

**Folder 2. MR 210 International Labor  
Organization (1)—  
Meeting in Philadelphia,  
3 December 1943–29 May 1944.**

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May 29, 1944.

**CONFIDENTIAL:** To be held in **STRICT CONFIDENCE** and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be given out or published until the **READING** of the President's Message has begun in either the Senate or House of Representatives. Extreme care must therefore be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Twenty-Sixth Conference of the International Labor Organization has just been held at Philadelphia. Representatives of the governments, employers and workers of forty-one countries took part in its deliberations.

The Conference, by a two-thirds majority, adopted Recommendations on the following seven subjects:

1. Income Security
2. Social Security for the Armed Forces
3. Medical Care
4. Social Policy in Dependent Territories
5. Employment in the Transition from War to Peace
6. The Organization of Employment Services
7. National Planning of Public Works

Under the Constitution of the International Labor Organization, these recommendations are forwarded to the member governments for submission by them to their respective, competent national authorities. I shall accordingly submit them to the Congress in the regular way when certified copies are received.

The Conference made other important decisions of which I think the Congress should be informed.

First, it adopted by unanimous vote a declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization, which has been referred to as the "Declaration of Philadelphia".

Secondly, it unanimously adopted resolutions concerning the social provisions of the peace settlement.

Thirdly, it unanimously adopted resolutions concerning the economic policies, international and national, required for the attainment of the social objectives of the United Nations.

Because of the interest and importance of these three documents, I am transmitting them herewith for the information of the Congress.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

May 29, 1944.

(OVER)

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

MEETING IN ITS TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION IN PHILADELPHIA, MAY 1919

**DECLARATION CONCERNING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.**

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in its Twenty-sixth Session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this tenth day of May in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four, the present Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its Members.

1. The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:

- (a) labour is not a commodity;
- (b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
- (c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
- (d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

2. Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the Conference affirms that:

- (a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;
- (b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

3.

The Conference recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve:

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(OVER)

- (f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;
- (g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;
- (h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;
- (i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;
- (j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

4.

Confident that the fuller and broader utilisation of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this Declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the Conference pledges the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

5.

The Conference affirms that the principles set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world.

II

RESOLUTION CONCERNING SOCIAL PROVISIONS  
IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

Whereas the Conference is called upon to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties;

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security;

1.

The Conference considers that the principles stated in the following draft are appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid agreement:

The signatory governments

Having pledged themselves to provide conditions which will ensure an increasing measure of freedom from want to their own peoples and to all peoples; Recognising, therefore, their common obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to ensure that workers and productive resources shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied;

Realizing that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations, and that hence the attainment of the above-stated objectives requires increasing collaboration among nations;

Have agreed that:

ARTICLE I

The Declaration of the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organization adopted by the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia, 1944, the text of which is annexed,

(OVER)

is hereby reaffirmed.

#### ARTICLE II

Each government recognizes its duty to maintain a high level of employment. Accordingly, all arrangements by and among the signatory and other like-minded governments for international economic cooperation should be framed and administered to serve the objectives set forth in Article I. They should be directed to the expansion of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods and to the liberation of economic activity from unreasonable restrictions. Particular consideration should be given to measures for promoting the reconstruction of economic life in countries whose economic and social life has been disrupted as the result of Axis aggression.

#### ARTICLE III

The following matters are of international concern and should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy:

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

#### ARTICLE IV

The International Labour Office may, under standards constitutionally determined by the International Labour Conference, as occasion requires, collect from, and interchange with, the signatory

governments, uniform statistical and other economic information on the following matters which are among those of direct interest to the International Labour Organisation and are of international concern:

- (1) Employment, wages and conditions of work;
- (2) Standards of living and the distribution of income, with particular reference to wage and salaried workers;
- (3) Technical education and training for employment;
- (4) Industrial health, safety and welfare;
- (5) Industrial relations;
- (6) Social security; and
- (7) Administration of labour and social security legislation.

ARTICLE V

With respect to the matters set forth in Article III:

- (1) The governments, through appropriate international agencies, shall develop standards and statistical measures, and shall maintain uniform statistics and other information.
- (2) The governments shall interchange among themselves and make available to the International Labour Organisation such information and reports as may be required to assist them and the Organisation to develop recommendations with respect to such matters.
- (3) The governments shall take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the International Labour Organisation and any other international bodies which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being.
- (4) The governments shall take appropriate steps to have placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference annually the subjects of the extent to which the social objectives set forth in Article I have been attained and on the measures taken during the year toward the attainment of the objectives.

ARTICLE VI

With respect to draft international conventions and recommendations adopted by the Conference in accordance with Article 19 of the constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the signatory governments undertake to report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body on the status of legislation and administration and, in so far as practicable, of practices under collective agreements between employers and workers.

2.

The Conference recommends that the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation:

- (1) call a special conference of the Organisation when in its opinion there is a danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored;
- (2) correlate the activities of the I.L.O. toward the end of maintaining full employment with those of any other international agency or agencies which may be designated by the United Nations to have primary responsibility in related economic fields.

3.

The Conference Recommends that:

- (1) The United Nations should undertake--
  - (a) to apply to any dependent territories in respect of which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability through any international or regional commission or other body the principle that all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories, and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress;

(b) to apply to such territories the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930; the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936; the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939;

(c) to make a periodical report to the International Labour Office in respect of each such territory indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the provisions of the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation, 1944;

(d) to ask the International Labour Office to appoint, in continuation of the collaboration established in the case of the Permanent Mandates Commission, a representative on any Committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability, and further to ensure that any facilities which may be afforded, in the form of inspection or otherwise, for the better implementation of this principle, shall include appropriate measures for examining the application of the above-mentioned Conventions and Recommendation.

- (2) When determining the future status of dependent territories which on 1 September 1939 were controlled by Axis Powers, the United Nations should specifically require the application thereto of the arrangements provided for in the preceding paragraph.
- (3) In any negotiations regarding the organization, control and operation of merchant shipping and in particular in making international arrangements for the disposal

of merchant shipping tonnage, the United Nations concerned should consult the competent bodies of the International Labour Organisation, such as the Joint Maritime Commission, in regard to the possibility of including stipulations concerning the standard of accommodation to be provided for crews and of stipulations embodying the provisions of Conventions already adopted by the maritime sessions of the Conference, or of any further such Conventions that may be adopted before the negotiation of such agreements.

(4) In making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterway, the United Nations should have due regard to the repercussions of such arrangements on the working and living conditions of persons employed in transport, and should consult the International Labour Organisation in regard to such repercussions and more particularly in regard to the working and living conditions of persons who, in operating such transport systems, work in or under the jurisdiction of more than one country.

(5) The International Labour Organisation should make available to the United Nations any information or assistance calculated to facilitate the implementation of the proposals contained in the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives and the present resolution and should be prepared to participate in any international conference which may be considering such proposals.

(6) Believing that the exceptional opportunity of the negotiations of the peace settlement should be taken to secure a concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations concerning conditions of labor;

The Conference reaffirming the principle of the association of management and labour in the framing of such standards,

Recommends

(a) That throughout the peace settlement the United Nations should wherever appropriate include provisions for labor standards. In a number of cases such provisions might properly be taken from conventions or recommendations that have been or may be adopted by the International Labour Conference.

(b) That the Governing Body should appoint a consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement. This committee should hold itself in readiness, together with the Director of the International Labour Office, to give advice with reference to such provisions on the request of the United Nations or of particular groups of the United Nations. This committee should have the right to coopt additional members of special competence with respect to the particular sets of provisions under consideration.

(c) That the United Nations should make full use of this committee in any way in which they consider it appropriate to include labour provisions in the peace settlement.

5.

The Conference recommends to Governments that a Conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and this Conference pledges the full co-operation and the assistance of the I.L.O. in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make.

(OVER)

III

RESOLUTION CONCERNING ECONOMIC POLICIES  
FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security; and

Whereas these objectives of the United Nations coincide with the basic principles of the International Labour Organisation, and the International Labour Conference, meeting in New York in 1941, pledged the full collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by Item II on the Agenda of the present Session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy concerning more especially the measures required to be taken internationally and nationally to ensure full employment, social security and rising standards of living; and

Whereas the initiative with regard to international policy lies with the United Nations at the present time, and it is desirable in order to attain the objectives referred to that all nations should pursue an appropriate national policy; and

Whereas the attainment of full employment and high productivity by the various nations after the war is essential to the achievement of freedom from want, the attainment of increasing living standards, the realisation of genuine economic security and the continuation of peaceful economic progress; and

Whereas full employment can be achieved and maintained only through the adoption, by governments, industry and labour, of policies and measures which effectively encourage the continuing expansion of production and improvement of distribution; and

Whereas the speedy achievement of full employment requires the prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture after the war, and the subsequent maintenance of employment and production at high levels requires the creation of an economic and social environment conducive to a progressive and expanding economy;

The Conference adopts the following resolution:

1. INTERNATIONAL POLICY

1. Believing that the relief of war-stricken peoples, repatriation of prisoners and exiles and resumption of agricultural and industrial production are matters which will be of the utmost urgency immediately on the liberation of occupied countries and that on the successful handling of these problems the possibility of achieving the long-range objectives of social and economic well-being will largely depend,

The Conference welcomes the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, urges all States concerned to co-operate actively in the achievement of the tasks entrusted to it and assures the Administration of the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to assist it in every appropriate way.

2. In view of the fact that for varying periods after the end of hostilities many essential commodities and transport facilities will be in short supply, and that international arrangements will be needed to ensure a fair allocation of available supplies and prevent excessive price movements,

The Conference considers that the Governments of the United Nations concerned should arrange to continue in operation, for such periods as any serious shortages may persist, the existing machinery of international co-ordination and control subject to such modification, and in particular to such enlargement of the membership of the authorities concerned, as may contribute to the equitable and efficient operation of such machinery in the transition from war to peace.

3. The Conference endorses the declaration of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held in May 1943, that while the primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for life and health, each nation can fully achieve this goal only if all co-operate in appropriate international action, and urges the setting up of a permanent international organisation, as recommended by the Conference on Food and Agriculture, to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

4. Recognising that a satisfactory international monetary system is essential to the full development of mutually advantageous economic relations between nations, and consequently to the raising of standards of living,

The Conference attaches great importance to the establishment at the earliest possible moment of effective international machinery for settling balances arising out of international trade and other transactions and for maintaining stability in rates of exchange, notes with satisfaction that the Governments of the United Nations are giving careful attention to this matter and urges that they include in any agreement establishing such machinery a provision requiring the authorities responsible for its application to have regard in framing and applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards.

5. Noting that imports of capital will be needed for reconstruction, development and the raising of living standards in many countries, and believing that the provision of such capital will contribute to the maintenance of full employment in the lending countries,

The Conference:

(a) considers that the existing machinery of the international capital market should be supplemented by the establishment of appropriate international machinery for the purpose of promoting the international movement of capital;

(b) considers that the promotion of full employment and higher living standards should be regarded as a primary objective of any such international machinery;

(c) considers that the authorities responsible for the operation of such international machinery should consult the International Labour Organisation as to the appropriateness of including in the terms under which development works financed in whole or in part through such machinery are to be carried out, provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labour employed; and that such provisions should be framed in consultation with the International Labour Organisation;

(d) affirms the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to render every assistance in its power in determining the appropriateness of the inclusion of such provisions and in their framing and application and in the promotion through the operations of such international machinery of the general objectives of full employment and higher living standards.

6. Recognising the great contribution which the international exchange of goods and services can make to higher living standards and to high levels of employment,

The Conference:

(a) believes that the measures proposed in the foregoing paragraphs for the promotion of exchange stabilisation and international lending will contribute to the expansion of international trade, but considers that the United Nations should also examine wartime changes in industrial capacity, and arrange for exchange of information on postwar industrial programmes and should take vigorous action to promote the expansion of international trade by appropriate commercial policies; and considers that all countries, creditor as well as debtor, should adapt their commercial policy in such a way as to enable them to settle all obligations arising out of international transactions;

(b) considers that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate the co-ordination through appropriate international machinery of the commercial policies of all countries for

the purpose of promoting a steady expansion in world trade on a multilateral basis;

(c) considers that in such co-ordination special consideration should be given to the need of countries which are highly dependent on returns from exports to take measures to ensure a high degree of stability in the level of their economic activity and observes that the need for these measures will decrease to the extent that international collaboration proves successful; and

(d) considers that in such co-ordination special account should be taken of the dislocation and the accumulated needs resulting from the devastation caused by war operations and from the prolonged diversion from peacetime production in countries which have been engaged for a long period in a sustained and total war effort.

7. In order to lay the foundation for rising levels of consumption throughout the world and at the same time to ensure more stable and adequate incomes to those primary producers whose services are needed for the production of essential raw materials and foodstuffs,

The Conference considers that the United Nations should initiate concerted action designed to ensure the constant availability to all purchasers of adequate supplies of such commodities at prices which give a reasonable return to the efficient producer and are held sufficiently stable to afford protection against major short-term fluctuations in supply or demand; and that such international arrangements (a) should provide for adequate representation of consumers as well as producers, representing both importing and exporting countries, in all authorities responsible for the determination and application of policy, and (b) should aim to assure to all workers, including the self-employed, engaged in the production of the commodities concerned, fair remuneration, satisfactory working conditions and adequate social security protection, having regard to the general standards in the countries concerned.

8. Believing that migratory movements may play an important part in the development of a dynamic economy, and that disorderly international migration may create economic and social dislocation in the countries concerned and involve serious individual hardship for the migrants themselves, while desirable migratory movements are often hampered by technical and financial difficulties which can be overcome only through international co-operation,

The Conference considers that:

(a) The United Nations should encourage by appropriate measures, with adequate safeguards for all concerned, the orderly migration of labour and settled in accordance with the economic needs and social conditions prevailing in the various countries, and in this connection should note the Conclusions adopted by the Conference of Experts on Technical and Financial Co-operation with regard to Migration for Settlement held at the International Labour Office in 1938;

(OVER)

(b) Arrangements should be made for close co-operation between the International Labour Organisation and any public international agency established to deal with migration;

(c) The Governing Body should take steps to bring before an early session of the Conference a report of a representative commission, with such technical assistance as it may require, on the means necessary to protect the interests of labour, on the one hand, against barriers which prevent migration from areas of limited resources, and on the other hand, against the lowering of the labour standards that might result from immigration at a rate exceeding the capacity of the receiving countries to absorb immigrants.

9. In order that re-employment may be expedited and healthy living standards established within a period of minimum duration in areas liberated from Axis occupation,

The Conference recommends that arrangements be made by those nations whose productive capacities have been maintained during the war, by all other nations which are in a position to make materials available and by the appropriate international organisations, to give the highest priority consistent with the exigencies of war to immediately supplying the territories liberated from Axis occupation with materials and equipment required for industrial installations, agriculture, transport, public works and utilities of an essential character.

10. Believing that the best possible conditions for a rise in the standard of living and the maintenance of full employment in the world can only be obtained by mutually consistent national economic, financial and social policies and by co-ordination of the activities of the different international institutions in this field,

The Conference considers that appropriate international measures should be taken which guarantee sufficient contact and consultation with regard to such policies between governments as well as between the different international institutions.

## 2. NATIONAL POLICY

11. In order that full employment at productive peacetime pursuits, freedom from want, rising standards of living and genuine economic security may be achieved with a minimum of delay after the war,

The Conference urges that governments and employers' and workers' organisations formulate comprehensive and co-ordinated programmes, suited to the particular needs of their countries, for prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, and that such programmes be prepared and applied simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs.

12. Recognising that the economic situation will differ markedly among the various countries at the war's end, varying particularly with the degree and type of industrial development, the extent to which the peacetime economy has been disrupted by the war, and whether the country's territory has been occupied by the enemy; and recognising that national post-war economic programmes must

vary accordingly, in order to meet most effectively the needs of the country in which they are to be applied.

The Conference urges that, with due allowance for difference in national economic situations, programmes for economic reconversion, reconstruction and expansion include the development of sound policies and procedures to provide:

(a) Effective arrangements for the orderly and expeditious demobilisation and repatriation, and for the early absorption in productive peacetime employment of members of the armed forces, civilian workers, prisoners, persons who have resisted deportation, deported persons and refugees, for the prompt termination of contracts and settlement of claims, the prompt determination of policy on the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and the disposition of surplus materials, with a view to the use of these items to satisfy human needs, and liberal provision for the maintenance, educational training and retraining of persons unavoidably out of employment as recommended by the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference in its Recommendation concerning employment organisation in the transition from war to peace;

(b) Retention, as long as shortages exist, of such war-created economic controls — for example, price and exchange controls and rationing — as are necessary to prevent inflation, and the relaxation of such controls as rapidly thereafter as is consistent with the public welfare;

(c) Adjustment of tax systems to encourage rapid reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, while maintaining an equitable distribution of tax burdens and avoiding financial measures which tend to increase the dangers of inflation or deflation;

(d) Development of effective mechanisms for adequate financing of the reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture and particularly to assist the establishment of new and efficient enterprises.

13. The Conference urges that all practicable measures be taken to maintain a high and steady level of employment, to minimise fluctuations and business activity, and to assure a steadily expanding volume of production, more particularly by means of:

(a) Fiscal, monetary and other measures, including useful public works, to sustain the volume of demand for goods and services at a high level while avoiding the dangers of an inflationary spiral of prices and wages — in this connection attention should be paid, among other measures, to such methods as an adequate income security system, and to properly timed public works financed by borrowing in periods of depression, in accordance with the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937;

(b) Measures to discourage monopolistic practices and to encourage technological progress, to maintain a reasonably flexible system of prices and wages, to encourage the transfer of workers and productive resources from declining to expanding industries, and to attain a high degree of mobility of resources and freedom of access to alternative employments;



VMT-978

This telegram must be  
closely paraphrased be-  
fore being communicated  
to anyone. (WC)

London

Dated April 7, 1944

Rec'd 7:42 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

U S URGENT.

2838, April 7, 4 p.m.

I have kept Mr. Eden fully informed regarding our exchanges with the Soviet Government on the question of Russian participation in the ILO Conferences and I communicated to him the substance of the Soviet note contained in the Department's 1947, March 15, 7 p.m., and the text of our reply contained in the Department's 2103, March 21, 3 p.m. I also gave Mr. Eden the substance of the observations which the Department suggested Mr. Harriam make in presenting our reply, and told Mr. Eden of the President's personal message to Marshal Stalin mentioned in the Department's 2329, March 25, midnight.

In reply to the request I made to Mr. Eden based on the last paragraph of the Department's 2103, March 21, 3 p.m., I have just received from the following note:

"Am grateful to you for your letter in which you were good enough to enclose a memorandum about Soviet participation in the work of the International Labour Organization and in particular in the forthcoming conference.

You

2-#2838, April 7, 1944 from London.

You say in the penultimate paragraph of the memorandum that the State Department would appreciate learning what steps the British Government has taken or might take after ascertaining the views that have been expressed by the Soviet Government in reply to the American demarche.

The question whether we should make a parallel approach to the Soviet Government has been carefully considered and I now write to explain to you my Government's views.

We have watched with some anxiety the difficult situation which has been created by the differing views among American and British Trade Union Organizations on the subject of relations with the Russian Trades Unions. We are inclined to think that, having regard to public statements made by the American Federation of Labour about the relationship of the Russian Trades Unions to the Soviet Government, the Russian Trades Unions may fear that if they are represented at the International Labour Conference the credentials of their representative might be challenged under the constitution of the ILO.

We have no knowledge of the grounds on which the Soviet Government base their view that the ILO has insufficient authority successfully to carry out the duties arising from collaboration in the field of Labour. The

reference

-3-#2838, April 7, 1944, from London.

reference, however, to the need of more democratic forms of organization in the field of labour collaboration appears to indicate that their view is based on the divergence existing between the trades Union Organizations in Russia, great Britain and the USA.

In view of the course of events since the Soviet Government was first approached about participation in the conference, we consider that it would be wiser not to press the Soviet Government further at the present stage. We would hope that they will be more favourably disposed towards the idea of association with the ILO when discussions of the form of a future world organization have made some progress. It has always seemed to us that in view of past events the Soviet Government would prefer not to return to the existing bodies but, as a matter of self - respect, to resume their connection with these international activities as a founder member of a re-constituted organization.

I would, however, propose to instruct Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr to intimate that His Majesty's Government remain equally desirous of obtaining the cooperation of the Soviet Government in the ILO and hope that circumstances will make it possible for the Soviet Government to renew their cooperation with the International Labour Organization,

HTM

WINANT

SECRET

9 April 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The President has directed that copies of his message of 31 March to Marshal Stalin and Marshal Stalin's message to the President of 6 April be forwarded to you for information and necessary action in accordance with Ambassador Winant's #2838, dated 7 April, to the Secretary.

Transmission of both messages to Ambassador Harriman would seem to be indicated.

Respectfully,

CHESTER C. WOOD,  
Captain, U. S. Navy,  
Assistant Naval Aide to the President.

2 Incls.

Msg, President to Stalin,  
31 March 1944.  
Msg, Stalin to President,  
6 April 1944.✓

SECRET

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CHESTER C. WOOD,  
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Assistant Naval Aide to the President.

2 Incls.  
Msg, President to Stalin, ✓  
31 March 1944.  
Msg, Stalin to President,  
6 April 1944.

SECRET

FROM: MARSHAL STALIN

TO : THE PRESIDENT

DATE: 6 APRIL 1944

I have received your message of April 4\*regarding the International Labor Bureau. Thank you for your reply. I believe that the realization of measures on re-organization of the International Labor Bureau will create the necessary conditions for the participation in its work in the future of the Soviet representatives.

\*Refers to President's message of 31 March 1944, delivered to Stalin on 4 April 1944.

President directed that this message be filed without an answer.

SECRET

FROM: MARSHAL STALIN

TO : THE PRESIDENT

DATE: 6 April 1944

I have received your message of April 4\* regarding the International Labor Bureau. Thank you for your reply. I believe that the realization of measures on reorganization of the International Labor Bureau will create the necessary conditions for the participation in its work in the future of the Soviet representatives.

\*Refers to President's message of 31 March 44, delivered to Stalin on 4 April 44.

SECRET

FROM Marshal Stalin	TO The President
SERIAL Unnumbered	DATE 6 April 1944
DATE/TIME OR FILE NUMBER	
FOR MAP ROOM 07/2240Z	VIA Russian Embassy
SUBJECT International Labor Conference.	

ACTION

Answers PRES-STALIN 31 Mar 44 (referred to in this message as 4 Apr 44.

President directed that this message be filed without an answer, 7 Apr 44.

COPIES TO:	DATE:	BY DIRECTION OF:
State	9 Apr 44	President

ACTION COMPLETED:	FILED:
-------------------	--------

FROM: OPNAV  
TO : ALUSNA, LONDON

3 APRIL 1944

NUMBER 510, SECRET AND PERSONAL, FROM THE PRESIDENT FOR  
THE FORMER NAVAL PERSON.

I have been informed that the U.S.S.R. will not take part in the ILO Conference in Philadelphia. It is generally believed here that the absence of Russia will have bad effect upon prestige of ILO both here and among labor in occupied areas.

In order to offset possible loss of prestige by the conference and to strengthen such agreements as may be arrived at, I am convinced that it is essential that Bevin come to the conference as a British Government delegate. His presence will be evidence of the importance placed upon the conference by the British Government.

I trust that it will be possible for him to come even though it may not be possible for him to stay throughout the entire period of conference, and personally I should much like to meet him even if he could come to Washington for only a day. I hope to get back from my trip about April 24th.

ROOSEVELT

**SECRET**

COPY

SECRET

FROM: THE PRESIDENT  
TO : THE PRIME MINISTER  
NO : 510, 3 April 1944.

The U.S.S.R. has informed me that they won't take part in the Philadelphia Conference of the ILO. Here it is believed generally that Russia's absence will have a bad effect on the prestige of the ILO, both among labor in the occupied areas and here.

I am convinced that it is essential that Bevin come to the conference as a delegate of the British Government in order to strengthen such agreements as may be arrived at and to offset possible loss of prestige by the conference. The presence of Bevin will evidence the importance the British Government places upon the conference.

Even though it may not be possible for him to stay throughout the entire period of the conference, I trust it will be possible for him to come. I should personally much like to meet him even if he could come here only for a day.

ROOSEVELT

*Paraphrase for  
St. Lubin.*

SECRET

#510  
3 Apr 44.

CABLE TO LONDON

F. M.

I HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE U.S.S.R. WILL NOT TAKE PART IN THE ILO CONFERENCE IN PHILADELPHIA. IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED HERE THAT THE ABSENCE OF RUSSIA WILL HAVE EFFECT UPON PRESTIGE OF ILO BOTH HERE AND AMONG LABOR IN OCCUPIED AREAS.

IN ORDER TO OFFSET POSSIBLE LOSS OF PRESTIGE BY THE CONFERENCE AND <sup>To</sup> STRENGTHEN SUCH AGREEMENTS AS MAY BE ARRIVED AT, I AM CONVINCED THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT BEVIN COME TO THE CONFERENCE AS A BRITISH GOVERNMENT DELEGATE. HIS PRESENCE WILL BE EVIDENCE OF THE IMPORTANCE PLACED UPON THE CONFERENCE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

I TRUST THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR <sup>him</sup> ~~BEVIN~~ TO COME EVEN THOUGH IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO STAY THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF CONFERENCE.

*and personally, I should  
much like to meet you if he could  
come to Washington for only a day. I  
hope to get back from my trip about  
April 24.*

*Rauscher*

FROM	The President	TO	The Prime Minister
SERIAL	#510	DATE	3 April 1944
DATE/TIME OR FILE NUMBER	031627 NCR 4576		
FOR MAP ROOM	VIA		
SUBJECT	International Labor Organization conference.		

ACTION

(For correspondence between the President and Stalin, and for complete action on ILO conference, see "MR 210 INT. LABOR ORGANIZATION")

Proposed message prepared by Dr. Lubin (See background in "MR 210 INT. LABOR ORGAN."); approved by President with alterations, 3 Apr 44. Paraphrased copy to Dr. Lubin.

COPY

COPIES TO:	DATE:	BY DIRECTION OF:
Dr. Lubin	3 Apr 44	The President

ACTION COMPLETED:	FILED:
210 Int. Labor Org.	

SECRET

1 April 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary of Labor

The President has directed that the Secretary of Labor be furnished with the attached paraphrased copy of a message from the President to Marshal Stalin dated 31 March 1944, for information.

Very respectfully,

Chester C. Wood, <sup>1008</sup>  
Captain, USN,  
Assistant Naval Aide to the President.

Enc: (HW) Msg. President to  
Marshal Stalin, 31 Mar 44.

SECRET

**SECRET**

SECRET  
PARAPHRASE

31 March 1944

From: The President

To : Marshal Stalin

Your message of March 25 is acknowledged with thanks. The International Labor Organization will, I hope, make it clear at the coming meeting that it will become affiliated with the United Nations and is no longer an organ of the League of Nations. I sincerely hope, therefore, that the next conference will have Soviet representation.

I will advise you concerning the happenings at the meeting in Philadelphia.

**SECRET**

FROM: OPNAV  
TO : ALUSNA, MOSCOW

31 MARCH 1944

FROM THE PRESIDENT FOR MARSHAL STALIN.

Thank you much for your message of March twenty-fifth. I hope that at the coming meeting the International Labor Organization will make it clear that it is no longer an organ of the League of Nations, and that it will become affiliated with the United Nations. Therefore, I trust that the Soviet Union will have representatives at the following conference.

I will keep you informed of what happens at the Philadelphia meeting.

ROOSEVELT

COPY

SECRET

SECRET

FROM: THE PRESIDENT  
TO : MARSHAL STALIN  
DATE: 31 March 1944

For your message of March 25 I thank you very much. At the coming meeting the International Labor Organization will make it clear, I hope, that no longer is it an organ of the League of Nations and that with the United Nations it will become affiliated. I trust, therefore, that at the following conference the Soviet Union will have representatives.

I will keep you advised of what happens at the meeting in Philadelphia.

ROOSEVELT

SECRET

FROM	The President	TO	Marshal Stalin
SERIAL	Unnumbered	DATE	31 March 1944
DATE/TIME OR FILE NUMBER			
FOR MAP ROOM		VIA	
SUBJECT International Labor Conference.			

## ACTION

Answers STALIN's message of 25 Mar 44.

Brought to the Map Room by Miss Tully 31 Mar 44.  
Copy to Sec Labor, 1 Apr; Sec State, 9 Apr.

Answered by STALIN-PRES. 6 Apr 44.

COPIES TO:	DATE:	BY DIRECTION OF:
Sec Labor	1 Apr 44	The President
Sec State	9 Apr 44	The President

ACTION COMPLETED:

FILED:

FROM: MARSHAL STALIN

TO : THE PRESIDENT

DATE: 25 MARCH 1944

I share your endeavor toward cooperation of our two governments in working out economic and social matters connected with the tasks of improving working conditions on a world scale. The Soviet Union is unable, however, to send its representatives to the International Labor Bureau Conference in Philadelphia due to the motives, stated in the letter to Mr. Harriman, as the Soviet trades-unionist organizations expressed themselves against such a participation and the Soviet Government cannot but take into account the opinion of the Soviet trades-unionist organizations.

It goes without saying that, if the International Labor Organization in reality becomes an organ of the United Nations and not of the League of Nations, with which the Soviet Union cannot have connections, then the participation in its work also of representatives of the Soviet Union will be possible. I hope that this will become possible and that appropriate measures will be carried out already in the near future.

**SECRET**

14 April 1944

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

The Secretary of State

At the request of Mr. Mulligan of the State Department, I enclose herewith a paraphrased copy of Marshal Stalin's message to the President of March 25, 1944.

It is understood that a copy of this message is necessary for your use in connection with other messages of the same series which have previously been sent you by direction of the President.

Respectfully,

CHESTER C. WOOD,  
Captain, U. S. Navy,  
Assistant Naval Aide to the President.

Enc. (HW) Msg. Stalin to  
President, 25 Mar 44.

**SECRET**

## SECRET

FROM: MARSHAL STALIN

TO : THE PRESIDENT

DATE: 25 MARCH 1944

The Soviet Union cannot send to the International Labor Bureau Conference in Philadelphia its representatives due to the motives, stated in the letter to Mr. Harriman, because the Soviet Trade Unionist Organizations expressed themselves against such participation; and the opinion of the Soviet Trade Unionist Organization is taken into account by the Soviet Government. However, I share with your endeavor toward the cooperation of our two governments in the working out of social and economic matters connected with the tasks of improvement on a world scale working conditions.

If the International Labor Organization becomes an organ of the United Nations in reality, and not an organ of the League of Nations, with which the Soviet Union cannot have connections, it goes without saying that at that time it will be possible for the representatives of the Soviet Union to participate in its work. I hope that appropriate measures will be carried out in the near future so that this will become possible.

SECRET

FROM Marshal Stalin	TO The President
SERIAL Unnumbered	DATE 25 March 1944
DATE/TIME OR FILE NUMBER	
FOR MAP ROOM	VIA
SUBJECT International Labor Conference.	

ACTION

Answers PRES's message of 20 Mar 44.

This message first received in the Map Room in sealed envelope, 27 Mar 44, and taken unopened to the President. Miss Tully returned message on 31 Mar 44, with reply prepared by Labor Department.

Reply sent 31 Mar 44.

(Paraphrased copy to Sec State for Mr. Mulligan, 14 Apr 44.)

COPIES TO:	DATE:	BY DIRECTION OF:
Se State (for Mr. Mulligan)	14 Apr 44	Capt Wood

ACTION COMPLETED:  
210 ILO

FILED:

FROM: OPNAV  
TO : ALUSNA, MOSCOW

20 MARCH 1944

FROM THE PRESIDENT FOR MARSHAL STALIN.

I have just been informed by Harriman that the Soviet Union is not planning to participate in the conference of the International Labor Organization to be held in Philadelphia starting April 20.

I have given considerable thought to the role that the International Labor Organization should play in constantly improving the labor and social standards throughout the world. I am anxious that you should know my thoughts on this matter.

It is my opinion that the International Labor Organization should be the instrument for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field. I should like to see it become a body which will also serve as an important organ of the United Nations for discussing economic and social matters relating to labor and an important agency for the consideration of international economic policies which look directly toward improvement in standard of living. It would be unfortunate if both our Governments did not take advantage of the conference in Philadelphia to help develop our common objectives. We could thereby adapt the existing International Labor Organization to the tasks facing the world without loss of valuable time.

**SECRET**

- 1 -

I am instructing the United States Government delegates to the Philadelphia Conference to propose measures to broaden the activities and functions of the International Labor Organization and raise the question of its future relationship to other international organizations. In view of your interest in these matters and since there is a great range of social and economic problems that are of common interest to both our governments, I greatly hope that your government will participate.

ROOSEVELT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

March 18, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

With reference to your memorandum of today's date, I attach hereto a draft of the message to Marshal Stalin which meets with my approval. Only one change has been made in the draft you submitted to me and that occurs in the second sentence of the third paragraph.

CH

APR 27 1944  
THE RECEIVING  
DIVISION OF THE

20 March 44.

FROM: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
TO: MARSHAL STALIN

I have just been informed by Harriman that the Soviet Union is not planning to participate in the conference of the International Labor Organization to be held in Philadelphia starting April 20.

I have given considerable thought to the role that the International Labor Organization should play in constantly improving the labor and social standards throughout the world. I am anxious that you should know my thoughts on this matter.

It is my opinion that the International Labor Organization should be the instrument for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field. I should like to see it become a body which will also serve as an important organ of the United Nations for discussing economic and social matters relating to labor and an important agency for the consideration of international economic policies which look directly toward improvement in standard of living. It would be unfortunate if both our Governments did not take advantage of the conference in Philadelphia to help develop our common objectives. We could thereby adapt the existing International Labor

-2-

Labor Organization to the tasks facing the world without loss of valuable time.

I am instructing the United States Government delegates to the Philadelphia Conference to propose measures to broaden the activities and functions of the International Labor Organization and raise the question of its future relationship to other international organizations. In view of your interest in these matters and since there is a great range of social and economic problems that are of common interest to both our Governments, I greatly hope that your Government will participate.

*Roosevelt*

3/18/44

Whealy approves  
by State Dept.  
& by Caucus Palmer

Should go today  
Sat 3/18

FROM: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
TO: MARSHAL STALIN

*Personally*

I have just been informed by <sup>*Soviet*</sup> ~~the United States Ambassador in Moscow~~ that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not planning to participate in the conference of the International Labor Organization to be held in Philadelphia starting April 20.

*Chairman*

I have given considerable thought to the role that the International Labor Organization should play in constantly improving the labor and social standards throughout the world. I am anxious that you should know my thoughts on this matter.

It is my opinion that the International Labor Organization should be the instrument for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field. I should like to see it become a body which will also serve as <sup>*an important*</sup> ~~the principal~~ organ of the United Nations for discussing economic and social matters relating to labor, <sup>*and an important agency for*</sup> ~~(including international)~~ economic policies which look toward improvement in standard of living.

*the consideration of international*

It would be unfortunate if both our Governments did not take advantage of the Conference in Philadelphia to <sup>*discuss*</sup> ~~cooperate in developing~~ <sup>*our economy*</sup> ~~as an instrument~~ to implement these objectives of the United Nations. We could thereby adapt the existing International Labor Organization to the tasks facing the world without loss of valuable time.

I am instructing the United States Government delegates to the Philadelphia Conference to propose measures to broaden the activities *and* functions of the International Labor Organization and raise the question of its future relationship to other international organizations. In view of your interest in these matters and since there is a great range of social and economic problems that are of common interest to both our Governments, I ~~am convinced~~ <sup>greatly hope</sup> that it is extremely important that your Government <sup>will</sup> participate in the Conference and in the future activities which I envisage for the International Labor Organization.

~~I sincerely hope that your Government will participate in this Conference.~~

3/18/44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Please look at this proposed  
telegram to Marshal Stalin. What  
do you think?

F. D. R.

FROM: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TO: MARSHAL STALIN

*Roosevelt*

*Harriman*

I have just been informed by the ~~United States Ambassador in~~  
*Soviet* Moscow that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not planning to participate in the conference of the International Labor Organization to be held in Philadelphia starting April 20.

I have given considerable thought to the role that the International Labor Organization should play in constantly improving the labor and social standards throughout the world. I am anxious that you should know my thoughts on this matter.

It is my opinion that the International Labor Organization should be the instrument for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field. I should like to see it become a body which will also serve as the principal organ of the United Nations for discussing economic and social matters relating to labor, including international economic policies which look <sup>directly</sup> toward improvement in standard of living. It would be unfortunate if both our Governments did not take advantage of the Conference in Philadelphia to <sup>help</sup> cooperate in developing <sup>our common</sup> an instrument to implement these objectives, ~~of the United Nations~~. We could thereby adapt the existing International Labor Organization to the tasks facing the world without loss of valuable time.

I am instructing the United States Government delegates to the Philadelphia Conference to propose measures to broaden the activities functions of the International Labor Organization and raise the question of its future relationship to other international organizations. In view of your interest in these matters and since there is a great range of social and economic problems that are of common interest to both our Governments, I <sup>greatly hope</sup> am convinced that it is extremely important that your <sup>will</sup> Government participate in the Conference and in the future activities which I envisage for the International Labor Organization.

~~I sincerely hope that your Government will participate in this Conference.~~

FROM The President	TO Marshal Stalin
SERIAL Unnumbered	DATE 20 March 1944
DATE/TIME OR FILE NUMBER	201946 NCR 2254
FOR MAP ROOM	VIA
SUBJECT Participation in International Labor Organization conference.	

ACTION

Prepared by Dr. Lubin, with representatives of the State and Labor Departments; approved by Secretary Perkins. Sent to President, who made several changes in the message. Sent to the Secretary of State by the President on 18 Mar 44 for his approval; Sec of State approved with one alteration, 18 Mar 44. (Per Miss Tully and Mrs. Page.)

Brought to Map Room by Miss Tully; to Alusna Moscow as Oprav 201946 NCR 2254.

Answered by STALIN-PRES 25 Mar 44.

COPIES TO:	DATE:	BY	DIRECTION OF:

ACTION COMPLETED:

FILED:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: MR. LUBIN *lc*

In a conversation with Adolf Berle, who is handling ILO matters at the State Department, and later with Miss Perkins, the question was raised as to the possible effect of the absence of the U.S.S.R. upon the prestige of the forthcoming conference of the International Labor Organization.

We are all agreed that when the news gets out that the Russians will not be present, the general public in the United States and Great Britain will raise the question as to whether a conference that is not attended by the U.S.S.R. can accomplish anything. The status of the ILO will no doubt also be questioned by the inhabitants of the occupied areas.

All three of us agreed that one way to offset this threat to the prestige of the Conference would be to have the British Government send Bevin over as their delegate.

At the moment it looks as if Bevin may not come to the Conference. Active pressure will have to be used to get him over here. Both Miss Perkins and Berle agree that his presence is sufficiently vital to the prestige of the Conference to justify your contacting the Prime Minister and stressing the importance of having Bevin at the conference.

If you agree with this point of view, the attached cable might be sent out over your signature.

**SECRET**

17 December 1943

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

**THE SECRETARY OF LABOR**

For your information, the President has this morning despatched the following message to Ambassador Winant in London:

"I fully approve meeting of I.L.O. in U.S. Signed: ROOSEVELT."

L. MATHENSON,  
Colonel, General Staff

**SECRET**

17 December 1943

**SECRET**

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The President has directed that the following message be transmitted to Ambassador Winant in London:

"Fully approve I.L.O. meeting  
in U.S. Signed: ROOSEVELT."

L. MATHERSON,  
Colonel, General Staff

**SECRET**

**SECRET**

SECRET  
PRIORITY

16 December 1943

From: Opnav  
To: Alusna, London

FROM JUSTICE BYRNES TO AMBASSADOR WINANT

Reference your Number 641 to the President.

The President cannot be reached before eleven tomorrow morning. Secretary Perkins felt the President would approve her invitation for conference in Philadelphia.

JAMES F. BYRNES

Released from the White House Map Room  
at 2000, EWT, 16 December 1943

*Boyce P. Price*  
BOYCE P. PRICE  
Captain, C. E.

**SECRET**

FROM: AMBASSADOR WINANT  
TO : THE PRESIDENT  
NO : 641, 16 DECEMBER 1944

\* \* \* \* \*

I hope you will agree to the ILO meeting in the United States this spring. I am certain it would give you the support of work groups everywhere in the world. We need a decision on this issue this evening in order to confirm the place of meeting tomorrow morning (London time).

\* \* \* \* \*

Notation on original by President:

"Winant.

"Fully approve ILO meeting in US.

"Roosevelt"

Original filed "PRESIDENT-WINANT 1943" file.

December 15, 1943

FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY HULL

Governing Body of International Labor Organization  
meeting London December 18 to decide place of Conference.  
United States delegates require immediate instructions.  
Canadian Government does not want conference there and  
British Government would accept either England or the  
United States. Miss Perkins and Lubin urge United States  
as place of meeting. What is your decision?

UK  
FHP

44 83

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

CABLE

DECEMBER 3, 1943

TO THE PRESIDENT

GOVERNING BODY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION MEETS IN LONDON DECEMBER SIXTEENTH TO DECIDE ON DATE AND PLACE AND AGENDA FOR ILO CONFERENCE.

1. IT IS EXTREMELY DESIRABLE THAT FRIEDA MILLER WHO IS NOW IN ENGLAND BE APPOINTED AS SUBSTITUTE REPRESENTATIVE OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AT GOVERNING BODY MEETING. STATE DEPARTMENT INSISTS THAT APPOINTMENT CANNOT BE MADE WITHOUT YOUR ASSENT. SHALL APPRECIATE YOUR APPROVING APPOINTMENT.

2. IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE GOVERNING BODY WILL DECIDE TO HAVE THE CONFERENCE CONVENED IN MARCH. OUR AMBASSADOR AT OTTAWA HAS APPROACHED THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT RELATIVE TO HOLDING THE CONFERENCE IN MONTREAL. THE CANADIAN CABINET DECIDED THAT THEY WOULD PREFER THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) BE HELD IN CANADA. APPARENTLY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ELECTION IN 1944 WERE IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THIS DECISION.

IF YOU APPROVE WE WILL INSTRUCT OUR DELEGATE TO INVITE THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION TO HOLD THE CONFERENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, AWAY FROM WASHINGTON, IN MARCH.

FRANCES PERKINS