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MADAGASCAR
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NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
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RUMANIA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TRINIDAD
TUNISIA
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Relations with unions in :

AUSTRALIA
CHILE
CUBA
DUTCH EAST INDIES
ECUADOR
EGYPT
MEXICO
UNION of SOUTH AFRICA
UNITED STATES

Other relations in :

AUSTRIA
BRAZIL
BULGARIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
GERMANY
GREECE
ITALY
JAPAN
LATVIA
POLAND
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
and other countries

MUSSOLINI SEES HIS CHANCE

MUSSOLINI'S great day has finally come. For many years he has been preaching the gospel of war from tanks and from the balcony of his palace. War and war alone would bring happiness to the Italian people, enslaved and impoverished by so many years of Fascist domination, corruption and administration ; war would make it possible to realize the dictator's dream : the extension of the Italian empire by overwhelming, subjugating and ruthlessly exploiting other peoples, and, above all, conquest would add to the greatness of the dictator's personality—Mussolini the conqueror !

Hitler's shield-bearer is now able to give open instead of disguised support to his master, but at the same time he is exposing his country and its possessions to complete destruction.

Whenever we have been asked, since the outbreak of war, what Italy would do, we have always answered that Mussolini would join Hitler, because he has no alternative. When we have been questioned about the mood of the Italian people, we have been able in the light of recent information from Italy to give the assurance that the Italian people were against participation in the war, and that furthermore they abhorred the idea of making common cause with Hitler, which abhorrence is widely shared in fascist circles. But we had to add that Mussolini had no choice, because his fate is joined to Hitler's. The issue is the rise of Italo-German imperialism or the downfall of Nazi-Fascist dictatorship.

And what about the Vatican ? We do not wish to doubt the Vatican's sincere aversion to National Socialism and its genuine desire to maintain peace. But unfortunately there are no signs of active resistance by the Church, and the Pope's voice has been silenced.

Mussolini's declaration of war has caused indignation all over the world. We cannot share the outbursts of indignation of those who actually helped Mussolini into the saddle. We have always regarded the Italian dictator, that renegade and demagogue, as the prototype of the highway robber. Instead of indignation we have contempt for this dictator and his regime. This is no time for recriminations, but it should be remembered that when the international labour movement, and the I.T.F. in particular, were fighting Mussolini and his gang, who suppressed and persecuted the Italian trade unions and political parties because they were an obstacle to his war policy, the capitalists of certain countries were pouring money into Italy, were praising Mussolini as the saviour of his country from chaos and as the restorer of law and order. Now everyone realizes what "law" and what "order" Mussolini restored. Now, when our sons have to go to the battlefields to destroy it.

Mussolini's fate, as we have said, is tied up with Hitler's. The war goes on. Labour is determined to continue, with all the power at its disposal, the fight against National Socialism and Fascism until the bitter end. It will not allow any individuals, either now or in the future, to give support to subversive elements which are out to destroy the liberties of the peoples. The war will be won and the peace terms must be laid down by those who are fighting for a better society, for freedom and security, because only those who believe in that new world will be able to achieve victory and establish a just peace.

Hours of Work in Road Transport

"This week, for the second time, the Interstate Commerce Commission established shockingly long working hours for motor carrier employees.

"The commission ruled that the hours of 'private truck' drivers shall be 'limited' to 10 a day and 60 a week. Even those limits are full of loopholes. For example, they include only the time actually spent in driving, and the drivers can put in almost any number of additional hours on other duties."

Labor, Washington, 14 May, 1940.

Hours of labour of conductors and motormen of electric street railways in Canada vary from town to town in each province. In 1939, these hours were :

<i>53-70 in the cities of Nova Scotia.</i>	<i>42 in Winnipeg, Manitoba.</i>
<i>62 in St. John, New Brunswick.</i>	<i>48 in the cities of Saskatchewan.</i>
<i>54-60 in the cities of Quebec.</i>	<i>44-54 in the cities of Alberta.</i>
<i>40-74 in the cities of Ontario.</i>	<i>44-54 in the cities of British Columbia.</i>

Twenty-third report on Wages and Hours of Labour, Department of Labour, Canada, March, 1940.

In all countries the regulation of working hours in road transport is still a weak point in the social legislation. In the few cases where the legislation is satisfactory its enforcement still leaves much room for improvement.

The International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, known universally as the I.L.O., has tried to guide the legislators, employers and workers. It has prepared a draft international convention on working hours in road transport which provides for solutions for the main problems confronting those who would make national, regional and local regulations.

The draft international convention did not come into being of itself. The I.T.F. worked for over twelve years to induce the heavy machine of the I.L.O. to apply itself to the interests of the road transport workers. During this period it encouraged and co-ordinated the efforts of its affiliated unions to influence the governments, it made direct and indirect approaches to the Governing Body and the Directors of the I.L.O. Parallel with this "diplomatic" activity, the I.T.F. devoted close attention to the technical side of the question and laid the foundations of international regulations.

The draft international convention on working hours in road transport has been in existence for one year. The next step is to bring the national laws and regulations into conformity with the convention.

Some countries, indeed, are at war, and in these social progress is arrested. Nations engaged in a life-and-death struggle cannot think of the "comfort" of their workers. But that is no reason why social progress should cease everywhere.

Regulations on working hours in road transport should :

- (1) Fix a limit to weekly working hours.
- (2) Fix a limit to daily working hours and a maximum spreadover of the working day.

- (3) Fix a minimum rest period between two working days and a weekly rest period.
- (4) Limit the period of uninterrupted driving.
- (5) Define the special circumstances in which and the extent to which overtime may be worked.
- (6) Define the extent to which time lost as a result of accidental causes may be made up for.
- (7) Define in what circumstances, under what conditions, and to what extent the limits to working hours may be extended, and the minimum periods of rest reduced.
- (8) Provide for effective enforcement.

Special provisions are required for undertakings and persons whose work presents special characteristics, such as agricultural and forest undertakings, hospitals and hotels, private chauffeurs. Attention should not be directed primarily to the exceptions, however, but to the rules to be laid down for the bulk of the road transport workers.

The rules embodied in the Geneva convention are as follows :

Working hours shall not exceed 48 a week. They may be averaged over a longer period than a week, for example 96 hours per fortnight, 144 hours per three weeks, and so on. In such cases the 48 hour limit may be exceeded in one or other of the weeks covered by the period, but a maximum should be fixed in consultation with the workers' and employers' organizations concerned.

The working day shall not exceed 8 hours. It may be extended to 9 hours in cases where the working week regularly comprises one or more days of less than 8 hours, such as 3 or 4 hours on Saturdays. The 8 hour limit may also be extended for the purposes of permitting of averaging over more than one day or more than one week.

Regulations shall prescribe the maximum number of hours which may separate the beginning and the end of the working day. The convention does not specify this maximum, but fixes a maximum indirectly by providing that the daily rest period shall not be less than 12 consecutive hours. Regulations may permit the period of rest to be reduced on a prescribed number of days in the week, provided however that the average daily rest calculated over the week is not less than 12 hours. In the case of certain services subject to breaks of considerable duration, the regulations may permit the period of rest to be reduced.

The transport worker is entitled to a weekly day of rest. To ensure that it shall be a full day the convention provides that the rest day shall not be less than 30 hours and that 22 hours shall fall within the same calendar day. Provision may be made for the days of rest to average one per week over a given period, instead of one being granted every week. In such cases, however, the number of days between two days of rest may not exceed 10, and the workers' and employers' organizations should be consulted before the regulations are established.

The period of continuous driving may not exceed 5 hours. Any two periods of driving shall be deemed to be a continuous period unless separated by an interval of a duration to be prescribed after consultation of the employers' and workers' organizations concerned. Drivers for whom adequate intervals are ensured by stops provided for in the timetable or by the intermittent nature of the work may be excepted from this rule.

The limits of working hours and hours of continuous driving may be exceeded and the minima of rest periods may be reduced in so far as may be necessary for the performance of indispensable work when unforeseen circumstances arise: accident, breakdown, delay, interruption of traffic, absence of a person for whom no substitute is available, etc.

Regulations may permit time lost as a result of accidental causes to be made up, provided they fix a maximum period during which such compensation may be affected and limit the extent by which normal working hours may be exceeded.

To permit of the performance of urgent work, regulations may authorize a certain amount of overtime, which must be paid for at a rate not less than time-and-a-quarter.

The convention provides for two ways of limiting overtime, between which the makers of regulations may choose.

Regulations may, after consultation of the workers' organization, authorize an employer to work overtime in accordance with the terms of the authorization. A maximum of 100 hours' overtime a year may be authorized in cases in which the weekly limit of hours is applied as a strict limit

applicable to each week and a maximum of 75 hours in any cases in which weekly hours of work are calculated as an average over a period exceeding a week. The other method of limiting the amount of overtime consists in allowing as much overtime to be worked as desired provided it is paid for at not less than time-and-a-half.

The above are the essential international provisions which legislators are asked to embody in their laws and regulations. Some of them, unfortunately, are weakened by others. Thus it is provided that if work is frequently interrupted by periods of mere attendance, the limits of 8 and 48 hours may be exceeded. Acceptance of this principle deprives a group of workers such as taxi drivers of a real 8 hour day. But the convention only aims to prescribe the minimum of protection to be accorded to road transport workers, and leaves national authorities free to make better arrangements. It even implies that the principle of extending work because of its intermittent nature is an unfair one in that it clearly states: "The term 'hours of work' means the time during which the persons concerned are at the disposal of the employer or any other persons entitled to claim their services." It is the task of the workers' organizations to ensure that all regulations contain as many as possible of the favourable features of the convention and as few as possible of the unfavourable ones.

The convention also provides that the regulations on working hours in road transport should in principle be applicable to the owners of vehicles and members of their families who are not employed for wages. To except these persons from the regulations, authorities must ensure that such exemptions will not expose the conditions of employment of the wage-earners in the road transport industry to unreasonable competition nor endanger public safety.

Finally, the convention requires the creation of a system of supervision by labour inspectors, police, traffic commissioners or other authorities, both in garages, depots and other premises and on the roads. Records of hours of work and rest periods must be kept and be available for inspection. Every person who travels with a road transport vehicle in a professional capacity must be in possession of a standard individual control book during his hours of work and particulars of his hours of work and rest periods must be entered in a manner prescribed by the competent authority.

The Secretariat of the I.T.F. would be obliged if organizations would supply it with the texts of laws, regulations and collective agreements (with particulars, in the latter case, of the exact or approximate number of workers covered) dealing with hours of work in road transport in their respective countries.

A Nice Letter from the United States

Is this what the American Workers Think ?

The Secretariat of the I.T.F. on June 4th received a letter dated May 13th and written on the letterhead of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, which seems to be a reply to the manifesto published in the April number of this Journal.

The signatory of the letter, Mr. George Hitchcock, is obviously very pleased with his effort. He is certainly a master at abusive language. He also aspires to be a hero, for he would have us drag him before a law court and make a martyr of him.

We have heard this kind of language before, and also know the kind of author. The art practised by Mr. Hitchcock is fortunately dying out as trade unionism grows and with it the recognition among the workers that insinuation, libel and slander are "arguments" which cannot replace sincere and thoughtful discussion. It is clear that Mr. Hitchcock does not desire a serious discussion of the problems he has on his mind. A man of his type is incapable of serious discussion anyway.

It is with great reluctance that we reproduce the full text of the letter in this Journal. We owe apologies to the British dockers who hold their Ernest Bevin so dear, to the railwaymen who know John Marchbank's constant fight for their interests, and to the British trade union movement as a whole for reprinting a document which would drag the name of the General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress through the mud. We are, however, less concerned about the reputations of these comrades—which cannot be shaken by a Mr. George Hitchcock—than about the fact that the Maritime Federation of the Pacific should allow a letter like the following to be addressed to the I.T.F. :

"Gentlemen :

"We are in receipt of your dramatic appeal to join you in your support of the British Government's imperialist crusade to 'save' the small independent nations of Europe from Hitler.

"It is with some surprise that we note the omission of Ireland from the list of nations that Winston Churchill and your esteemed Secretary, Ernest Bevin, are rushing to defend.

"Despite this omission (which may be entirely accidental) the Maritime Federation of the Pacific will remain one labour organization which will not take thirty dirty pieces of silver to sell the working men and women within its influence down the river of blood and imperialist slaughter.

"The letter you have sent us is headed 'Dear Comrades.' In the past, we have been given to understand that this greeting was used by Socialists. This opinion of ours may be a mistaken one, but could you tell us by what right your officials use it ?

"We realize that your Messrs. Bevin, Marchbank and Fimmen make their livings from the money wrung from the sweat of millions of Indian and colonial workers. That is their affair. But it is our affair when they ask us to aid them in sending those workers and their British brothers to their deaths.

"However, we shall be glad to publish excerpts from your eloquent manifesto. We shall publish them to give the maritime workers of the Pacific Coast a thorough and firsthand picture of the depths to which the lick-spittle 'leaders'

of the labour will sink to betray their class to the imperialists.

"We use the word 'lick-spittle' advisedly. We understand that your Mr. Citrine brought a suit against a London paper for the use of that epithet. We would consider it an honour if you would likewise bring a suit against us. Our address is listed above and we will honour all your communications in this matter with the particular courtesy we reserve for traitors to the working class.

Contemptuously,

(Signed) George Hitchcock.

Although we assume and hope that few American organizations (apart from the American Communist Party, of which Mr. Hitchcock shows himself a worthy pupil) will associate themselves with the above scribble, we take the opportunity of once more putting our case before the American workers and their trade unions and of urging them to understand the situation before it is too late.

It is unnecessary for us to answer Mr. Hitchcock's wild accusations. If he knew anything of the policy and activities of the I.T.F., he would know that we condemn Imperialism, that we have always supported the workers and the trade unions of the colonial countries and have given them very substantial moral and financial aid. Without any desire to reproach others, we are entitled to say that the task of helping the oppressed workers to raise their standards of living has been performed by the European trade unions, whilst those of other continents remained aloof. We have always desired to include the American trade unions in our efforts, and therefore constantly advocated the creation of a world-wide Federation of Transport Workers.

One more word about Mr. Hitchcock's accusations. We are not responsible for the actions of governments nor for crimes they committed in the past, a past, often, when there existed no labour movement anywhere at all. When he enquires if we think Great Britain will protect the Irish Free State against Nazi invasion, our reply is in the affirmative. Mr. Hitchcock, presumably, would prefer Ireland to be in the hands of the Nazis.

The Nazis and Fascists are out to overrun Europe and thereafter to conquer the whole world. First, as in Germany and Italy, they crush the trade unions and all labour and pacifist organizations, imprison all class-conscious workers in gaols and concentration camps, murder them if they do not submit to the regime, and then the country is ready for war.

So-called revolutionaries pretend that Britain and France are pursuing an imperialist policy. There is no difference, they say, between Italo-German and Franco-British imperialism. The pot calls the kettle black.

Much could be said on this subject, but let us confine ourselves to a few remarks and to the position as it affects America.

No one will suggest that Britain and France aim to extend their territories. They are defending them, if you like, as America would hers. The shortsightedness of some people is astonishing—they denounce Britain and France for having imperialist objectives, but close their eyes to the fact that Germany and Italy have been preparing for this war for years and have never made a secret of their imperialist ambitions. Has Germany not yet created sufficient havoc for her to be cursed by the workers all over the world?

Is there anyone in America, even Mr. Hitchcock himself, who will tell us that he fears an attack by Great Britain and France against the United States or any of the American republics? So for what is the United States arming? Why did Mr. Joseph Curran, the President of the National Maritime Union, send a telegram to President Roosevelt saying: "We reaffirm our support of our government in building the national defence so that the American people will be assured of adequate protection of our American democracy and American institutions?" Did he send that wire because he is afraid of British or French invasion, or because he realizes the Nazi-Fascist danger? To put the question is to answer it.

And now comes our warning.

If the American workers think they can check the advance of National Socialism and Fascism after these have conquered Europe, they are wrong.

We are fully aware of the immense productive capacity of the United States, but Europe's capacity under Nazi-Fascist domination would be far greater. The workers in all the European countries, if under the heel of the Nazi-Fascists, would be made to work long hours for low wages. They would destroy America's export trade. They would conquer or control raw materials indispensable to the American arms manufacturing industry. They would spend thousands of millions of dollars to poison the American mind and would create fifth columns on an unprecedented scale in the democratic countries that are still left.

That is the danger ahead of you, American workers!

Already the Poles have to work for wages one half of those paid to Germans. Already the valueless mark has to be accepted as legal tender in the countries overrun by the Nazi invader.

Prospects for non-unionists

"Whoever, at this stage of human progress does not understand that it is his elementary duty to associate himself with his comrades in exploitation to win improved standards of life and work, and fight with them to dignify the class to which he belongs, will have to be considered as an enemy, and will have to be treated as such. The advantages the Union secures by collective effort should not be extended to those who keep apart from the group which is fighting and conquering.

What I have outlined (action for exclusion from improvements) will shortly be ratified by the Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Union. . . .—José Domenech, President of the Argentine Railwaymen's Union, 31 March, 1940.

PENSIONS FOR ARGENTINE SEAMEN

An Act adopted by the Argentine Parliament on 29 September, 1939, providing for the setting up of a Pension Fund for seamen and other persons employed by the national mercantile marine, contains a number of interesting and unusual features. The scheme is not yet complete, as while rates of contribution have been fixed, and are to be collected as from the date of the passing of the Act, nothing is said about the rates of pension, or the age at which they are payable. It is provided that an actuarial committee shall report, within two years, on the benefits which the money available will allow of, and that within eighteen months thereafter a Bill to fix the rates of pension shall be laid before Parliament.

The Act casts its net widely. The scheme is to cover not only seamen, but also fishermen; administrative employees of shipping companies and agencies; workers, including administrative employees, of shipbuilding and repairing yards and undertakings operating ports under concession; pilots; employees of seamen's employment exchanges; and finally employees of *seamen's trade unions and shipping employers' associations*, and of the Fund itself. Shipowners who sail in their own vessels are also entitled to the benefits of the fund provided they pay for themselves both the worker's and employer's contribution.

Benefits will be of four kinds: (a) ordinary superannuation, (b) incapacitation pension, (c) pension in case of incapacitation arising out of the service, and (d) pension to family of deceased.

The Fund is to be raised in the following manner:

(a) A workers' contribution of 6% of all wages and salaries up to 1,000 pesos (about £58) a month, or of the first 1,000 pesos of all salaries exceeding that amount.

(b) A single contribution of one month's wages from all workers with less than fifteen years service, and two months from those with longer service, payable in monthly instalments of 4% and 2% respectively.

(c) The first month of any increase of wages granted.

(d) Employer's contribution of 4% of all wages and salaries up to 1,000 pesos a month, or of the first 1,000 pesos of salaries exceeding that amount.

(e) Product of annual sales of wreck and surplus stores, and further all excess payments by the public that are not claimed within one year (when right to refund lapses).

(f) A contribution of 2% of all freights paid on cargoes shipped between Argentine ports. This is regarded as the State's contribution to the Fund.

(g) Product of fines imposed on ships or shipowners for breaches of shipping and custom house regulations, and further those imposed for breaches of the Pensions Act itself (Shipowners are liable to fines varying from 500 to 2,000 pesos in each

FINLAND NEEDS FOREIGN HELP

The turmoil of war in western Europe might cause us to forget that in the north of Europe there is a small and valiant nation which with success and enormous sacrifice fought on the front of freedom, and which, if it is to remain one of the bastions so necessary to western civilization, must become rapidly as strong as a small country possibly can.

The I.T.F., anxious to give Finland moral support in her work of reconstruction, has produced a film on the tragedy which was enacted in the north, and places it at the disposal of transport workers' unions in all countries of the world.

Finland, in defending herself against totalitarian aggression, fought in the defence of civilized society, and therefore has a title to active assistance from that society. This was so well understood that, even while the struggle was in progress, she received material support from many sides and moral support from all free countries in the world. The need for this support is still very great. On 13 March, on the morrow of the signing of the peace with Russia, the president of the Finnish Clerical Employees' Union, comrade C. O. Frietsch, received a delegation from the Scandinavian Federation of Intellectual Workers, which was making a study visit to Finland, and in a speech declared that in order to rebuild her national economy and to cope with the social repercussions of the war, Finland would need foreign assistance for a long time to come.

case for failing to keep proper registers under the Act, failing to furnish information when required, etc. ; and further a fine of 200 pesos for each day's delay in paying into the Fund the contributions collected. This is a device not uncommon on South American legislation).

(h) Any donations and legacies.

The administration of the Fund will be in the hands of a Board composed of a Chairman appointed by the President of the Republic in agreement with the Senate, and three elected representatives each of the workers and the employers, with an equal number of substitutes. It is laid down that the several members of the Board shall belong to "different shipping institutions." Provision is made for payment for their services.

Voting power of employers in the election of their representatives is to be proportional to the total amount of wages and salaries they have paid during the previous year. Workers' representatives will be elected by a delegate conference, and employers are specifically forbidden to influence in any way the election.

Finally it may be mentioned, as a minor point of interest, that a part of the money at the disposal of the Fund may be invested in mortgages on houses belonging to its members.

After welcoming the delegation and expressing the gratitude of the Finnish people for the help they had received during the struggle, he said :

"Then perhaps a thought, a question has entered your minds. What was the object of it all, why should it happen? The question imposes itself at the sight of wrecked homes and charred ruins, at every encounter with one of the tragic fates with which Finland to-day seems thronged, every time one meets what remains of a happy family idyll. Has our resistance served any purpose? I shall not go deeply into this question, it would lead too far to give a full answer. Let me only say that we had no choice but to let this misery come upon us and to let the conflagration, of which you have seen some of the consequences, ravage our towns and villages. We had no choice when last autumn we felt that foreign tyrants would subject us to an intolerable yoke. We certainly desired no war, we knew its cursed senselessness, and loved peace. But we could not accept the yoke either. So we were forced into a war, through a treacherous and ruthless aggression. You, who at home always hear that Finland's case is your own, certainly understand that this had to be preferred above submitting to the yoke without a struggle."

He then stressed that the recent war had only been, after all, a logical consequence of the role Finland has always played in the history of northern Europe.

Next comrade Frietsch raised the question which the delegation had come to study :

"When you, honoured guests from Scandinavia, saw the devastation of war and gained, I presume, a clear picture of the horrible face of modern totalitarian warfare, you surely gave a thought to the amount of damage to property and to the social and economic machinery of Finland. You have doubtless gained an idea of the enormous difficulties we have to overcome owing to this ruthless aggression, and of the material and mental suffering the Finnish people have to endure. . . ."

"However much, or shall I say little, you may have seen, you can understand why the Finnish people, through their spokesmen, parliament, government and president, appealed several times to the civilized world for active aid. These appeals were above all for help of the most effective kind—courageous and well-trained men. Although many foreigners voluntarily hastened to Finland's aid, and Sweden with her highly qualified corps of volunteers gave a splendid proof of Swedish individual willingness to sacrifice and of strength of manhood, Finland, as you know, on the whole fought alone against the many times stronger Russian adversary. In the long run the task was too much even for the tough Finnish resistance. This is inevitable when a small nation is left during long and many months to fight alone against the Russian giant. . . ."

"In the present situation, I shall not talk of the need of giving what would have been the most valuable support to fighting Finland—prompt and active military support—but would draw attention to other kinds of foreign assistance, which in all circumstances will remain of great importance to the Finnish people. I think of what is called humanitarian help, in the shape of goods, materials and money, which as the

result of generous collections abroad has been placed at the disposal of Finland . . .

"Finland will remain in need of humanitarian and financial help for a long time to come. We must remember that the damage to the country is enormous. How enormous no one can say yet, but it is estimated that the damage done to real estate alone amounts to a milliard crowns. I have no doubt that the Finnish people have energy enough to rebuild in a peaceful world what the war has razed to the ground, but outside help is needed if the work of reconstruction is not to prove too heavy. The maintenance of the physical condition of our people, its principal good, is only possible with help from other countries. The chairman of the central organization for aid to the civilian population of Finland has recently emphasized that the country must rely increasingly upon assistance from abroad, not least owing to the diminution of her own resources caused by the war.

"It has been rightly said that the condition for a successful prosecution of a war is the maintenance not only of the strength of the army but also of the home front. If Finland is to bear the burdens of a harsh peace it is necessary that the home front be given all possible attention and all possible humanitarian help.

"The Finnish people, whatever fate history has in store for them, will in the time ahead need all the support other countries can render. If we are left alone in the difficult work of reconstruction, we may find ourselves in a situation in which all effort seems meaningless."

The remainder of the speech was a pathetic and direct appeal to Sweden. The aid rendered by Sweden to fighting Finland is already largely in excess of that received from all other countries, but the humanitarian and historical obligations which Sweden has as first beneficiary of Finnish resistance are likewise larger than those of any other country.

When he made his speech Frietsch did not know that Finland would have to surrender considerable economic resources under the harsh peace inflicted by the U.S.S.R. On 13 March he could not foresee how seriously the difficulties of economic reconstruction were to be aggravated by the loss of resources and the transfer of one-sixth of the population, chiefly agricultural, from the regions ceded to Russia to other parts of Finland.

The appeal of 13 March was addressed to a still independent Scandinavia. Denmark and Norway are no longer able to make any response whatsoever to the appeal, and it is very doubtful whether Sweden possesses sufficient political and economic independence to make the response the needs of Finland require.

The aid which Finland needs must for a great part come from elsewhere. The whole civilized world benefits from the sacrifice which Finland has made in taking up arms against a totalitarian aggressor. The whole civilized world owes her a debt of gratitude.

Some Workers' Opinions on the War

They do not want to return to Serfdom

Six days before Hitler's invasion of Luxemburg, the railwaymen of that country, in the journal of their Federation, once more pledged themselves to the cause of freedom:

"Why this vast destruction, why this greatest conflict of all times? The issue is the freedom of the peoples, the right of self-determination of the ego, the existence of our organizations, the very right to live freely. This struggle leaves no respite for festivities, and accordingly on this May Day work continued at full speed in all countries and costly celebrations were dispensed with. A May Day manifesto issued by the French trade unions states: 'Safeguard your leisure by offering it.' Leading statesmen of the democratic nations expressed themselves similarly and the workers understood. They do not want to return to serfdom, they do not want to be robbed of the right of free speech, the right of say in matters concerning them, hence their temporary renunciation of social acquisitions and their tireless efforts to ensure the final victory. . . .

"In these first days of the month of May we must engage in introspection and realize what is at stake. We must see clearly what we have to lose and what would be our position if our right to organize were destroyed. We have after such reflection every reason to join together, to stand unitedly and actively for the principles of freedom, and to lay firm hand on the reins of destiny."

"Le Signal," 4 May, 1940.

In Self-defence

"While we realise that the working people of Germany are in no important respect different from ourselves, and while we hope to welcome them back some day to co-operation with the International Labour Movement, we must face the situation as it is.

To-day the German workers have no power to express their independent opinions and their organisations have been ruthlessly suppressed.

We know that should Germany win we must inevitably meet the same fate, and lose every advantage that we have gained through years of struggle in the political and industrial field. We must in self-defence do our utmost to ensure the defeat of the Hitler regime.

In this struggle there can be no neutrality. Any opposition that weakens the war efforts of our Government constitutes a direct aid to the Hitler dictatorship. We therefore reaffirm our determination to do everything possible to overthrow the Nazi regime, and to that end we pledge ourselves to assist our Government to the utmost."

From the "Statement on War Policy" of the New Zealand Labour Movement, 21st February, 1940.

America Re-arms

"In all of the world's history there never was

such a bloody, ferocious war as the one that is now raging in Europe. Never before, not even in ancient barbarian times, did millions of men slash at each other's throats as they are doing to-day. All the fury of hell is running loose. Whole nations have been and are being wiped out. Great cities, some as large as great cities in our country, have been and are being destroyed. Vast areas of country are being destroyed. Millions of men, women and children already have been killed or made homeless sufferers and wanderers. Modern civilization is in danger of being obliterated and the human race thrown back thousands of years to the jungle age. Who knows how soon this frightful holocaust may reach our own shores? *The American people hope to escape the grinding heel of war. They do not want war, and they will have none of war except to protect their own country and liberty. But to avoid attack from the outside, this country must be prepared to resist any and all assaults that might be made upon it. That is why the President of the United States went before a joint session of Congress and delivered a message urging military preparedness.*"

"United Mine Workers Journal (C.I.O.), Washington, June 1, 1940.

"The problem before the President and the Congress was not whether the United States would go to war. There can be no doubt that interventionist spirit has immensely increased—yet, even if there were unanimous support for sending an A.E.F. abroad again, it could not be done now. Our army is small, and in need of vital supplies. Our air force is minuscular beside that of the great foreign powers. Our industrial machine is not geared for war. It would, say the authorities, take a year and perhaps more to prepare, equip and provide transport and supplies for a significant expeditionary force.

So immediate war was not the problem. The problem was how to make this country ready against invasion and attack. The possibility of a crushing allied defeat was not mentioned, but all think it was uppermost in the President's mind. And if that happened, and Germany sat astride Europe, swollen with success, what would happen? Would the British fleet fall into German hands? Would Hitler lay claim to Canada, Bermuda, the Indies and the other British possessions in this hemisphere? And if he did, what position would America take? The last question is easily answered—no one doubts that we would have to meet force with force. And what the President asked was that we give all we have to getting an adequate force ready.

Never has one of Mr. Roosevelt's many speeches met with so enthusiastic a reception. Die-hard Republican newspapers endorsed it almost in toto, no less than New Deal newspapers. Ex-President Hoover said firmly, "The President is right." The

Republican minority in Congress, with few exceptions, promised full co-operation."

"Federation News" (A.F. of L.), Chicago, June 1, 1940.

"For many years this paper has consistently urged that America should stay out of Europe and Asia and build up an army, navy and air force capable of defending the Western Hemisphere. We still adhere to that policy.

More than 90% of our people have been wholeheartedly on the side of Britain and France. We have done everything possible for them, except send our boys to die on foreign soil. We are resolved not to do that.

If the allies are beaten to their knees, and Hitler dictates the terms of peace, we will face the issue with regret but stout hearts.

The foregoing is not written with any thought of lulling the American people into a false sense of security. On the contrary, LABOR is wholeheartedly in favour of adequate preparedness....

Finally, we must determine how we wish to use this armament. In the opinion of LABOR, there is only one answer: It must be designed to safeguard America against foreign attack.

When we speak of America we are not thinking solely of the United States. In order to assure the safety of this country, we must also protect Canada and South and Central America against the possibility of successful aggression."

LABOR, Official weekly newspaper of fifteen standard Railroad Labour Organizations, May 28, 1940.

Argentine will spare no effort in its defence

Faced with the sullen spectacle of war, the working class sturdily reaffirms its ideals of peace and universal concord, and with head erect prepares to brand with candent iron those who are guilty of the horrid slaughter that bids fair to destroy civilization. It reaffirms, also, its belief that mankind has understanding and goodwill enough to solve by bloodless methods all problems that arise. It abhors violence, the favoured instrument by which tyrants and despots oppress peoples and subjugate men.

We are happy to have been born and to live in a country whose pacifist tradition has left its indelible mark on international law; whose greatest exponents of liberal and democratic Argentinity have condemned war as crime against humanity. Like them we aspire to a more prosperous and a freer Argentina, and like the heroes of our war for independence we are prepared to make any sacrifice to resist outside pressure upon our political, economic and social freedom.

In what concerns the integrity of our soil and of our Nation there is nothing that ranks higher than the Nation itself, and we will spare no effort in its defence.—*From a May Day manifesto of the Argentine General Confederation of Labour.*