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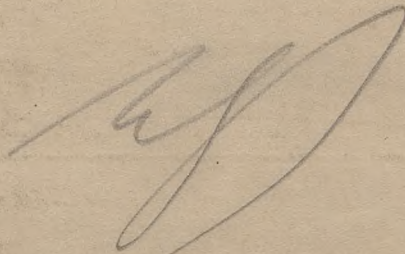
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Dec. 16, 1944

Konferencja

American Labor Conference on

International Affairs



Proszę przechować jako całość

SENATOR STANLEY NOWAK DEFENSE COMMITTEE
 1004 Transportation Building
 Cadillac 4610



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
 February 9, 1943

SENATOR NOWAK'S COMMENT ON DISMISSAL OF INDICTMENT **POLAND FIGHTS**

State Senator Stanley Nowak made the following comment on the dismissal on Feb. 8 of the naturalization indictment that had been brought against him Dec. 11.

"I am happy that the principles of the New Deal and of fair dealing in general have been vindicated by Attorney General Biddle's motion to dismiss the indictment.

"Now the friends of justice and victory in the war can devote their entire time to President Roosevelt's war program, as all of us want to do. Withdrawal of the charges will eliminate sources of division and doubt in the minds of the people and will help to bring speedier victory over fascism both abroad and at home.

"The motion to dismiss substantiates the position of those who defended me and demanded that the indictment be quashed. It will stimulate war production and will lift the spirits of all who are enlisted in the war against Hitlerism.

"The thanks of the Defense Committee and of myself go out to all who assisted in bringing the facts of the case to the attention of President Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle and those in position to see that justice was done. We are grateful to the unions who took a stand, to the civic and nationality organizations, to the clergy, the newspapers, and to all individuals who gave money and effort to this vindication."

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SENATOR STANLEY HOWAR DENIES CONSPIRACY
1004 Transportation Building
CANTON, MASS.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 2, 1948

SENATOR HOWAR'S COMMENT ON DISMISSAL OF INDICTMENT

State Senator Stanley Howar made the following comment on the dismissal on Feb. 2 of the criminal indictment that had been brought against him Dec. 11.

"I am happy that the principles of the New Deal and of fair dealing in general have been vindicated by Attorney General Biddle's action to dismiss the indictment.

"Now the friends of justice and victory in the war can devote their entire time to President Roosevelt's war program, as all of us want to do. Withdrawal of the charges will eliminate sources of division and doubt in the minds of the people and will help to bring greater victory over fascism both abroad and at home.

"The action to dismiss substantiates the position of those who defended me and showed that the indictment was unwarranted. It will vindicate the reputation

and will lift the spirits of all who are enlisted in the war against Hitlerism.

"The friends of the Defense Committee and of myself go out to all the people and in bringing the facts of the case to the attention of President Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle and those in position to see that justice was done. We are grateful to the unions who took a stand, to the civic and national organizations, to the clergy, the newspapers, and to all individuals who have

money and effort to this vindication."

from Sen. Stanley Nowak Defense Committee
1004 Transportation Bldg, Detroit
Cadillac 4610

immediate release
Feb. 15 1943

(texts of wires to FDR and Biddle inclosed)

VICTORY MASS MEETING PLEDGES FULL SUPPORT TO PRES. ROOSEVELT

Congratulations to President Roosevelt "for the splendid victory of the pro-war forces made possible by the quashing of the indictment against State Senator Stanley Nowak of Michigan" were unanimously voted by the mass meeting in UAW Local 157 Hall, Detroit, Feb. 14. General Counsel Lee Pressman of the CIO in Washington DC was the principal speaker. Sec.-Treas. George F. Addes of the UAW-CIO was the chairman in his capacity as chairman of the Senator Stanley Nowak Defense Committee which called the meeting.

Senator Nowak called for similar successful defense activity in the case of Harry Bridges, West Coast CIO leader, and urged constant alertness "not only against Hitler against our own fascists." He thanked all who had cooperated in the pressure that resulted in dropping of the naturalization indictment against him Feb. 8 in Detroit federal court.

That "fascist, reactionary Hitler forces are on the march against labor and progressivism in America" was charged by Chairman Addes.

Judge Patrick H. O'Brien of the probate court, who had termed the indictment "an outrage not only against Senator Nowak but against every liberty-loving American" when the charge was made public in December, sent his greetings to the meeting through Pres. Patrick S. Nertney of the Detroit Lawyers Guild. The guild executive board pronounced the indictment as without legal basis and U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle later admitted that this was so.

A telegram to Biddle, approved by the meeting, commended him "for your courage in taking full responsibility for error in the indictment."

Pres. R. J. Thomas of the UAW-CIO in a message from Dallas, Tex. declared the "unjustified attack upon Senator Nowak in reality an attack upon the war effort."

Congressman George Sadowski of the 1st Michigan district paid tribute to Nowak and urged united effort for victory in the war in 1943, in a message from Washington.

"The Nowak case," said Pressman, "shows what the people can do when they understand what we are fighting for. When the people corral all their strength they cannot be resisted. The job has not been completed however, as the fascists never rest. This same Attorney General Biddle is still pushing the unfair case against Harry Bridges. He is yielding to reactionary pressure in Congress with regard to other cases. Labor and the people must stay awake until the fight here and abroad is won."

The Rev. Claude Williams, Presbyterian minister to labor, pointed out that the people had demonstrated their unity and defeated the native fascists in the Nowak case. He called on labor and the church to united effort for the four freedoms.

More intensive political action was urged by V. Pres. Richard T. Frankenstein of the UAW-CIO in a speech which hailed the victory of democracy in getting the indictment dismissed. Messages from others who helped in the fight were read by Executive Director Ed Richards of the defense committee.

The executive committee is expected to wind up the campaign at an early meeting.

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Feb. 15 1943

The following telegrams were unanimously ordered sent by the Victory Mass Meeting held in Detroit Feb. 14:

TEXT OF WIRE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Accept our most sincere congratulations for the splendid victory of the pro-war forces made possible by the quashing of the indictment against State Senator Stanley Nowak of Michigan. It is indeed very encouraging to us and to all Americans to have at the head of our government a man of your courage and ability, who works untiringly to unite all peoples against the barbaric hordes of Hitler. Your stirring appeals will encourage thousands more to exert every possible ounce of energy to help win this people's war.

Simultaneously we greet with ~~any~~ joy your determined stand against those "certain types of Americans" who "have placed their personal ambition and greed above the nation's interests" and are deliberately injecting the axis propaganda of divide-and-rule to hamper victory and sow confusion and distrust among the people.

It is heartening to all of us to witness your enthusiastic and determined stand for the unity of all the United Nations--the United States, England, the Soviet Union, China and the rest. Only through such a united stand and effort can we expect to smash the axis.

We citizens of Detroit, the arsenal of democracy, wholeheartedly pledge to redouble our efforts to produce the necessary material for the fighting forces of the United Nations. We also pledge to carry on the fight for the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter until all those who wish to tread them down in the mire of fascism have ceased their unAmerican pro-fascist attacks against the people and their pressure upon government agencies.

We repeat--we pledge our undying support to your program to win the war and build a peace where everyone can live a free, happy and prosperous life.

TEXT OF WIRE TO ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANCIS BIDDLE

We, the representatives of labor unions, civic organizations, minority groups and others pledged to support President Roosevelt in his win-the-war policies, wish to commend you for your courage in taking full responsibility for error in the indictment of State Senator Stanley Nowak of Michigan.

Your motion, in response to the request of millions of Americans, to quash the indictment will help to unify all the forces supporting the war and will assist in wiping out the fear created by such unwarranted attacks on patriotic American leaders.

We feel that your action in the Senator Nowak case is a clear indication that you are determined to safeguard the rights of our people and the principles of democracy not only in this case but in other cases of unwarranted prosecution, so that the unity of the American people may be preserved in the effort to win the war.

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(Both telegrams were signed by Chairman George F. Addes of the Senator Stanley Nowak Defense Committee, who presided over the mass meeting.)

Feb. 13 1943

from Senator Stanley Howes, Detroit, Michigan

The following resolutions were unanimously ordered sent by the Victory News League
Feb. 13 1943

TEXT OF WIRE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Accept our most sincere congratulations for the splendid victory of the program
known as possible by the granting of the indictment against State Senator Stanley
Howes of Michigan. It is indeed very encouraging to us and to all Americans to
have at the head of our government a man of your courage and nobility, who works
unflinchingly to unite all peoples against the barbaric forces of Hitler. Your
stating openly will encourage thousands more to exert every possible ounce of
energy to help win this people's war.

Unquestionably we greet with great joy your returned status against those "certain
types of Americans" who "have placed their personal ambition and greed above the
Nation's interests" and who have deliberately injected the axis propaganda of divide
and conquer to hamper victory and sow discord and distrust among the people.

It is heartening to all of us to see you, the Great Defender, standing for the
freedom of all the United States. Only through such a united stand and effort can we
expect to win this war.

To citizens of Detroit, the symbol of democracy, who have heroically stood to
resist our efforts to subvert the necessary support for the fighting forces of
the United States. We also wish to extend our thanks to the four trustees of
the Atlantic Charter and all those who risked their lives in the line of duty
to have caused this national protest against the people and their
government to be heard.

We repeat—we think our highest regard to your program to win the war and build
a peace where everyone can live a free, happy and prosperous life.

TEXT OF WIRE TO ATTORNEY GENERAL THOMAS SWAN

To, the representatives of labor unions, civic organizations, church groups and
others who have supported President Roosevelt in his fight against the forces of
divide and conquer in order to win the responsibility for every citizen in the United
States of America.

Your action in response to the report of activities of Americans, to grant the
indictment will help to unite all the forces opposing the axis and will assist in
winning out the force created by an unprincipled attack on patriotic Americans.

We feel that your action in the Senator Howes case is a clear indication that you
are determined to arrest the efforts of our people and the granting of democracy
not only in this case but in other cases of unprincipled divide and conquer.
Every citizen of the American people may be proud in the effort to win the war.

(The following were signed by Senator Stanley Howes of Michigan and
other citizens of Michigan, Feb. 13 1943)

From: American Labor Conference on International Affairs
9 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Plaza 3-9172

CONFIDENTIAL

Not to be published or quoted in newspapers which
appear on the streets before 12 noon Saturday,
December 16, 1944

IS DUMBARTON OAKS ENOUGH?

Extracts from speech by Professor Robert M. MacIver
of Columbia University, at luncheon meeting of
American Labor Conference on International Affairs,
Hotel Commodore, New York, Saturday, December 16, 1944

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Mr. Churchill announced some time ago that the war was becoming "less ideological." It cannot be the war that is changing in this respect, because wars themselves are never ideological. All that is ideological is the cause for which a war is fought. If, then, Mr. Churchill meant that the objectives of our participation in the war are changing, who changed them? Who has made them "less ideological"? Is it the soldiers and the peoples -- or is it the commanders-in-chief? The peoples and the soldiers have not spoken to this effect. They have devoted themselves to the war because of the ends for which they are supposed to be fighting. With the leaders it may be different. And that is the pattern that wars follow and that must be resisted by the peoples, who bear the burden and the loss.

In 1917 it was supposed to be a war to end wars. In 1941 we were told it was a war to vindicate human liberties and to set up a world order which would preserve them. In the Atlantic Charter and in the ringing declarations of Moscow and Teheran these aims were proclaimed. Now we are told that the war is becoming "less ideological." One result is the present program of Dumbarton Oaks.

Dumbarton Oaks in its present form proclaims the triumph of power and says nothing about the necessity for the triumph of law. Nevertheless, some hail it as an epoch-making advance. Some tell us to take it and be thankful, even if it is not all that could be desired. Some tell us not to be perfectionists by asking more. Some say its defects will disappear. That last hope I am afraid is unfounded. The defects of the League of Nations, which in a few respects was superior to the Dumbarton Oaks proposed organization, did not disappear in practice but led to its final bankruptcy. I believe the people should not take Dumbarton Oaks as it stands. They should not reject it since we must take what is given and work with that, but they should insist on its reformation. For at present Dumbarton Oaks contains fatal flaws. These flaws are due to the abandonment of the ideological aims which the leaders proclaimed and

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which gave unity and fighting strength to the people. If these flaws stand, we cannot count on Dumbarton Oaks to bring international security. Instead we are likely to have a return to the old order. A vindictive peace will be coupled with a sham international organization, and the hopes of the people will again be balked by those who raised them.

In Dumbarton Oaks the accent is too much on power and too little on the common rule without which power remains destructive. It starts off in the wrong way by conceiving an assembly not of all nations, but only of peace-loving nations, and this is a question begging limitation that has no relation to the historical reality. It gives this assembly no powers whatever, no functions whatever, except the right to place recommendations before the condominium of super-states, and even this right is curtailed at the most important point, for the assembly cannot even advise on any matter affecting peace that is under the consideration of the super-states. Above all, it contains no constitutional curb on the will of any of these super-powers, since they can veto any action that refers to the aggressive behavior of any of them. There is no security in this condominium of great powers. For every great power is always jealous of every other. In these respects we must persistently demand change, and it is to the credit of the American Labor Conference that it is coming forth with a clear declaration on these points. In this way it is true to the spirit of the workers and the peoples. The peoples want the assurance of a peaceful world. The peoples must now work hard in the hope of attaining it. This fight has only begun.



which gave unity and fighting strength to the people. In these times, we can
not count on the bourgeoisie to bring international harmony. Instead we are likely
to have a return to the old order. A worldwide peace will be concluded with a new
laborer's organization, and the hopes of the people will again be deflected by those
who raised them.

In the past, the people in the world have been too weak and too little on the
scene. This without which power remains destructive. It starts out in the wrong way
by receiving an assembly not of all nations, but only of peace-loving nations, and
this is a question of the right to the historical reality.
It gives this assembly no power whatever, no functions whatever, except the right
to place recommendations before the members of the assembly, and even this right
is restricted at the most important point, for the assembly cannot even advise on any
matter affecting peace that is under the consideration of the super-states. Above
all, it contains no constitutional curb on the will of any of these super-states,
and thus they can take any action that refers to the aggressive behavior of any of them.
There is no security in this mechanism of great powers. For every great power is
always jealous of every other. In these respects we must passionately demand change,
and it is to the credit of the American Labor Conference that it is coming forth with
a clear declaration on these points. In this way it is true to the spirit of the
workers and the people. The people want the assurance of a peaceful world. The
people that now work hard in the hope of attaining it. This fight has only begun.

From: American Labor Conference on International Affairs
9 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Plaza 3-9172



CONFIDENTIAL

Not to be published or quoted in newspapers which
appear on the streets before 10 a.m. Saturday, December
16, 1944

Text of resolution on Dumbarton Oaks proposals
adopted by the political committee of the
American Labor Conference on International
Affairs, Hotel Commodore, New York, Saturday,
December 16, 1944

From the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20540
Date: 10/10/68

MEMORANDUM

Re: [Illegible]

10/10/68

Text of the letter to [Illegible] is attached
and is captioned [Illegible] of the
[Illegible] Department of [Illegible]
[Illegible] [Illegible] [Illegible] [Illegible]
[Illegible] [Illegible]

The political committee of the American Labor Conference on International Affairs endorses wholeheartedly the principles of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which aim at the creation of a community of nations that shall outlaw war and aggression and establish the rule of law in international relations. In this respect Dumbarton Oaks moves towards the fulfillment of the ideals that American labor as well as the labor unions and the political labor parties of all countries have advocated. The committee expresses its satisfaction that the executive organ of the international community, the Security Council, is to be made into a powerful and efficient body which shall have at its disposal all necessary means, including armed forces, for maintaining peace and preventing aggression. Moreover, a special organ of the General International Organization -- the Economic and Social Council -- is to be created which shall bring more cooperation and planning into the rather chaotic economic relations of the world. This has always been one of the aims of organized labor.

In supporting these policies the peoples of the world, including organized labor, will be reaffirming their belief in a new world in which the relations between peoples shall be based on the same simple rules of law and morals as the relations between individuals in civilized countries, where the supreme criterion is not might but right, in the framework of freedom and equality.

But our endorsement of these principles of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals does not absolve us from making justified criticism of the many weaknesses and shortcomings of the draft in its present form. The President of the United States has explained that this draft has been published "to permit full discussion by the people of this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all important subject."

To implement the pledge made in the Atlantic Charter and in Moscow the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals should be amended in the following respects:

1. After a period of transition the new international organization should become a universal one, unlimited by the present formula that "membership should be open to all peace-loving states." Permanently to exclude any state is to prejudice the new order. In this new order all states must be peace-keeping.

2. The assembly, composed of all states, should be given more important functions as the basis of the whole international organization. It should be given the right to initiate proposals for action by the Security Council on all matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council should furthermore be made accountable to the assembly for any actions it has decided to undertake and for their execution.

3. The Security Council in its projected form gives excessive dominance to four or at most five Great Powers. It is entirely fair and proper that the greater responsibility of the Great Powers in the prevention of war and aggression should be matched by a greater share in the leadership of the organization and in its decisions. Their co-operation is essential to the success of the organization. But we must emphatically reject any proposals that would exempt four or five Great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, from the equal rule of law. It is neither just nor sound that any one of these Great Powers should be allowed to vote in a case where it is accused of aggression. It is still more unacceptable that its vote alone should suffice to annul any complaint against it. Yet this would automatically be the result of the provision requiring the unanimity of the "permanent members" of the Council should be adopted. It would mean, practically, that every Great Power would enjoy freedom to engage in aggression and that any aggressor nation having a mighty protector in the Council would be free from punishment. We therefore propose that the rule of unanimity be replaced by a two-thirds majority of all members including a majority of the permanent members of the Security Council.

We cannot accept the defeatist proposition that no international organization can possibly restrain a Great Power which is prepared to risk aggression and start a new conflict. If that were so, then the whole program of Dumbarton Oaks would be futile, and the proclaimed "sovereign equality of all nations, big and small," would become a mere deception. We must insist that international law apply alike to all nations and that no nation should be put above the law. The duty of the General International Organization is to enforce peace, the rule of law and the equal protection of all peoples of the globe, and no opportunistic considerations can free the community of nations of its moral obligations in the service of humanity.

4. Besides these specific defects of the present Dumbarton Oaks plan there is a lack of certain constructive proposals which are urgently needed if the world is to be subject not to the rule of force but to the rule of law adopted through collective consideration and democratic decision. The Security Council should have as one of its functions the preparation of a continuous policy for the reduction of armaments. There is also lacking any provision for raising the living and cultural standards of dependent peoples, the colonies of the Axis countries, mandated territories, and semi-colonial or backward areas that cannot now be self-governing. A system of international trusteeship should be established for this purpose, and a special organ of the General International Organization with sufficient authority and means should be entrusted with the task of helping the above mentioned countries and nations to accomplish in peace, and free of exploitation, the necessary evolution to modern culture and political, social and economic maturity.

Never before in the history of mankind has the internal progress of each individual nation been so closely and intimately interlocked with the international structure of the world. The social and economic achievements of individual countries

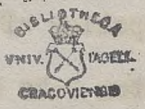
The Council of Europe, the political organization of Europe, was created in 1949. Its main purpose is to promote peace and democracy in Europe. It has achieved many successes, including the signing of the European Convention on Human Rights and the establishment of the European Court of Human Rights. The Council has also played a key role in the development of the European Union.

The Council of Europe is a unique organization, the only one in the world that is based on the principle of equality of all states. It is a model of international cooperation and a source of inspiration for other international organizations. The Council's work is based on the principles of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. It has a long and successful history, and its work continues to be of great importance for Europe and the world.

The Council of Europe is a family of states, united by common values and interests. It is a family that is open to all states that share its values and interests. The Council's work is a testament to the power of international cooperation and the importance of democracy and human rights. It is a testament to the fact that peace and democracy can be achieved through cooperation and dialogue.

The Council of Europe is a source of pride for all Europeans. It is a source of inspiration for all people who believe in democracy and human rights. The Council's work is a testament to the power of international cooperation and the importance of democracy and human rights. It is a testament to the fact that peace and democracy can be achieved through cooperation and dialogue.

would mean nothing in the event of new world catastrophe. Thus the task of creating an adequate international community of nations based on the freedom and equality of all peoples, rather on a division into spheres of influence, acquires a decisive importance from the viewpoint of labor and its historic mission. Labor everywhere must with all its force and energy pursue the policy of advocating and supporting the basic principles proclaimed by the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals in their full and true form, without any distortion or misinterpretation in the imperialistic interest of any Great Power.



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From: American Labor Conference on International Affairs
9 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Plaza 3-9172



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December 16, 1944

BRITAIN'S POSITION IN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION

Speech by Sir Norman Angell, at luncheon meeting
of American Labor Conference on International
Affairs, Hotel Commodore, New York, Saturday,
December 16, 1944

THE AMERICAN LABOR COLLEGE ON LABOR RELATIONS
NEW YORK, N. Y.
1947

NOT TO BE PUBLISHED OR REPRODUCED WITHOUT PERMISSION

AMERICAN LABOR COLLEGE ON LABOR RELATIONS
NEW YORK, N. Y.
1947

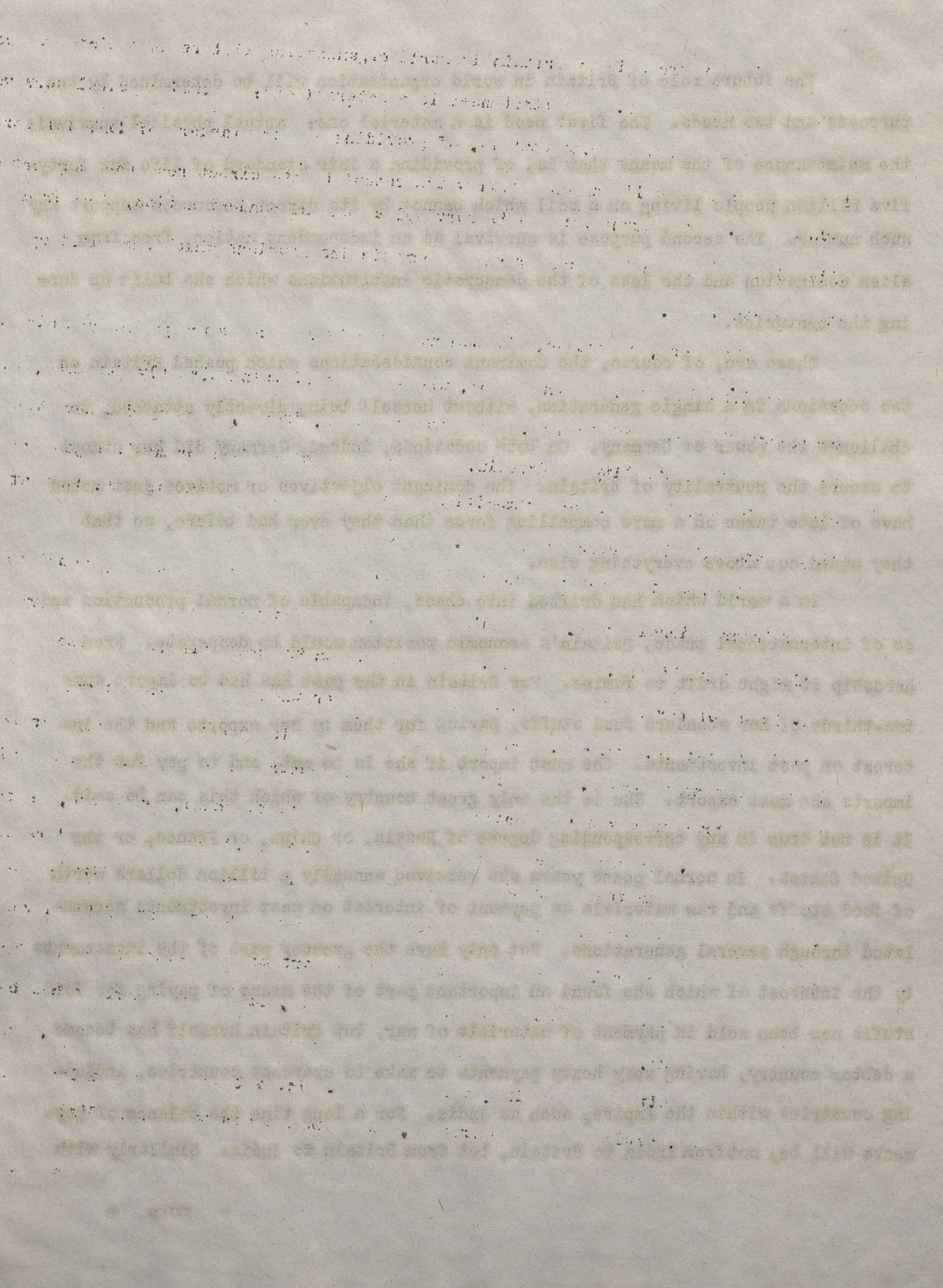
STAFF LIST

Director: [Name]
Assistant Director: [Name]
Administrative Assistant: [Name]
Secretary: [Name]

The future role of Britain in world organization will be determined by two purposes and two needs. The first need is a material one; actual physical survival; the maintenance of the means that is, of providing a fair standard of life for forty-five million people living on a soil which cannot by its direct resources support any such number. The second purpose is survival as an independent nation, free from alien domination and the loss of the democratic institutions which she built up during the centuries.

These are, of course, the dominant considerations which pushed Britain on two occasions in a single generation, without herself being directly attacked, to challenge the power of Germany. On both occasions, indeed, Germany did her utmost to secure the neutrality of Britain. The dominant objectives or motives just noted have of late taken on a more compelling force than they ever had before, so that they stand out above everything else.

In a world which had drifted into chaos, incapable of normal production and so of international trade, Britain's economic position would be desperate. From hardship it might drift to famine. For Britain in the past has had to import some two-thirds of her standard food stuffs, paying for them by her exports and the interest on past investments. She must import if she is to eat, and to pay for the imports she must export. She is the only great country of which this can be said. It is not true in any corresponding degree of Russia, or China, or France, or the United States. In normal peace years she received annually a billion dollars worth of food stuffs and raw materials as payment of interest on past investments accumulated through several generations. Not only have the greater part of the investments by the interest of which she found an important part of the means of paying for food stuffs now been sold in payment of materials of war, but Britain herself has become a debtor country, having very heavy payments to make to overseas countries, including countries within the Empire, such as India. For a long time the balance of payments will be, not from India to Britain, but from Britain to India. Similarly with



a good many other countries. This change-over from a creditor to a debtor position is one of the truly fundamental economic changes in Britain, because, in order to meet it, and to feed her people, she must somehow at the very least double her export trade of the past, and instead of that trade being increased, it has diminished about seventy-five per cent. British exports have been cut down to barely a quarter of what they were in peace years.

There is even a deeper difficulty still.

One of the main foundations of British economy of the past has been coal as the basis of cheap power and cheap shipping. But the coal is no longer cheap, for many of the best seams are worked out, the pits are deeper and in many cases the law of diminishing returns begins to operate. The country has no oil as a substitute and relatively little water power.

Note the situation which she faces with these diminished resources, a shiftover from a creditor to a debtor position, and a foreign trade that has fallen to a third or a quarter of what it used to be. Facing that situation, she has to rebuild about a quarter of the country destroyed or damaged in the bombing and proposes very greatly to increase the social services. This rebuilding of dwelling houses, schools, power and railway stations, bridges, government offices, churches, electrical, gas, water and drainage systems, factories, composing about twenty-five per cent of the country's permanent plant, will involve a diversion of the labor and resources which might otherwise go into exportable goods.

Facing that, Britain proposes greatly to increase the social security services: unemployment pay, health insurance, maternity benefits, old age pensions. The age of compulsory school attendance has been raised, provisions for education in other respects increased. She proposes to do all this although she has pushed her taxation so far that there are not today in the whole country half a hundred people whose incomes exceed twenty thousand dollars a year when their income tax is paid.

a good many other countries. This change-over from a position of...
 is one of the truly fundamental changes which have taken place in order to...
 must be used to lead her people, and must remember that the very least doubt her export...
 trade of the past, and indeed of that trade being increased, it has diminished...
 about twenty-five per cent. It is a fact that has been set down as having a part...
 of what they were in past years.

There is even a danger of... with...

One of the main foundations of the economy of the past has been based on...
 the state of those power and energy supplies. But the fuel is no longer cheap, for...
 many of the best means are worked out, the pits are deeper and in many cases the...
 of diminishing returns begins to appear. The country has not all as a...
 and relatively little water power.

Now the situation which has been with these diminished resources, a...
 whatever from a position of a rapid position and a further trade that has fallen...
 to a third or a quarter of what it used to be. Indeed, the situation, the fact is...
 results about a quarter of the country's resources as compared in the past and now...
 poses very greatly to increase the output. This reduction of output...
 houses, schools, power and railway stations, bridges, government offices, hospitals...
 electrical, gas, water and drainage systems, hospitals, etc., and about twenty-five...
 per cent of the country's permanent plant, will involve a diversion of the labor and...
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Looking that Britain proposes to increase the social security...
 direct employment pay, health insurance, maternity benefits, old age pensions...
 The age of compulsory school attendance has been raised, provisions for education in...
 other respects. The proposal to do all this although the rate would be...
 taxation so far that there are not many in the whole country who have a hundred pounds...
 whose incomes exceed twenty thousand a year who their income tax is paid.

The government has the means therefore of securing a pretty equal division of such national income as is available. But the fact which faces the country is that the national income itself, however equally divided, may prove inadequate for the basic needs.

As is known, the Labor Party in Britain, which twice within the last twenty years has taken over the government, is a socialist party. But the way in which socialism will be applied in England will be determined very largely by this supreme need of securing a sufficient foreign trade to pay for the imports without which the people simply will not eat. The Labor Party, particularly after a long period of coalition government, will be less guided by abstract theories of the class war, or the abolition of capitalism, and much more by the way in which the transformation of capitalism can take place so as to ensure meanwhile the primary needs of food and clothing, housing, education, social service. A country which lives so largely by foreign trade needs peace, stability, order, to a much greater degree than economically self-sufficient countries do; its means of life are much more deeply disturbed by war.

But even stronger reasons for desiring peace have been brought home to the British people by an experience which is special to them, by a development of this war which has not touched America at all, but which has made on the British people an impression which is not going to pass. I refer to the coming of the pilotless plane and the robot bomb. The population of Britain is the only considerable civil population that has been systematically exposed to this latest development of warfare and they have had enough of it, coming on the top of five years of another kind of bombing and blackout, to realize what its possibilities are. They know that a power which could establish robot bases along the coasts of the North Sea and the English Channel could, with the technical improvement of this thing, simply wipe out every considerable city and town in Britain. Britain might be simply eliminated before

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she could find and destroy the underground launching devices. It won't do to say that science always finds some reply to this kind of weapon. Britain has found a reply, has she not, to the earlier type of raiding and bombing? The "reply" has taken the form of witnessing the destruction or damage of every fourth house in the country; of casualties running to a hundred and thirty thousand civilian killed and wounded, which, taking account of differences of population, would be the equivalent for the United States of some four hundred thousand civilian killed and wounded. If the next world war is as much worse for Britain as this has been worse than the first, then Britain knows that in the next war she would, speaking in practical terms, be physically eliminated, not merely by the killing and maiming of the population, very much greater than she suffered in this war, but also by the years of taut nerves, enervation, life underground, and with it all, the next time, famine.

The motives, therefore, which will animate the population as a whole to support any international organization which gives hopes of the prevention of war are likely to run pretty deep. Nor will anyone in the future be likely to argue that capital in England has some mysterious interest in the promotion of war, for this war has meant that, for the time being at least, wealth in the sense of large incomes derivable from capital has simply disappeared. Britain will be prepared to pay almost anything for peace short of subservience to a Fascist or totalitarian power which might threaten her democracy. Certainly she will welcome a truly international organization. Popular opinion in Britain continued to give support to the League long after American popular support had been withdrawn. Personally, I take the view that it was not the mere failure of America to join the League which paved the way to a second world war. (Whether America's joining would have made essential difference would depend upon what she did after joining.) If we examine the record, I think we shall find that the peace began to disintegrate, and to slide along the

The world has been through the most terrible war in its history. It would be a tragedy if we were to see the world again in such a state of chaos and confusion. The world has seen the rise of a new power, and it is now the duty of all nations to stand together and support the principles of justice and freedom. The world is now a better place than it was before the war, and it is our duty to make it even better. We must work together to build a world of peace and harmony. The world is now a better place than it was before the war, and it is our duty to make it even better. We must work together to build a world of peace and harmony.

slippery slope to a second world war, when both Lloyd George and Wilson were unable to secure ratification of the guarantees which both those statesmen had arranged to give France, guarantees which would have also been a warning to Germany. Clemenceau was very explicit that unless the United States and Britain did so guarantee France and warn Germany, there would be another attack upon France, and that when it was made America and Britain would once more have to engage in grim battle on the soil of France because the defense of that soil was indispensable alike to the defense of both Britain and the United States.

The vital point in that experience as applied to the present situation is that the United States and Britain were the only powers which could give the guarantees for which France asked and which were necessary if Germany was to be deterred. Moreover, they had to be joint guarantees; Britain was not strong enough alone to make them effective, and the United States needed Britain as a bridgehead and jumping-off place if they were ever to be implemented--as events have shown. The tripartite arrangement of France, Britain, the United States should have been the core and at the same time the teeth of any League which was to be operative. The arrangement failed in part because of Anglo-American differences and disagreements. Any organization we may now make will fail if the same divergence of view and policy occur.

For all the reasons I have explained, Britain, more than any great power, will desire some international organization. But until it becomes a dependable political reality she is not only likely to cling to the international organization which does exist and has enabled her to avoid defeat in this war--that is to say, the Commonwealth organization, the combination, that is, of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India--but if possible to strengthen it, its main bases and its lines of communication.

Britain has survived in this war because she had the aid and co-operation of the Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the future Dominion of

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India, right from the start. If in July 1940, after the fall of France, there had been no British Commonwealth and Empire, no Gibraltar, no Malta, no troops in Egypt, no Mediterranean line of communications, it is obvious that, France having surrendered, Britain could not have continued to stand up. Only the Commonwealth and Empire made it possible, and even at that, it was, as we know, a very near thing. So we shall not see, I think, the liquidation of the Empire to which Churchill objected, and in this the Labor Party is likely to support him, even if they object to certain other aspects of his foreign policy.

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