerned a regional conference on social security in Asiatic countries, international administration to promote social security, definition of social security terms, and social insurance and related provisions in the peace settlement.

Two reports accompanied by several proposed recommendations prepared by the ILO staff were submitted for consideration to a Conference Committee on Social Security, which began work on April 29. The committee chairman was Guillermo Padilla Castro, assistant director of the Social Security Fund of Costa Rica and government delegate from that country; the vice-chairmen were Marion Hedges, United States workers' member, and Gustave Joassart, Belgian employers' member.

Income security.—The report on income security was submitted to the Conference on May 12 and adopted by a vote of 92 to 4, with 6 delegates not voting. The recommendation embodied 30 general guiding principles, to be applied progressively as rapidly as national conditions allow. The purpose of income security programs is to relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a reasonable level, income lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work, or by reason of the death of the breadwinner. It is proposed that the programs should be organized as far as possible on the basis of compulsory social insurance; provision for needs not covered by compulsory insurance should be made by social assistance.

The contingencies to be covered include sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death of the breadwinner, and unemployment, as well as emergency expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity, or death; and employment injuries. It is proposed that the self-employed should be insured against invalidity, old age, and death under the same conditions as wage earners and that consideration should be given to their protection against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalization, and against extraordinary emergency expenditures.

Benefits should aim to replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to a high level as practicable without impairing the will to resume work and without lowering charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked. The benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed. Cost of benefits, including administration, would be distributed between the insured persons, the employer, and government.

Administration of social insurance should be unified or coordinated within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organizations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame resolutions.

Social assistance programs should provide specifically for maintenance of children; maintenance of needy invalids, aged persons, and widows not protected by social insurance; and general assistance for other persons in want.

Medical care.—The recommendation on medical care was adopted by a vote of 76 to 6, with 23 abstentions. It embraced 114 points to guarantee that medical care, both general and specialized, would be available for all, whether employed, self-employed, dependent, or indigent. Such care would be provided either through social insurance, with a supplementary provision for social assistance to meet the requirements of needy persons not yet covered by social insurance, or through a public medical care service.

Complete preventive and curative care, the recommendation stated, should be available at any time and place to all members of the community covered by the service, on the same conditions, without any hindrance or barrier of an administrative, financial, or political nature.

The care afforded should comprise both general medical practitioners and specialist out-patient and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting; dental care; nursing care at home or in hospitals or other medical institutions; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital; maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria, or other medical institutions; and so far as possible the requisite dental, pharmaceutical, and other medical or surgical supplies, and the care furnished by such other professions as may at any time be legally recognized as belonging to the allied professions.

All care and supplies should be available at any time and without time limit, when and as long as they are needed, subject only to the doctor's judgment and to such reasonable limitations as may be imposed by the technical organization of the service.

The beneficiary should have the right to select his family doctor and dentist among the participating practitioners and the additional right subsequently to change his family doctor or dentist, subject to giving notice within a prescribed time, for good reasons, such as lack of personal contact and confidence.
Income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment. — Persons discharged from the service should receive mustering-out grants, which may be related to length of service; they should be eligible for unemployment insurance as though they had paid contributions to the unemployment insurance system during their period of military service, and the resulting financial liability should be borne by the government. If they remain unemployed after exhausting their benefits, they should receive unemployment allowances, financed wholly by the government, until suitable employment is available; preferably the allowance should be paid irrespective of need. Their period of military service should also be considered as a contribution period with respect to compulsory insurance provisions providing pensions for invalidity, old age, or death, or sickness insurance. The unemployment assistance provisions would apply to war workers as well as veterans.

Provisions concerning social insurance and related questions in the peace settlement. — The draft proposal prepared by the International Labor Office on safeguarding the pension rights of displaced workers recruited for employment in another country was submitted to a subcommittee of the Committee on Social Security. The original draft contemplated international regulations in the form of a draft convention to which nations could adhere and which concerned all countries with compulsory pension insurance, even if they were little affected by worker migration.

Discussion in the subcommittee, however, stressed the fact that the problem of displaced workers was the result of unilateral measures taken by the Axis and associated countries, and that, since the United Nations had not adopted parallel measures for compulsory pension insurance, even if they were little affected by worker migration. A special commission is proposed, to work out the details of the general proposals for displaced workers as well as associated proposals, including indemnities for losses and damage suffered by the social insurance institutions of members of the United Nations as a consequence of the war.

Social security in Asiatic countries. — A resolution was adopted recommending that an Asiatic regional conference be held at an early date as possible and that the question of the organization of social security be included in the agenda of that conference. The resolution pointed out that the social security proposals before the Conference were for the most part inapplicable to Asiatic countries, such as India, in their present stage of development, whereas those countries constitute a large part of the world with vast populations which should not be excluded from the benefits of social security.

International administrative collaboration to promote social security. — The preamble of this resolution declares that "mutual assistance in social security administration is one of the forms of collaboration between nations calculated to promote the progressive development in all countries of comprehensive social security schemes providing for income security and medical care," and cites the resolutions of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security in Chile in 1942 favoring cooperation among social security administrations and institutions with a view to unification of statistics of medical care and encouragement of research and technical studies.

The resolution adopted in Philadelphia would make available to countries in the course of initiating or modifying their social security systems the technical assistance of the International Labor Office and of countries with such systems already in operation. Among the measures suggested for promoting systematic and direct collaboration among social security administrations or institutions, the resolution lists "the training and technical improvement of the personnel of social security administration through the organization of courses of higher study in the actuarial and accounting fields and others related to the application of social security systems."

The International Labor Office is also asked to study the possibility and appropriateness of international or multilateral agreements which would...
establish bodies responsible for performing common functions, in the field of either finances or administration.

Definition of social security terms.—Closely allied to the field of the preceding resolution, another one adopted by the Conference requests the International Labor Office to prepare, in consultation with experts on social security, sociology, and economic and legal questions, definitions of terms occurring in international conventions or recommendations on social security, with a view to arriving at international agreement.

Other Recommendations to Member Governments

The following four recommendations were also adopted by overwhelming votes for referral to member governments.

Minimum standards for dependent territories.—The recommendation concerning minimum standards for dependent territories, with full realization of the complexities of welfare and development among communities and in territories of widely differing standards of culture, levels of economic organization, and degrees of responsibility, sets up an elaborate system of controls over slavery, forced or compulsory labor, recruiting of workers, employment of children and young persons, employment of women, racial and religious discrimination, and health, housing, and social security measures.

The recommendation is aimed at establishing principles which, accepted by the powers primarily responsible for administration in these territories, would "transfer to the firm ground of concrete policy questions bearing on the purpose of colonial government, which, when debated on a theoretical plane, have led to misunderstanding between peoples whose mutual goodwill is essential to world security. Moreover, the rapid political advance of many dependent peoples makes it urgent that the essentials of labor policy relevant to their economic and social conditions shall be so framed that the development of a social conscience will take shape with their growing political self-reliance."

The general principles formulated in the recommendation stress the fact that all policies shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the people of the dependent territories and to promoting their desire for social progress; that every effort shall be made to secure, on an international, regional, national, or territorial basis, financial and technical assistance in the economic development of the territories, in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the peoples involved; and that "all possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives, where appropriate and possible."

Organization of employment in the transition from war to peace.—In line with the dominant theme of promotion of full employment with a view to raising standards of living throughout the world, the recommendation on organization of employment in the transition period embodies measures to give effect to the underlying principles. The specific points covered include provisions for the orderly demobilization of members of the armed forces and of war industries, to secure maximum fairness to the individuals and to promote the most rapid attainment of full employment; training and retraining programs; and standards for employment of young workers, of women, and of disabled workers.

Raising the age for leaving school and entering employment should be considered a primary factor in planning employment policy and should be adopted without delay. In this connection the Conference adopted the principle of maintenance allowances to be granted to parents for support of children during any additional period of compulsory education. Student-aid programs in technical or higher educational institutions, "subject to continued proof of merit," were recommended to aid those above school age to continue education full time.

It is recommended that women workers be redistributed in the peace economy on the basis of complete equality of opportunity and that steps be taken to encourage the fixing of wage rates on the basis of job content without regard to sex. Government and individuals are called upon to make the widest possible use of employment service facilities and to provide to the maximum extent possible for public vocational guidance facilities. Training and retraining programs should be developed and, to prevent unnecessary and unregulated migration of workers, governments should formulate a positive policy on the location of industry and the diversification of economic activity.

Organization of employment services.—Organization of employment in the transition to peace, and in the post-war period generally, will require the existence and development of an efficient employment service, and fulfillment of the tasks enumerated in the preceding recommendation will involve a new and broader definition of the responsibilities, functions, and methods of operation of such a service. The recommendation on organization of the employment services outlines the general principles to be followed by the member states and requests that they report to the International Labor Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

National planning of public works.—The fourth recommendation sets forth general principles to be followed in national planning of public works. A long-term developmental program should be planned, which can be accelerated or slowed down in accordance with the employment situation in different parts of the country. The execution of the work and ordering of supplies should be so timed as to limit the demand for labor when there is already full employment and to increase it at other times. The recommendation stresses the necessity of considering the employment situation in each area, as well as in the country as a whole, and the particular types of skill available in the area; and the necessity for the central authorities to inform the local authorities at the earliest possible moment what financial support will be forthcoming, so that the latter may draw up plans without delay to enable large numbers of demobilized soldiers to be absorbed as soon as they are available.

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The Philadelphia Charter was signed by Walter Nash, as president of the Conference, and Edward J. Phelan, acting president of the Conference, at the White House on May 17, when the delegates were guests of President Roosevelt. In a brief speech the President said that the Conference had affirmed the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity and under conditions of economic security and opportunity, and he added, "Your declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking."

On May 29, President Roosevelt sent to the Congress a report on the Conference, transmitting for its information the conclusions of the three resolutions adopted. Referring to the seven recommendations the President said, "Under the constitution of the International Labor Organization, these recommendations are forwarded to the member governments for submission to the International Labor Conference. The Congress in the regular way will receive the resolutions when certified copies are received..."