# Contents

**List of Photographs**

**Acknowledgements**

**List of Abbreviations**

**Timeline**

## Introduction

**The International Labour Organization**

**Human rights, development and emancipation**

**International organizations as historical actors**

**International organizations and decolonization**

**Prologue: Separate worlds – The ILO and “native labour”, 1919–39**

**Mise en valeur, indirect rule and forced labour:**
- colonial social policy between the wars
- The exception to the rule: the “Native Labour Code”

## 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**
- “The time may come shortly”: the ILO in exile and the “native labour” issue
- “Native labour” in exile
- Tailwind
- In the shadow of war
- “A little less anonymity”

Securing the colonial contribution to victory:
- the Atlantic Charter and the ILC in New York, 1941
- On the side of the Allies
- The Atlantic Charter and colonial minimum standards

The tide turns
- Colonial depression and the “people’s peace”
- American scare
- Promises
2 A Charter for the Colonies: The Colonies at the Philadelphia Conference, 1944 59
A parallel operation: colonial reforms in the ILO's post-war planning 60
Universalism in a colonial framework 61
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 86
"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
6 Universal Rights? Standard-Setting against the Backdrop of Late Colonialism, Decolonization and the Cold War

The ILO and human rights, 1945-60
  Human rights and the integrated approach to development
  Human rights disputes

The Penal Sanctions Convention: the last colonial standard
  The Abolition of Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1955 (No. 104)
  Discrimination in employment and occupation
  The Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111)

Forced labour
  Attempts to define a "normal" level of coercion:
    the Mudaliar Committee
  The Ruegger Committee and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)

Freedom of association
  Failure to overcome the colonial double standard
  Tripartism under fire
  Asia as a test case and the "educational approach"


The ILO and the new majorities
  Pressure to reform
  Politicization
  "With us or against us": the ILO's South African crisis of 1963
    Apartheid under fire
    The ILO in the balance: the ILC of 1963
    "Stronger than before": the ILO after the crisis

The social side of development: the TAP in the 1960s
  The ILO and the North-South conflict
  A social response to the crisis
  "First attempt at truly world-wide planning":
    towards a World Employment Programme
  New avenues for the integrated approach to development