



ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

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Affiliated Unions in :

ALGERIA
ARGENTINA
BELGIUM
CANADA
CHINA
DENMARK
DUTCH GUIANA
ESTONIA
FINLAND
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
HUNGARY
ICELAND
INDIA
INDO-CHINA
IRELAND
LUXEMBURG
MADAGASCAR
MOROCCO
NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
PALESTINE
RHODESIA
RUMANIA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TRINIDAD
TUNISIA
YUGOSLAVIA

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

FRANCE

WE shall have to look to the historians of the future to tell us exactly why and how France was defeated. For the time being our appreciation of what has happened largely depends on necessarily inaccurate reports and poorly documented speculations with regard to the inferiority in numbers and material of the allied armies, the strategical errors of the army chiefs, and the part played by the French traitors who composed Hitler's fifth column. But we believe that the historians will not find it easy to invalidate an impression that is gaining ground, that the "two hundred families" have betrayed France, because they feared that a victory for democracy would sound the death-knell, not only of fascism, but also of the rule of these families over the working and peasant classes in their country. There is some evidence that capitalism in France cherishes the illusion that it could retain its power if the country were to form part of a powerful fascist block, even as a junior partner, and has preferred this to a victory of which the toiling millions of workers and peasants at home and in the colonies would in all probability be the chief beneficiaries.

But it looks as though French capitalism is facing defeat whatever the result of the war. Should Hitler triumph he would evict it from its positions: should democracy get the upper hand, French democracy, traditionally revolutionary, will deal with its "haute bourgeoisie" as radically as the latter dealt with the aristocrats in 1789.

But the two hundred families can be left to stew in their own juice. Our thoughts go out at this moment to the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, and the lower middle class. In that fragment of what was France that is still governed by old man Pétain, by the crafty and calculating politician Laval, and by the enigmatical trade-unionist Bélin, the misery is such that Switzerland has had to send food to succour the more unfortunate of the five to seven millions of French and Belgian refugees. In so far as occupied France is concerned little information has yet leaked out, but something of what is happening may be inferred from a consideration of the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium under Hitler's yoke. These countries—like Germany itself—have become vast concentration camps, in which the comings and goings of every citizen, his work and his spare time—if any—his meals and his expenditure, his sleep and his reading, and his social intercourse, are strictly regulated by police ordinances of the most rigid character. All he possesses is subject to requisition. Personally he belongs neither to himself nor his family. He is a slave: he may be forced to work at the point of the bayonet, at anything and anywhere, hundreds of miles from his home. Soldiers and civilians, men and women, young

men and old, all are prisoners of war, constantly humiliated and exposed to the arbitrary orders of guards who have been taught by a barbarous régime that cruelty is an effective instrument of government. Firing squads, and worse, are busy every day. All this awaits France now and probably for some little time to come.

The course of events in France confirms Ernest Bevin's observation in Parliament the other day, that "this is an international civil war." This is a truth which is not sufficiently realized by those who simplify the issues of the war into "rivalries between conflicting imperialist groups." In reality it is an ideological war, and the field of battle transcends by far the boundaries of the "belligerent" countries. It is a world war, and there are no longer any neutrals, only "non-belligerents." Those who are fighting for democracy have their friends and supporters throughout the world: the working classes and the oppressed, and the liberal minded in all countries are hoping with an intensity that no war of the past has ever evoked, that their arms may be victorious. They have their friends and supporters in the fascist countries. In his recent speech to the Reichstag even Hitler referred to "the negligible number of Germans" who were not enthusiastic about the crushing of France. Not sufficiently negligible, any way, to be neglected, as the hundreds of thousands of brave souls who throng the Nazi concentration camps in Germany bear witness.

And on the other side, the side of violence and dictatorship, the fascist belligerents have active allies in all countries. They had them, powerful allies, in France, and they undoubtedly have them in Great Britain and its Dominions, though it is hardly likely that they are either so numerous or so powerful. It is equally certain that they have them in all the non-belligerent and "neutral" countries: how many, and how powerful, time will probably show.

And the war is going on in all these countries, even though the arms used may not be aeroplanes, guns and bayonets. The allies of the fascist dictators, and they have allies of all the nationalities in the world, are fighting for the victory of dictatorship in all these countries: the allies of the democracies are everywhere defending the cause of freedom, though unfortunately not always with the same vigour and determination as their opponents. And it is upon the result of this war, and not upon the victory of Great Britain or any other national entity, that depends whether France will one day be free again. It is the result of this war that will determine the fate of Man in France, in Germany, and in every other country. And he will either be a slave or he will be free.

Every people whose men are violent is a slave people.

JUAN BAUTISTA ALBERDI
Argentine jurist and politician (1814-1886).

A Co-operative Transport Concern

The Tramway Company of Wheeling, a town in the United States with a population of some 200,000, was bankrupt. The 240 employees decided to buy the system in order to keep their jobs. They started a savings scheme, and when the system was put up for sale had \$40,000 towards the \$75,600 for which it was sold.

Investors were not interested. At the best the undertaking could not yield more than the wages of those employed, but no dividends. What investors would run an undertaking for the sake of 240 workers' families? They did not think of it.

But the trade union did. It founded a co-operative society, *Co-operative Transit*, for operating the undertaking. The 240 members of the society made a great effort. In two years they paid the initial debt of \$35,600. They bought up the buses which were being run in competition with the trams and co-ordinated the two services. The vehicles and tracks were restored to a proper condition. In their own repair and maintenance shops they built their first new car, from wheels to trolley. There they dismantle and re-assemble old vehicles. A new up-to-date garage has been built. A new spray paint shop ensures that the cars shall have the best possible appearance.

All this has been done without contracting fresh debts. The finances have been administered with extreme care. All purchases are cash, if there is no money nothing is bought. The building of the garage, for instance, was done in stages spread over five years.

The relations of the union with *Co-operative Transit* are the same as with any other company. A collective agreement is signed every year.

When the economic depression obliged the Administration to raise the question of reducing the staff, the union proposed that there should be no dismissals and that the available work should be shared. The men have thus agreed to reductions in earnings amounting, at times, to 10% to 12%.

The community benefited greatly from the initiative of these men prompted by the desire to preserve their livelihood. A transport undertaking the new construction of which would cost \$15,000,000 has been saved from being dumped on the scrap-heap. The transport service is better than the population has ever known it to be. Two hundred and forty families, instead of being plunged into misery and becoming a burden on the community, continue to live decently on a wages bill amounting to \$408,000 a year. In addition the undertaking pays annually \$32,000 towards the community's taxes.

Each employee owns about \$300 in shares. So far no dividends have been paid, but the wages of drivers, conductors and trackmen have been increased by six cents an hour and those of other workers proportionately.

Pages from the History of the I.T.F.

"During the past two years statesmen of many countries have been considering the prevention of war and the question of disarmament by various means. The latest proposal is one to 'outlaw war.' Yet if we consider the actions and speeches of certain statesmen in various countries we might conclude that their endeavour would be to 'outlaw peace'."

The above words were pronounced in the Opening Address which the then President of the I.T.F., the late C. T. Cramp, delivered at the Stockholm Congress in July, 1928. How true were these words then, and how true have they proved in the years that have followed. In the same address our late President gave a clear picture of what the world needed and what in this connection he expected of the I.T.F. He said: "I trust that the I.T.F. will always be in the organized forefront of the army of peace, eliminating national hatreds, allaying national suspicions, and suppressing national fanaticisms, in order that we may assist in making the workers of the world one great family, each nation contributing its own national genius and traditions, its own special virtues and products, to the well-being of a world-wide community." A more succinct and striking programme for the solution of the world's problems has in our opinion rarely been given. Even in those days of comparative prosperity, which were to end suddenly in 1929, the leaders of the I.T.F. showed themselves conscious of the dangers which threatened, and which to-day have come over so many countries and are spreading to others.

Views similar to those of the President found expression in an article, written on the eve of the Stockholm Congress by the General Secretary of the I.T.F., Edo Fimmen, who said: ". . . just as peace between labour and capital is and will remain a pious but dangerous illusion, so will peace between the peoples remain a pious and if possible even more dangerous illusion until the working class, through its own power, has become the ruling class—or rather the only existing class." The article was entitled "Stockholm." Is it not as though the words applied to the Stockholm of these days, encircled as it is by the destructive fire of war? Stockholm, the city which promised that the seemingly small step to Socialism would and could be made without revolution. In these days it has become very clear, tragically clear, that world capitalism spares no town or country, recognizes no claim to exemption. At crucial moments, when a world war is gathering momentum, local development ceases. Then there is but one force that can challenge world capitalism: the organized international might of the workers.

This was fundamentally the problem with which the Stockholm Congress of the I.T.F. had to deal. Edo Fimmen delivered an address, entitled "World Capitalism and the World International," in which after a general analysis of the capitalist

evolution of the world, he pointed to the necessity of the I.T.F. becoming a world-wide all-embracing transport workers' organization. There was indeed no international trade secretariat with as many extra-European relations as the I.T.F., but its centre of gravity still lay in Europe. To make the I.T.F. a world-wide organization certain organizational measures were necessary of a kind and scope which at the time were new to international trade union practice. It was such measures which Fimmen advocated before the Congress and which were approved in the resolution adopted on the subject.

Fimmen described the proposed new structure of the I.T.F. in the following terms: "The future development of the I.T.F. should be not in the direction of an international federation to which every individual union is directly affiliated, but in the direction of an international federation of a number of secretariats consisting of the unions of different continents, or perhaps parts of continents. . . . These different international transport workers' secretariats could together form a World Union of Transport Workers, the leadership of which would include representatives of those secretariats." Here is not the place to discuss the advantages expected from this structure, nor the difficulties which the Secretariat of the I.T.F. met in this new conception of the organizational development of the international labour movement, and which again and again delayed the carrying out of the plans decided upon in Stockholm. Only ten years later, at the Luxemburg Congress of 1938, was a definite step taken in the shape of a decision to establish a sub-secretariat for Latin America. Of the importance of this step for the workers' movement in general and the I.T.F. in particular the leaders of the I.T.F. were so convinced that the war which has meanwhile broken out has not prevented them from proceeding with the carrying out of the decision.

In this simple fact lies a great promise for the future. It reveals not only the continuity in the policy of the I.T.F., but also the firm determination of the leaders, despite the difficult circumstances, to make the I.T.F. a pioneer of the international workers' movement, and a powerful opponent of world capitalism. Or to say it with the name of our journal: "Transport Workers Link the World."

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Expatriated Seamen in War-Time

The present war is inflicting a hard lot upon the seamen of Europe. Torpedoes, magnetic mines, bombs and machine-gunning from the air have claimed many victims among the seamen of many countries. Even the seamen of Argentina, a country in no way involved in the war, have not been spared.

Yet the limit of Nazi cruelty had not been reached. Now thousands of seamen have been completely separated from their families for the duration of the war.

Polish seamen who were away from home at the time of the invasion of their country, or were able to leave it, have since October, 1939, been without any news of their families and without any means of communicating with them. They do not know whether their near ones still live or not, to which corner of Poland or Germany or Russia they have been sent, or how they get the means of livelihood.

Danish seamen are in a distressing position. Some are captives aboard their ships in neutral ports, whither they have been taken by their captains in accordance with orders received from the Nazis through the Danish authorities. Others have placed themselves and their ships at the disposal of the Allies, thereby cutting off all possibilities of communicating with their families or sending them any money whatsoever.

Norwegian seamen curse Hitler every day. Several thousands of them had since the autumn departed on whaling expeditions to the Antarctic seas. Calling in South Africa ports on their way home, they learned of the invasion of their country. They were unable to get back, and all they know of their families is that they are under Nazi oppression. The same applies to the thousands of Norwegians who were scattered over the seas of the earth and those who were able to prevent their ships from falling into the hands of the aggressors and to take them to British ports.

Belgian and Dutch seamen who were absent from their countries at the time of the invasion did not return. Those who were in the ports of their country did what they could to escape with their ships to British shores. The Dutch know only one thing: their families are suffering Nazi oppression. Who lives? Who is dead? How do they live? All questions to which there is no answer. The Belgians also live in the cruellest uncertainty: where are their families? Are they still in Belgium? Were they trapped by the German army while fleeing towards France? Are they in occupied France where the distress is so severe that the Swiss are sending relief for the five to six million French and Belgian refugees? Are they still among the living?

French seamen, scattered over the ports of the French Empire or held up in ports of the British Empire, or even interned in camps, know but one thing, that a terrible disaster has befallen France.

What has become of their families? Very few French seamen have received any news. For most of them, too, the prospects of rejoining their people are still remote.

These are hardships and sufferings which no one can remedy or even mitigate appreciably. They are just some of the countless horrors of the war.

But seamen are men of courage. All of these expatriated seamen, whether Polish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch or Belgian, have from their painful situation drawn the only logical conclusion: to fight against the wrecker of their homes. In times of war the seamen helps the defenders of the homeland best by carrying on his work.

This is what the seamen exiled by the Fascist invaders are doing. The seamen of Poland, Norway, Holland, and Belgium have rallied round the merchant fleet of the only belligerent anti-fascist country whose territory and resources are still intact. Numbers of Danish ships and crews are sailing under the British flag, and many French ships have joined the British merchant fleet, flying the British flag beside the French.

On board the ships and in the ports trade union activity continues, at times more intensely than in peace time, because the trade union is the only thing of their national life with which the exiled seamen can remain in contact. The I.T.F., in association with the British seamen's trade-union leaders, have reconstituted on British soil the national seamen's unions of Norway, Holland and Belgium. Further the Danish seamen have been reorganized in a Danish section of the British National Union of Seamen. Steps are being taken to reconstitute also the Polish Seamen's Union. And now an appeal is being addressed to the French seamen also to rebuild their trade union on British soil.

The first task of these bodies is not, as might be thought for a moment, to provide entertainment for the men, though that may prove to be an important part of their activity, but to exercise on behalf of the men the right to discuss and negotiate their working conditions. Collective agreements, differing on more than one point from those of the British seamen, have already been concluded for Norwegian, Belgian and Dutch seamen. Complications of many kinds, resulting from the diversity in the legal position of the different merchant navies and in the application of various social legislations, will inevitably give rise to difficulties and disputes which the unions will have to settle in the best interests of the seamen. Aliens are in British and Dominion ports subject to police regulations which it will be hard to adjust to the needs of foreign seamen. Authorities and seamen will often require services which only a trade union can give.

Trade union affairs, life aboard the ships and in the ports, working conditions, the conclusion and

enforcement of collective agreements and, above all, the attitude of the seamen towards the war, were discussed at length at a conference of the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F., held in London on 15 July last. This international conference was necessarily more limited in character than the I.T.F. was wont to hold in time of peace, but it was nevertheless a conference which manifested a remarkable spirit of internationalism and solidarity. The conference expressed satisfaction at the fact that though cut off from their own countries the seamen can keep their national unions going, bodies which they manage themselves, through which they can participate in the fixing of their working conditions, and in which they are able to keep alive their own traditions. The conference issued an appeal for unity between seafarers, officers and men, and transport and other workers in all countries still free to work for the defeat of dictatorship. The feelings of exiled seamen towards the armies of Hitler were aptly summed up in one sentence assuring "the oppressed peoples, and their working classes in particular, that the seamen and fishermen will continue the fight, which is the fight of all who are opposed to terrorism and oppression, to a victorious conclusion."

All workers in all countries of the world are interested in the outcome of this war. All have something to lose if Fascism triumphs, all have something to win by the defeat of the forces of barbarism. For this reason the conference called upon organizations of ships' officers, seamen and other transport workers throughout the world to give the officers and seamen of the countries it represented all the assistance they need, and appealed to all free unions of seamen and transport workers to unite within the I.T.F. as a rampart against the forces of tyranny.

A Report from a Negro trade unionist—continued.

these conditions have been brought about through the organized American labour movement."

To this report the writer adds a few reflections on the trade union activities of Negro workers in relation to white workers. After having said that Negroes enter all walks of life Hartman makes the following very pertinent remarks:

"It behoves the other races in our American Federation of Labour group to face the issue by bringing his coloured brother up to his economic standard or his coloured brother will be forced to bring him down to his level.

"This, of course, we know will not do the labour movement any good, but as we all know where the bosses are able to keep friction between the two labouring groups they then step in and take advantage of both, put one against the other and it is only a case of time until both labouring groups, white and coloured, will be destroyed."

A report from a Negro trade unionist

Paul Hartman, Vice-President of the International Longshoremen's Association of North America, reports in the *American Federationist* on trade union achievements of white and Negro workers in an American port.

Hartman writes:

"I came to the port of New Orleans to live about twenty-nine years ago. I found longshoremen in New Orleans working for 50 cents per hour, that being the best wage paid among the coloured workers who were not members of skilled crafts. I immediately joined the longshoremen and from time to time, the wages were brought up.

"Their first increase was 65 cents per hour, \$1.00 per hour overtime. In 1921 their wages were again raised to 80 cents and \$1.20 per hour, \$2.00 per hour Sundays, meal hours and holidays. This of course was lost in 1923 against the authority of their International President. But the longshoremen in the port of New Orleans did not lose courage, notwithstanding the fact that they were out for ten years.

"In 1933, about seven other men and myself decided to reorganize the port under the NRA. This task began on September 2, 1933, and by October 14 we had succeeded in organizing 1,400 longshoremen, both white and coloured, in the port of New Orleans.

"On November 7 of the same year, we entered into the first contract with the New Orleans Steamship Association that had been signed by longshoremen in ten years. This contract of course was at 65 cents and \$1.00 per hour. We were able under this contract to eliminate the ten-hour day that existed since 1923, but there were many other features that we were unable to eliminate in 1933 that have to-day been eliminated through the good offices of our International President and the co-operation of the American Federation of Labour, and in 1934 we were able to get our wages increased to 75 cents per hour and \$1.10 overtime, Sundays and holidays.

"In 1936 we again secured an increase for our membership under the two years contract, 80 cents an hour \$1.20 Sundays, holidays and overtime.

"In 1939 we secured another increase that brought our wages up to \$1.00 and \$1.50 per hour Sundays, overtime and holidays with a 44-hour week, and we have at present one of the best contracts that has ever existed in the port of New Orleans.

"We are proud to say that our men are among the best wage-earners in this section of the country, and through the support of the American Federation of Labour, our people not only make money enough to support their families, but they are to-day making money enough to live decently in modern houses and educate their children. All

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE WAR

A Document

Comrades of the American Federation of Labour:

An attempt without precedent in history is being made to subjugate the whole world "for a millenary" to the most hideous of slaveries.

By steel, by fire, by terror and cunning, by the extermination of everything obstructing her path, by perjury and the pitiless massacre of women and children, Hitler Germany, fanatic and systematically divested "of every human scruple," seeks to conquer Europe and the world.

The French people, at the side of their Allies, have once again to bear the brunt of the ferocious attack. Their blood flows, their soil is ravaged.

Yesterday, the French working class did everything which was humanly in their power to ensure peaceful understanding between the peoples and to save humanity from the scourge of war.

To-day, and until the total defeat of the Hitler leaders, one single thing matters, that the force opposed to theirs be stronger than theirs, that a sufficient number of men, tanks, planes and guns be pitted against their war machine.

We are not grudging in our sufferings and our sacrifices. It is inconceivable that victory will not finally be ours. But the knowledge that if, by ill chance, we should be vanquished, humanity will relapse into the darkest hours of its history, gives us a right and a duty, that of warning all free workers who wish to remain free.

Workers of the United States, American comrades, it is perhaps on your powerful aid that depends the final outcome of the conflict.

The reason for the triumphs so far secured by the aggressor is that the peoples have resisted separately and consequently have been overcome one after another.

If you do not want us to be reduced, to-morrow, to slaves made to toil and forge the arms to be used against you;

If you do not want our sons to be drilled, intellectually and materially, before our powerless eyes as shock troops against the peoples not yet subjugated;

If you do not want to have to face some day, perhaps near, the combined forces of two imperialisms dominating the whole of the old continent;

If, finally, you want us to be able, hand in hand with you, to work to-morrow for the brotherhood of man, for a society from which the spectre of war and armaments has been banished;

HELP US!

May that help be massive and mighty, and extend to all the domains you deem possible.

And above all, may it be prompt!

Every hour that passes without bringing your decision augments not only the sum of our

sufferings and of those of our friends and of the subjugated peoples:

Every hour lost threatens to be the one in which our common fate is decided for centuries to come.

LÉON JOUHAUX*

General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, 23 May, 1940.

"This is Labour's War"

"It was only yesterday that American labour was appealed to by Léon Jouhaux, the veteran head of the General Confederation of Labour of France. In his statement he clearly summed up the situation confronting labour the world over: Hitlerism and free organized labour cannot exist in the same world.

Unquestionably the fate of labour everywhere depends on victory for the democracies. The fate of workers in Germany and other enslaved nations clearly demonstrates what will be the fate of workers in any country conquered and coming under the influence of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin.

"I am confident this appeal of the French workers in their greatest hour of trial will not go unheeded by lovers of liberty defenders of democracy and champions of free labour in America. . . .

"It is now something more than twenty years ago that Samuel Gompers, the great leader of the American Federation of Labour, uttered these prophetic words in 1917: 'This is Labour's war!' And so I say to Mr. Bevin and to the British trade unionists at this hour, to the French workers—workers everywhere, that this is Labour's struggle the world over, to unite in opposition to the tyranny and the destruction which is being wrought by the Nazis now joined by the Fascists, upon the peaceful peoples of Europe."

*Matthew Woll, Vice-President
American Federation of Labour.*

The Collapse of France foreshadows Cataclysmic Changes

"The surrender of Paris, which was followed almost at once by the collapse of French military resistance, was more than a disaster for the French Republic, more than a great victory for Hitler's incredible war machine. It was a symbol of the cataclysmic changes that are taking place at a bewildering speed in the world we live in. For Paris, with London, has long been associated in men's minds with freedom—with all that democracy means. And democracy is what Hitler, as he said and wrote time and again, is out to destroy. Paris is—or used to be—a living example of all that Nazism abhors."

"Federation News," Chicago Federation of Labour, 29 June, 1940.

What people would accept domination?

"Our own country is now preparing to meet any threat to our liberties with all the resources of our vast industrial system, with the courage of a people that have shown their valour on the battlefields of four continents.

"What man of good intent could loose upon his people the horrors of the holocaust that is modern war? What people cradled in the rich heritage of liberty would willingly accept the domination of such monsters? If force is to be the sole arbiter of international relations then we will equip ourselves with the same efficiency that has brought our nation to the forefront of all the world in the mechanization of its industry. American inventiveness and ingenuity that has rendered signal service in improving the living standards of all civilized peoples will devote its abilities to the creation of the destructive and will not be surpassed in the production of military devices.

"America can meet and master any challenge."

Magazine of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen of North America, July, 1940.

Labour cannot Capitulate

"This war is different from the last World War in that Labour has more at stake than any other section of the community. Through years of struggle Labour has won a number of liberties, and it has no intention of allowing these liberties to be lost on foreign battlefields by the incompetence, cowardice and deliberate neglect of others. . . .

"This war is for Labour a life-and-death struggle. It means either the stormy birth of a life far better in every sense than any yet known, or the death of everything for which Labour has fought. As the true guardians of the principles of liberty and democracy Labour cannot capitulate in a way that is open to those on its right and on its left."

W.A., "Worker" as quoted by "The Labour Call," Melbourne, 23 May, 1940.

What will become of the Neutrals if . . . ?

"When months ago—the war had indeed already begun, but after the Polish campaign had relapsed into the stage of bellicose language—when at that time a British Minister declared that the Allies were fighting also for the neutral states of Europe, we took cognizance of the statement, more or less convinced of its truth. But to-day when, for the time being, the fortunes of war are clearly turning in favour of Germany, many people ask themselves: What will become of us if she really wins the war?

"We are neutral. That is true in the sense that we remember with bleeding hearts the countless victims on both sides, in the sense that we share

the deep sorrow of the widows and orphans whether German, French or English, in the sense that we think with anguish of all those who still must go forth into that hell of misery and horror. But it is not true when we ask in our hearts whom we wish victorious. Ashamed we recognize that really others are fighting for us, for us also, and that we are still well off. It is true that our soldiers and we ourselves are making sacrifices, but what are they compared with the unspeakable sufferings of the others?"

"Der Oeffentliche Dienst," Swiss Public Employees' Union, 14 June, 1940.

It is time to rally

"If we turn our eyes to the Old World we will see that where the dictatorships are scoring successes it is due to the indecision shown in the beginning by the democracies, because if the latter had attacked resolutely and unitedly at the first attempt to enslave free peoples, the former would have started no new experiments, because that would have exposed them to the loss of what they already had, and even more, to the danger of having to surrender to their own peoples, who would have been unable to continue any longer living under the heel of such mad and unreasoning beings. Let us see that history does not repeat itself in our country: we should be alone to blame if we lost the little freedom that still remains to us.

"If the workers of the world were more united there would soon be an end to the evils which threaten to overwhelm us. . . .

"It is time that we reviewed our social and trade union conduct: we must cease being individualists: we must devote all our forces, however small they may be, to the cause: we must fight together and in agreement. The world is sweeping us to a hecatomb the consequences of which it is very difficult to foresee: now is the time to think about what we should do.

"We must be upright and united: we must lay aside the 'I,' and continue the fight shoulder to shoulder with our comrades. That is the only way to determine whether it is to be or not to be; all or none."

"La Fraternidad," Argentine Locomotive Men's Union, 5 May, 1940.

Law must govern relations between people

"We do not want to educate our children to perceive in war a cultural act or even the 'acid test' from which we emerge sublimated and hardened. We Swiss adhere staunchly to a conception of the relations between peoples in which law is the governing principle, just as the relations between individuals and organizations are governed no longer by the brutal violence of the stronger but in free discussion or by the

pronouncements of a judge deciding according to the principles of law."

"*Der Eisenbalmer*," *Swiss Railwaymen's Federation*, 14 June, 1940.

Gestapo

"Its equipment consists not merely of machine-guns and flame-throwers. Its roads are not the highways of the great armies. Its war material is the infinitely subtle brain of the secret agent trained in economic, political and military espionage, who alone is conversant with the intricacies of the intelligence service. Apparently harmless and solitary, he treads—but a cog in the gigantic machine—the ramified pathways which always and somehow end in the centre from which the instructions emanate.

There would be nothing new in this if National-Socialism, with the thoroughness peculiar to it, had not imparted a new basis to the old system. The structure calls itself the Gestapo. After the presence of its agents, in large numbers and throughout continents, has been proved by accidental or deliberate detection, we have no grounds for believing Switzerland to be an exception in a system which has no exceptions.

But it is no easy matter to track down the mercenary creatures, eavesdroppers, police spies and agents provocateurs. They pose as convinced democrats who admire our institutions and in their purses carry the Juda's reward of a sworn mortal enemy. They worm themselves into our confidence as genial citizens and with the sharp eyes of the experienced military observer spy into the secrets of our national defence system. They adopt a deceptive appearance of human kindness and their heart is as false as Satan's.

The Gestapo is not merely a system, it is a science. . . . The word, Gestapo, has become a concept. Who hears it knows he has to think of South America, Australia, of cheques and women, of credulous persons, of the next world and of dark places whence the screams of the tortured never reach the outside world. That is the Gestapo. Gestapo also means complete domination of a people of nearly one hundred million, means legalization and State financing of everything which outside Germany is banned to the dark underworld of crime.

Shall we refrain from calling things by their names? Shall we obstinately cling to an impartiality which leads to the gallows? Shall we follow the example of the Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Danes, Norwegians or Dutch? Or is it not wiser to take the other path, to take off the blinkers, to put it mildly, and keep a watch on the rascals?"

"*Der oeffentliche Dienst*", journal of the *Swiss Public Employees Union*.

Men are no Permanent War Machines

"Sit down and moan? Because the world is so bad? Because otherwise sensible people are foolish and criminal enough to take one another's lives? Because as a result we also have to spend a large part of our income on the defence of the country? Leaving in consequence so much less to live on? And because the cost of living is so high? And unemployment will not diminish sufficiently? And life is made so enervating by the constant threat of war? Complaining has never yet helped anyone on his way, unless they were beggars.

Is there nothing left to which the Socialist workers' movement can cling in these tumultuous times? Plenty.

Humans remain humans. With their vices of greed and lust for power no doubt. But also with their virtues of love of freedom and justice and their longing for prosperity.

A German writer once said that peace is only a truce between two wars, and even felt pleased about it, but we doubt whether this to-day represents the ideal of the peoples, even of those who must live according to the maxim.

The spirit revolts against it, because it is irrational and immoral to make man primarily a war machine.

Why we emphatically decline to despair? Because ultimately the spirit is supreme.

What is fundamentally not rational, what is contrary to the interests of mankind, may triumph for a time and may be submitted to for a time, but the desire to throw it off continues to exist and to grow. It cannot be killed.

And is it believed that the minds which have to produce all this will be and can be content with stopping just where independence begins? That is unthinkable. And because independence and the urge to freedom live close to one another, that urge to be free will experience good times after this war. In the countries, also, which to-day expect salvation from obedience to and adulation of a dictator.

Our Socialist workers' movement will rise and live again, in the countries also where to-day it has no centre nor organization. It will fall to it to be the carrier of these great values of freedom and independence in history, in the way it already did in the past and is still doing to-day in the democratic countries.

The form of the workers' movement will have to change, and its immediate objectives also, but its great task will remain."

WEEKBLAD, Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union Journal, April 27, 1940.

It is now the time for every union eligible for affiliation to take its place in the ranks of the I.T.F.