CANADA'S CHOICE: UNITY OR CHAOS*

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THE agreement arrived at in the Teheran Conference is important to all mankind because it provides the sole basis upon which complete democratic victory can be achieved and a just and lasting peace established. In this it meets the deepest hopes of all democratic men and women.

The Most Terrible Battles of War Yet to Come

It must be emphasized, however, that military victory has yet to be Our nation, in common with won. all the nations allied against the fascist Axis, stands before the task of defeating the Nazi armies this The invasion of Europe will year. involve some of the most terrible battles of the entire war. The people of Canada will feel to the full the awful impact of this struggle when our men cross the channel for the final decisive blow against Hiterism in Europe. The supreme responsibility confronting our party. and the entire labor movement today, is that of strengthening national unity in support of the men and women in Canada's forces overseas.

That is also the best way to prepare Canada for the peace.

The Teheran agreement voices the determination of the leaders of the governments of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union that their nations "shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow." It pledges them jointly to "seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own people, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. . . ." It is a promise that the peoples of the liberated countries shall enjoy the opportunity to establish governments of their own free choice and to reconstruct their respective national economies according to their own needs and desires. The announcement of the agreement was a major step in the direction of consolidating that firm unity of the United Nations and that national unity of all democratic forces within each one of them which alone can guarantee victory. It indicates both the political framework and the economic basis for the fulfilment of the ideal of a durable peace and a world association of sovereign democratic

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states. It opens up possibilities for a period of great and far-reaching economic and social progress. Carried through in the spirit which now inspires the United Nations it can result in raising the level of economic activity and social progress throughout the world, complete reconstruction of Europe and parts of Asia; the building of new cities, new transportation systems, new industries; and the revitalization of cultural life.

Canada in the Struggle for Victory and a Lasting Peace

Democratic Canadians welcomed the changes which took place during the second half of 1943. A surge of pride swept over the nation when Canadian troops joined the famous Eighth Army in Italy. There has been a renewal of confidence and of the national pledge that our men overseas shall receive everything that modern science and human skill can provide.

Our nation's war effort has been the cause for deep national pride. More than 800,000 men and women have been enrolled in the armed forces. A full army corps is fighting in Italy. Canadian naval units are performing more than half of all the work of guarding convoys in the North Atlantic. The Roval Canadian Air Force is a proud partner with the R.A.F. and the U.S. Army Air Force in the smashing air offensive against Nazi Germany.

The productivity of Canadians in industry and agriculture continues to increase. Canada's production in 1943 totaled 8.7 billion dollars, over half of which was used for the war. The record shows continually growing support for war activities such as victory loans, blood donations, etc.

Our national economy is beginning to reflect the progress toward a victorious conclusion of the war in Europe. Except in the field of aircraft production. Canadian industry has passed the peak of its war production effort. Lavoffs from sections of war industry are warning the labor movement that reconversion of industry back to civilian production will soon become a problem of immediate concern. This is bringing forward the entire question of post-war policy and prospects. Employment, trade union participation in the transfer of workers from war to peacetime jobs, measures for the civil reestablishment of men and women released from the armed services, policies to maintain the national income and the purchasing power of the people, all these problems are coming forward as we approach victory in the war.

The speech from the Throne submitted to Parliament on January 27 reflected both the dangers and the high hopes of this crucial year. Its opening sentences struck the following note of warning: "The war is now in its fifth year. The coming months will witness decisive battles. They will demand a supreme effort on the part of all nations united in the cause of freedom." Every democratic Canadian will agree with those words. Our sons and brothers in the armed forces and our role as a nation in the United Nations alliance compel us to recognize that the supreme need within Canada is still national unity to win the war.

The Throne speech also reflected the profound change that has taken place in the world situation since our national convention. "While giving to the needs of the war precedence over all else," it declared, "my ministers are resolved that, so far as the future can be foreseen, Canada will be in a position to meet the difficult situation which will have to be faced as victory is won."

The legislative program proposed in the speech is a definite effort to assure Canadians—during this the conclusive stage of the war in Europe—that social security and better standards of living will be achieved after victory has been won.

The labor movement and all progressive people welcome the objectives indicated in that statement of aims. But social security legislation, urgently needed as it is, will remain utterly inadequate unless measures are also adopted to ensure full employment. The central problem of post-war policy in Canada will be the problem of providing There are sentences in the jobs. Address which may indicate policies to ensure large-scale employment. The question being asked now, on all sides, is: "Can we hope that such policies will be carried through?" The task of the labor movement is to see that the legislation promised and implied in the speech from the Throne is put on the statute books during this session.

The legislative proposals suggested in the speech from the Throne, on the background of the new perspective now opening, will compel every political party to review its proposals for war and postwar policy. Each political party must accept part responsibility for strengthening national unity now, during the crucial days of the war, and for enacting the legislation indicated in the speech from the Throne.

How Shall the Policies of Parties Be Judged?

Victory in Europe will bring forward problems as great as were the problems brought forward by the war. The test by which the policies of parties and the statements of their leaders will be judged in the period ahead is: "Do they strengthen national unity for victory now and do they offer reasonable assurance of jobs for all in the post-war reconstruction of the world?"

Domestic and foreign policies in accord with the agreement arrived at in Teheran will ensure those objectives. Such policies will be carried through, however, only if the nation is united upon the basic question of sustained Canadian cooperation with the Socialist state as well as the states of the United Nations in re-establishing the shattered economy of the old world.

Mr. Edward L. Stettinius has emphasized the need for this in the following words:

"Lend-Lease operations, as we know them, now, will some day draw to a close, but we know already that the principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest that is embodied in the Lend-Lease Act

must live on. Today there is more unity of purpose and of action among freedom-loving peoples than ever before. In that unity we can find the strength to build a peaceful world in which freedom and opportunity will be secure for all."

It would be folly to ignore the obstacles to such cooperation. The measure of cooperation now existing between Canada and the U.S.S.R. was brought about by the threat of a Hitler victory and our mutual determination to prevent it. The unity and cooperation which now guarantees United Nations victory is the measure of mutual determination to subordinate all other considerations to the task of defeating the Axis. The conclusive reason for continuation of United Nations' unity and cooperation after the Axis has been defeated, is the awful prospect of economic chaos, civil war and a third world war which will probably engulf the world if the Teheran agreement is not carried through.

The Crucial Issue of Post-War Policy

What are the policies around which the unity of the nation can be maintained in the post-war period? They will be determined by the issues which confront the nation. The focal problem of the post-war period, upon solution of which the overwhelming majority of the nation must be united, is that of our national economic policy. This will involve, of course, the related problems of maintaining a high level of employment, and production at home, and a high rate of exports to foreign markets.

Experience during the war has shown that Canada can produce enough to provide a higher standard of life for our people. But the fact that we have been able to double production while three quarters of a million of our youngest and strongest are in uniform is a serious warning of the magnitude of the problem which will confront us when the fighting stops.

When those young Canadians are demobilized there will no longer be an insatiable demand for arms, munitions and equipment. Upwards of a million men and women will be released from war industries. The demand for agricultural products will no longer flow out of the impelling needs of war. Then we shall have to consume, or find export outlets for, almost double the amount of goods that we produced during 1939 or suffer a very serious crisis.

The problem of maintaining full employment after the war will be vastly different from what it was during the pre-war years. Its solution will require important changes in governmental policy.

Our capacity to produce has been stepped up to a tremendous extent. When the fighting men are demobilized from the armed services, we shall be able to produce as much of everything as we produced in 1939 with two million Canadians unemployed. It is self-evident that Canadian economy will not provide social security and a rising standard of living with such a large proportion of the population on relief. One of the first needs, therefore, is for national policies through which the government guarantees the people against such a disaster.

The question of how we can continue to produce and dispose of approximately the same amount of goods in peacetime as we are producing today is the crucial question that we shall then face as a nation. If we solve that problem successfully, in a democratic way, we shall have taken a long stride toward a happier and more prosperous Canada.

Wartime experience has proven conclusively that we can solve the problem in an orderly democratic way. To do so, we must maintain a level of economic activity which keeps the national income approximately as high as it has been during the war. This question of the level of economic activity is simultaneously the decisive question of jobs.

Must Carry Through Great Public Works

Steady full employment will be possible during the post-war period only if the government initiates and carries through great undertakings: Modernization and reconstruction of our cities. Abolition of slums: homes for the people, hospitals, schools, libraries and recreational centers; huge public works such as the St. Lawrence Waterway, development of our vast potential hydroelectric power resources, rural electrification. irrigation of prairie lands, development of our rich natural resources, reconstruction of our national transportation systems and modern highways. Carrying through these and other great public works which Canada needs will provide jobs at socially necessary work for tens of thousands and generate increasing activity throughout the entire industry and agriculture of the nation. It will maintain the national income and the purchasing power of the people. It will increase both the national production and the nation's power to consume.

It will require bold national policies based squarely upon the needs of Canada's people and the experience of the war, carried through in the spirit of crusades. With such policies, full employment can be maintained and with maintenance of full employment we can maintain the national income.

Half the Industrialized World Will Need Rebuilding

To operate at a high level and raise the standard of living in the post-war period Canada must export vast quantities of industrial as well as agricultural products. The basis for such huge exports has been entirely changed by the war. As pointed out earlier, the entire continent of Europe has been devastated by the war. Across a vast area of that continent cities, railways, mines, factories, in some cases even farms, have been completely destroyed. The same is true of huge areas of China and other parts of the Far East. The cities, industries, railways, communications systems, harbors and highways of half the industrialized part of the world will need to be rebuilt when the fighting stops. In vast areas of other parts of the world the need for railways, machinery and equipment for industry, as well as the urgent need for food and clothing, will be almost without limit.

Donald Nelson, Chairman of the United States War Production Board, states the case as follows: "By sending those people, on fair terms, the machinery with which to develop, by giving them gladly and unstintingly of our knowledge and experience, we shall achieve friendship and cooperation that diplomacy alone cannot hope to realize."

Such an outlook involves the prospect of Canada giving either free gifts or long term credits to the extent of billions of dollars to help in rebuilding the world. The prospect opens up the possibility of a high level of economic activity for years after the war. If the task of post-war reconstruction is approached in the same spirit as the United Nations are now approaching the task of winning the war, the world will enter a period of tremendous expansion. Industrialization of countries now undeveloped, raising of the standard of life of a thousand million people and advance toward a higher political stage in the world as a whole. Such is the tremendous vista of human progress which Roosevelt. Churchill and Stalin opened up to the world by their historic agreement at Teheran. The Labor-Progressive Party will strive to make Canada a vital force in carrying that agreement through.

The Changing Views of Some Capitalist Leaders

Is it possible to achieve national

unity in Canada for the carrying through of such policies? Indeed it One of the best pieces of eviis. dence to show that it is possible is to be seen in the changing tone and character of opinions expressed by many leading spokesmen of the capitalist class. One of the most outstanding of these comes from no less a person than Mr. Morris W. Wilson, president of the Royal Bank of Canada. Addressing the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Royal Bank on January 13 in Montreal, Mr. Wilson made the following significant statement concerning post-war rehabilitation and the policies which he thinks Canada should pursue:

"I personally believe that large outright gifts of food, raw materials, finished goods and machinery to backward and devastated countries will in the long run and even from the most selfish point of view, not only contribute most to human welfare, but both in the short and long run be in the best interests of those nations which can afford to make the gifts.

"If this is too much to expect of human beings in their present stage of development, the alternative must be loans on a very large scale on long and easy terms, or probably a combination of both loans and gifts. I think such loans would have to be to governments, because the management of an international fund presumably under the control of the great powers could hardly expect to decide on the merits of individual applicants, and, even if they did, would doubtless in due course be accused of attempting to influence internal business policies or trends."

The Path of Democratic Progress

We are living through days of epochal change. The character of the war and the influence of the labor movement upon changing national policies make it our duty to emphasize the problems which must be solved if the path toward our ultimate objective is to be kept open. Canada can be kept in the main stream of progressive world action only if the great majority of the nation is united around policies based upon the prospect opened up by the Teheran agreement. Such policies provide the basis for continued national and United Nations They are also the policies unity. which will enable mankind to adin democratic vance freedom. through far-reaching social reforms to that stage in which the people, through their own experience, will realize the need for socialism.

In this situation serious workingclass leadership bases its proposals upon a sober estimate of what are the most advanced proposals that the majority of democratic Canadians will support.

One thing is clear. While the majority of people are not yet ready to support abolition of the profit system they do want change. A careful study of their attitudes and reaction, combined with the public records of the Gallup Poll and such like mirrors of public opinion, makes one thing absolutely clear. The people of Canada have no intention of allowing this country to revert back to the policies and conditions of 1939 if they can do anything to prevent it. The expressed desires of the great majority of people may be summed up in the following demands which literally every organized group of farmers, workers and progressive middle class people are endorsing and elaborating all across the country:

1. Jobs For All When the War Is Over!

The first demand put forward by all sections of the democratic people is that our government shall introduce policies to provide a reasonable assurance that every man and woman who wants to work when this war is over shall be able to get a job.

2. Opportunities for the Youth in the Post-War Years

Tied in with the demand for jobs goes the sharpening demand for measures to ensure that our youth, particularly the young men and women who gave up their training to join the armed forces, shall be guaranteed opportunities for careers in the Canada that we shall build after this war. The young generation of Canada is giving unstintingly of itself so that the scourge of Nazism may be destroyed. We are justly proud of our great Army, Navy and Air Force staffed by the flower of Canada's youth. It is now while the war is on that we must pledge that Canada's young generation shall never return to the shameful days of the hunger treks, rodriding and hopelessness.

We must now assure each and every young man and young woman in uniform that they will return to jobs, to possibilities to continue their interrupted education and training for trades and to conditions conducive to the happiness they so richly deserve.

In the post-war period we must make sure of improved educational facilities, of vocational training and ample recreational opportunities. Youth is entitled to the best the nation can offer; for the young of today are the nation's producers and leaders of tomorrow.

3. Prosperity for the Farmers

The farmers have increased their production of food magnificently in response to the cry for food for the armies, food for Britain, and food to feed the starving millions of Europe and Asia. They want government policies to provide them with a fair chance to make a decent living. They want adequate prices for farm products. They want an assurance that the prices for their products will be maintained in a stable relationship to the prices they must pay for manufactured goods. They want markets for their prod-They know as a result of the ucts. war that such markets can be maintained by raising the standard of living at home and adopting policies of international cooperation which provide steadily expanding will markets for the products of Canada's fruitful farms.

4. Complete Provisions for Soldier's Civil Re-establishment

The people of Canada want na-

tional policies that will provide the fullest assurance for complete civil re-establishment to the men and women of the armed forces. The debt we owe to these men and women cannot be measured in money. But the people of Canada want these young men and women to be guaranteed opportunities for education or retraining to learn a trade or profession. They want them to receive pay and allowances until the opportunity to earn a living is available. They want every man and woman demobilized from the army to receive an adequate demobilization gratuity. They want those who are incapacitated or partly incapacitated and the dependents of those who have fallen to receive generous pensions which will eliminate the danger of want.

5. Social Security for All

The people of Canada want Dominion government policies which will provide social security for every man, woman and child in the country. The war has shown that every child born in Canada could be guaranteed adequate nutrition. adequate medical care, efficient education and hospitalization. Every adult man and woman could be guaranteed protection against unadequate employment, widowed mothers' allowances, free medical care and hospitalization and adequate old age pensions for every Canadian who reaches the age of The people of Canada believe 60. these things are possible and they Dominion want а Government which they believe will provide these things right away.

6. Bring Our Constitution Up to Date

The people want some assurance that constitutional difficulties will not be used as an excuse for enactment of emasculated versions of the social legislation they need. Millions of Canadians remember how the British North America Act was used to block sorely needed reforms in the 1930's. They fear repetition of such tactics.

Canada's Constitution should be brought up to date, as proposed in our brief to the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1937. Social services should be a Dominion responsibility. With the marked discrepancies in various provinces, the standard of social services should not be dependent upon local conditions. Canada must have the right to amend her own constitution. The present situation, in which amendments can be made only by the British House of Commons, is in contradiction to Canada's place in world affairs. It is absolutely essential that the principle of national rights and adequate safeguards to protect basic provincial and cultural rights, particularly the language, religious, educational and civil law rights prized by the people of French Canada must be provided. With such safeguards and an established method and procedure for constitutional amendment, the restrictive clause in the Statute of Westminster which now provides that our Constitution can be amended only by the British House of Commons should be removed.

7. Base Our Foreign Policies Upon Canada's Interests

What has been said above concerning the need to bring our Constitution up to date is true in principle about Canada's foreign policies also.

Canada is now one of the most important of the small nations. Mackenzie King declared some time ago that we shall emerge from this war as a power. One of the vital needs in the shaping and carrying through of our national policies is that our foreign policies, and the relationships which grow out of them, shall be formulated in Canada on the basis of Canada's interests, shall be administered directly by the government of this country and shall be under control of its House of Commons.

We have urged this consistently for many years. It is written into the history of our movement. Because of this we welcomed Mackenzie King's blunt rejection of the proposals for imperial centralization advanced by Lord Halifax recently. We and the overwhelming majority of Canadians reject Halifax's implied proposals to build up an imperialist power bloc. Such a policy could only lead to a revival of imperialist power politics and rivalries-and eventually war. The ideal toward which Canada's foreign policy should aim is that of Canada playing a democratic role as a sovereign state in a world association of sovereign states.

Such an ideal does not exclude or contradict, continued Canadian membership in the British Commonwealth; on the contrary, it envisages development of Canada's role in the Commonwealth to one of increasing importance. A member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, next door neighbor to the United States and a friendly near neighbor to the great confederation of Soviet Socialist Republics, Canada can and should become a link between the great demo-To do that effeccratic powers. tively she must not be subordinate in any way to any one of them. Canada's foreign policy must be based squarely upon Canada's national interests and needs.

French Canada and the Teheran Agreement

The people want definite and straightforward action to abolish the inequalities which still persist in French Canada. Policies based upon the perspective opened up by the Teheran agreement will aid in abolishing them. Raising the standard of living, public education and social services in Quebec and the other areas where intolerably low levels now prevail, will increase the purchasing power of a third of the nation. This will be a big factor in helping to solve the problem of the domestic market for Canadian goods after the war.

There is a growing consciousness among democratic people in English Canada that this is a matter of concern to every Canadian and not to French Canadians alone. The low wage level, the intolerably low standard of public education and social services, the high rate of infant mortality, the high death rate from tuberculosis are but evidence of the conditions created by the systematic economic discrimination from which the workers, farmers and lower middle class people of the towns and cities, suffer in the province of Quebec. Correction of this situation is a national duty. Leadership in its correction should come from the Dominion Government.

There is a rising consciousness of these evils and their causes in Quebec. There is striking growth of the trade union movement in Quebec and there are numerous indications of mass political revolt in that province.

French Canada Is a Problem for All Canada

The danger to the people of Quebec and to the prospects for strengthened national unity, lies in the fact that in their desire for improvement, masses of the people of Quebec are turning toward the Bloc Populaire—the leaders of which are pursuing a line dangerously similar to the line followed by the leaders of all fascist movements in their early stages.

Those men and women in both French and English-speaking Canada who realize the need for national unity around policies in accord with the Teheran agreement must accept a serious responsibility toward the masses in French Canada. The majority of the rank and file following of the Bloc Populaire is composed of honest men and women who desire progressive social change. Thousands of them are attracted to the Bloc by its demagogic emphasis upon the shameful economic conditions in Quebec. The best way to win the support of these tens of thousands of earnest men and women for policies of national unity is to unite the labor and people's movements in English and French Canada in the struggle to bring about correction of the national grievances of French Canada.

National policies based upon the Teheran agreement must abolish the economic and social inequalities in Quebec and correct the national grievances of French Canada.

The Labor Movement and National Policy

The Teheran agreement places a heavy responsibility on the leadership of the trade union movement.

The pressing task confronting the trade union leadership in Canada is that of developing systematic joint activity to induce the Government to introduce progressive labor legislation. P.C. 9384 is a good example of this need. As promulgated, that order is contrary to the essence of the voluminous evidence submitted to the National Inquiry that almost half of Canada's workers receive wages definitely and admittedly too low to provide for a decent standard of existence. A universal proposal put forward in every brief submitted by the labor movement was for the payment of the full cost of living bonus to these workers. The measures introduced in P.C. 9384 are just the contrary. Another point emphasized in a majority of the briefs submitted was

the need to abolish the wage freezing regulations from wages below fifty cents per hour. On this point also P.C. 9384 proposed action exactly contrary to the urgent representations of the labor movement.

How did it happen that such antilabor regulations should follow the inquiry? It was, in the main, because in spite of the knowledge that powerful pressure was being exerted by reactionary employers, the trade union movement failed to maintain sufficient united action on this issue. The Canadian Commonwealth Federation divided progressive political forces; on the left by its anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda and on the right by its pretentious but irresponsible propaganda about "Socialism now!" The result was that Mackenzie King, feeling the pressure of increased activity on the part of reactionary forces, and not being subjected to sufficient pressure from the progressive forces, enacted an order-incouncil slapping the face of the labor movement and reassuring big business on the question of the Government's wage policy. But. as workers realized the meaning of the Order, a storm of protest broke out, compelling Liberal M.P.'s to denounce the Order also. As a result of that Mackenzie King gave way and informed the mass delegation representing the Canadian Congress of Labor that the Order will be amended. It provides a perfect illustration of the need for unceasing vigilance and systematic public pressure. It shows also, that concessions can be secured if public pressure is properly applied.

The trade union movement can influence national policy to a far greater extent than is usually recognized. Its influence in national policies has increased to a marked extent during the war. Any doubt on this score is quickly dissipated by a review of the changing character of labor legislation, Dominion and Provincial, or by the contrast between, say, the national inquiry into wages and labor relations held in Ottawa last year and the Mather Commission in 1919.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized, the possibilities for strengthening labor's influence are great. Labor has played an honorable and decisive role in the struggle for war production. The trade unions have accepted wartime regulations including wage-freezing, job freezing and other measures. They have accepted these measures, often in the face of Government and employer provocation, while their membership has been doubled. That fact is perhaps the best testimony to the earnest will of the majority of trade unionists to subordinate their own immediate interests and opportunities for advantage to the need to win the war. In doing these things labor has made a marked contribution to national unity.

Trade Unions Can Influence the Future of Canada

These things have raised the status of the trade union movement in the nation. Its members and their families now total almost a fourth of our population. By united action the trade unions can become a powerful force in the interests of the nation.

The trade union movement has serious reasons to exercise its full influence now. The prospects of lay-offs from war industries, the need for government-labor cooperation in transfer of workers from war to civilian employment, the pressing need to ensure Govermentlabor cooperation in the re-establishment of the men and women from the armed forces in civil life, the need for the trade union movement to help formulate national policies which will guarantee opportunities for our youth, these are but typical examples of the numerous problems which will require exercise of all the influence of the trade union movement.

The future of trade unionism in Canada is closely linked up with the Teheran agreement. If Canada adopts national policies in accord with it, prospects for continued growth of the trade unions are very bright. If Canada fails to adopt policies in accord with the perspective opened at Teheran, prospects for the trade union movement in the post-war years will be dark. A high level of employment, maintenance of wage levels, progressive social legislation and general social progress in the post-war years, depend entirely upon the extent to which Canada adopts policies in accord with the spirit of the Teheran agreement.

Trade Unions Vital in Building National Unity

National prosperity through mutual aid in rebuilding the liberated

countries and Canadian participation as a sovereign state in a world association of sovereign states is a national aim. It can be achieved only if all democratic forces in the country are united in support of it. The trade union movement can play a vital role in bringing about such unity of progressive forces. By playing a positive role in the fight for such policies, based on the perspective opened at Teheran, the trade union movement can become a vital force in the maintaining of national unity and prosperity after the war.

Finally, the trade union movement in Canada is faced with an opportunity to help establish labor unity on an international scale. The British trade union council is calling a conference of representatives of all the national trade union centers of the United Nations. The possibilities enhanced in this proposal are almost immeasurable. The importance of the forthcoming conference may be estimated by the C.I.C. announcement that ten of its most outstanding representatives—including its President, Philip Murray, are going to London in June to attend the conference.

The London conference may be the beginning of a new and mighty movement, mobilizing world labor in support of the Teheran agreement and national policies in accord with it. In that case the Conference may lead to the unity of all the trade unions of the United Nations in a great new labor international. Such a development would signalize and symbolize labor's participation in the rebuilding of the world in the spirit of the Teheran agreement. The trade union movement in Canada cannot stand aside from this historic development. Its leadership should be urged to guide the activities of the movement toward the struggle for national unity in support of progressive policies at home and international unity in support of the Teheran agreement on a world scale as Canadian labor's contribution to the building of a new world.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL'S STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY (WITH ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT)

CECRETARY of State Cordell Hull \supset on March 21 informed press and radio correspondents that after returning from his recent trip to Florida he had noted a growing interest in the foreign policy of the United States and an increasing number of requests for information about various points in our foreign policy. He said that he was glad of this increased interest. The Secretary said that in addition to many statements and declarations by the President, he had himself made a number of basic statements on foreign policy during the past two years. He thought it would be a convenience and help to the public generally if there could be compiled a brief memorandum of a number of them. Accordingly, the following had been prepared:

Bases of the Foreign Policy of the United States

Our Fundamental National Interests—In determining our foreign policy we must first see clearly what our true national interests are. At the present time, the paramount aim of our foreign policy is to defeat our enemies as quickly as possible. Beyond final victory, our fundamental national interests are the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social wellbeing of our people.

International Cooperation—Cooperation between nations in the spirit of good neighbors, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, justice, morality, and law, is the most effective method of safeguarding and promoting the political, the economic, the social, and the cultural well-being of our nation and of all nations.

International Organization Backed by Force—Some international agency must be created which can—by force, if necessary—keep the peace among nations in the future. A system of organized international cooperation for the maintenance of peace must be based upon the willingness of the cooperating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace. There must be certainty that adequate and appropriate means are available and will be used for this purpose.

Political Differences—Political differences which present a threat to the peace of the world should be submitted to agencies which would