Human Rights, Development and Decolonization

The International Labour Organization, 1940-70

Daniel Maul
Contents

List of Photographs x

Acknowledgements xi

List of Abbreviations xiii

Timeline xvi

Introduction 1
The International Labour Organization 2
Human rights, development and emancipation 4
International organizations as historical actors 7
International organizations and decolonization 12

Prologue: Separate worlds – The ILO and “native labour”, 1919–39 17
Mise en valeur, indirect rule and forced labour:
  colonial social policy between the wars 20
The exception to the rule: the “Native Labour Code” 23

Part I “A People’s Peace in the Colonies”, 1940–47

1 “The Promise of a New Earth to Till”: The ILO’s Colonial Work in Exile, 1940–43 31
“The time may come shortly”: the ILO in exile and
  the “native labour” issue 31
  “Native labour” in exile 33
  Tailwind 35
  In the shadow of war 36
  “A little less anonymity” 39
Securing the colonial contribution to victory:
  the Atlantic Charter and the ILC in New York, 1941 40
    On the side of the Allies 40
    The Atlantic Charter and colonial minimum standards 43
The tide turns
  Colonial depression and the “people’s peace” 47
American scare 51
Promises 53
2 A Charter for the Colonies: The Colonies at the Philadelphia Conference, 1944

A parallel operation: colonial reforms in the ILO's post-war planning
  Universalism in a colonial framework 60
  Social policy in dependent territories 64
    The pillars of the “people's peace” 65
    The pitfalls of reform 70
    Pious hopes? 73
  The ideology of victory: the colonial reforms of Philadelphia 75
    The “social conscience of mankind” 75
    “Make sure that they too will taste the sweet fruit of victory”: colonial reforms in Philadelphia 77
    “Nothing can be done about it of course”: the colonial powers in Philadelphia 79
  Colonial charter or imperialistic stereotype? 82

3 A New World with New Ideas: The ILO and the Quest for a Colonial Post-war Order, 1945–48

“This is 1945!” The colonial principles of Philadelphia and the new international order 87
  The ILC in Paris, 1945 89
    Universalism put to the test: the Social Policy in Dependent Territories (Supplementary Provisions) Recommendation, 1945 91
  Paid holiday for the colonies 93
  Wage policy 94
  Growing impatience 96
  The ILO on the side of the West and the completion of the colonial reform programme of 1947 100
    Finding a place in the new order 101
    The Conventions of 1947 105
    Migrant labour 106
    Non-discrimination 107
    Freedom of association 108
  Towards a different ILO: Indian independence and the start of the post-colonial era 111
    Representation and regionalization 112
    From the colonial economy to underdevelopment: new demands on the ILO 114
Part II The Tools of Progress: The ILO, 1948–60

4 Principled Development: The Beginnings of the Technical Assistance Programme (TAP) 121
David Morse and the origins of the TAP 121
Too much in a groove 121
“Available for maximum cooperation”: the ILO and Truman’s Point IV Program 125
Acting on poverty’s cry: technical assistance for underdeveloped countries 129
“Help them move the ILO way”: the ILO’s integrated approach to development 131
“Training, training, training” 131
The other side of the coin: technical assistance and standard-setting 133
The democratic road to modernization 136
The successes and limits of the TAP 139
The TAP as a political success story 142
Between the past and the future: the post-colonial face of the TAP 146
Colonial barriers 148

5 At Arm’s Length: The ILO and Late Colonial Social Policy 152
The lull after reform: the colonial work of the ILO in the first years under David Morse 152
New initiatives 156
The long road to Africa 160
“Not the slightest inclination of willingness”: the debate surrounding an African field office 160
A new drive for change 164
The ILO’s arrival in Africa 168
The experts’ view: social policy in non-metropolitan territories from the perspective of the COESP, 1951–57 173
“Native” experts or “real” experts: Who should sit on the COESP? 174
The COESP as a voice for the International Labour Office 176
Qualified universalism: the findings of the COESP 179
Migrant labour 179
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>Universal Rights? Standard-Setting against the Backdrop of Late Colonialism, Decolonization and the Cold War</th>
<th>185</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The ILO and human rights, 1945–60</td>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights and the integrated approach to development</td>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights disputes</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Penal Sanctions Convention: the last colonial standard</td>
<td>192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Abolition of Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1955 (No. 104)</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination in employment and occupation</td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111)</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced labour</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempts to define a “normal” level of coercion: the Mudaliar Committee</td>
<td>205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ruegger Committee and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)</td>
<td>208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of association</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to overcome the colonial double standard</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripartism under fire</td>
<td>218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia as a test case and the “educational approach”</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The ILO and the new majorities</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure to reform</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicization</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“With us or against us”: the ILO’s South African crisis of 1963</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartheid under fire</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ILO in the balance: the ILC of 1963</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Stronger than before”: the ILO after the crisis</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The social side of development: the TAP in the 1960s</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ILO and the North–South conflict</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A social response to the crisis</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“First attempt at truly world-wide planning”: towards a World Employment Programme</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New avenues for the integrated approach to development</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8 An Intellectual Fashion: Human Rights Standards as a Barrier to Development? 259
   The good society: the ILO's norms after African independence 259
       A "question of honour" 259
   Development as a state of emergency 261
   The development offensive and coercion:
       the African youth labour service conflict 264
       Standards or development? The Office divided 268
       A positive concept of free labour 272
       "Harsh realities": Freedom of association after independence 273
   The ILO and the African trade union movement 273
   Pandora's box: tripartism under renewed fire 278

Conclusion 286

Appendix I: Selection of Important Conventions and Recommendations, 1930–70 303

Appendix II: Ratification of Core Human Rights Standards by Country and Date of Ratification (Selection) 304

Notes 309

Sources and Bibliography 386

Index 403