



ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

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Affiliated Unions in :

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DUTCH GUIANA
ESTONIA
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GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
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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

ONE YEAR OF NAZI-FASCIST WAR

ONE of the prophecies uttered by the nineteenth century pioneers of the workers' movement, and adopted by their successors ever since, was that the foundations of the world will change.

By the action of the organized workers, slowly but surely, the foundations of the world have been changing for three-quarters of a century. For the past twelve months the prophecy has been fulfilled at a lightning speed, and in a sense very different from the aspirations of the workers' movement. The prime force giving impetus to this change is not the proletarian revolution, but Fascist imperialism.

Apparently, the change which is taking place is essentially confined to Europe. Actually, however, the fate of the whole world is in the balance. A final victory over its European opponents by a new power calling itself the United Fascist Empires of Europe would not merely take the place of the powers it had vanquished. To consolidate itself, European Imperialist Fascism would require partners and vassals in all other parts of the world.

This raises the problem of the "fascistification" of recalcitrant countries declining either of these two roles. The magnitude of the task does not frighten Hitler. He counts on the social reactionaries and his fifth column in such countries, as much as on the power of his war machine, for putting peoples and armies out of action. To rebel peoples he would send German governors and commissioners; to others "Men of Vichy" recruited on the spot. The "Fascist dynamism" is the necessity for the Fascist states to model the whole world in their image, to impose upon it their own political and social, moral and cultural regime, if the terms moral and cultural can be applied to Fascism. If there remained a country where the anti-Fascist forces were left free, the whole Fascist structure would remain exposed to the danger of erosion and explosion.

A Fascist victory would change the foundations of Europe, but would not bring peace. In other continents there would be important countries which refused to become partners or vassals of the Fascist empires. Against all such countries, to save itself from collapse in Europe, Fascism would have to continue the fight. For European Fascist Imperialism to retain its present and, perhaps, future conquests, the world must change its foundations and become Fascist.

The European states did not wish to model themselves in the image of Hitler Germany, unwilling as they were to be partners or vassals of a barbarian state. That at bottom was the sentiment of the feeling of the peoples. But among their leading statesmen there was none who had the intelligence to understand that the problem might very probably have to be stated sooner or later in these terms, or if they did understand it, they had not the courage to say so openly to those who had

placed in their hands the direction of affairs. For thus stated the problem presents but one alternative: either to unchain and support a democratic revolution in Germany and Italy, or if that did not eventuate or proved a failure, to unchain a preventive war of civilized Europe against Hitlerism. The first solution was repugnant to the ruling classes of the European countries, the second to the working classes.

The problem was then posed in another way: The Have-Nots, Germany and Italy, are aligned against the Haves, Britain and France. The small European states should keep out of this quarrel between imperialist powers.

Unfortunately this statement is a half-truth. Half-truths are more dangerous than lies. The half of the proposition which is true prevented civilized Europe from seeing the other half, from uniting and attacking when there was still time and when victory could have been secured without firing a single gun. It prevented civilized Europe from uniting at the eleventh hour, in August 1939, when it would have been possible to arraign a certain military and strategical superiority against Hitlerism. It was this paralysis of civilized Europe which made possible the series of conquests secured, between 1935 and 1940, by the Fascists from the Red Sea to the North Cape, and in China, to say nothing of the "conquests" secured by the Soviet Union.

A Nazi-Fascist victory would confront the extra-European world with a problem similar to that which Europe failed to solve, a failure for which it pays so dearly to-day.

Will the world learn the lesson of Europe? Will it understand to what lack of solidarity may lead? The victorious Fascist empires would not attack all the civilized states simultaneously, but just as the fate of France was decided in Spain and Czechoslovakia, so the fate of more than one American republic, for example, may be decided in South Africa or India.

Thanks to the determination and power of the British Empire, all is not yet lost in Europe. After a year of disasters and set-backs, that Empire is still unvanquished. Stronger to-day than twelve months ago, it faces the Fascist empires with all its might and keeps the main part of their forces in Europe. If that suffices for the present, it is not sufficient for the definitive security of the world. To regain its security, the whole world needs a crushing defeat upon the armies, navies and air forces of the Fascist dictator states. The sooner that is done the better.

All this sounds extremely political and bellicose.

In this war the foreign policy of the nations involved and the aims of the different social groups that make up the body politic are inextricably mingled. If, like the bankers in the City, we work for the defeat of Hitler, we do so for very different reasons. For us Hitler's defeat is necess-

ary to prevent the destruction of the world's trade union movement—one of the most important and valuable civilizing influences of our time—and to permit of its resurrection where it has been destroyed.

This war is destroying many precious human lives, and many other things dear to mankind. But just as a salvo of bombs dropped by a Nazi plane on a British town often does the work of the demolition gang, wiping out a row of condemned and untenanted hovels, so will the war also destroy many hideous things which we have inherited from the past. Whatever happens, the foundations of the world are destined to change, and if the workers of the world will join their forces and efforts to shape the peace that will follow, they can accomplish great things for future generations.

Let us hope that the first year of this Nazi-Fascist war will at least have taught them that.

Altered Curfew Regulations for Foreign Seamen in Great Britain

The British Ministry of Shipping has informed foreign trade unions of Seamen in Great Britain that in order to meet legitimate grievances of seamen due largely to the restrictions on their landing at United Kingdom ports it has been decided to modify substantially the existing arrangements.

In future seamen serving on ships flying Allied flags or on ships chartered or requisitioned by the Ministry of Shipping may, if allowed to land, be granted shore leave during the ship's stay in port subject to the following conditions, viz.:

- (a) that the seaman does not leave the Police District in which the port at which he lands is situated, and
- (b) that he is on board his ship, or within doors at a temporary shore address, between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m.

«Discipline» aan boord van Nederlandse Schepen

«Naar aanleiding van een klacht van de Secretaris der Centrale Bond van Transportarbeiders, zeelieden afdeling, te London, gericht aan zyne Exellentie den Nederlandse Minister van Justitie, over het soms op vreemde manier straffen van personeel door Kapiteins aan boord van Nederlandse schepen, zonder inachtneming van Wet Molengraaf of artikel 424 Wetboek van Koophandel; Heeft dezen bewindsman geantwoord, «dat het ook hem voorkomt dat in de tegenwoordige omstandigheden een en ander verwezenlykt dient te worden. Dat hij te dien einde een regeling te treffen zich in verbinding had gesteld met zijn ambtgenoot den minister van Scheepvaart, Handel en Nijverheid». Aangaande het resultaat hoopte Zijne Exellentie ons t.g.t. in kennis te stellen.

W. g. Voor den Minister van Justitie
De Secretaris Generaal: v. Angeren.

REFORM OF THE I.L.O.

One of the many problems to be solved tomorrow

"We simply cannot afford to await the end of hostilities which may come very suddenly and leave the peace to the reactionaries."—New Zealand "Railway Review" of 24 May, 1940.

The International Labour Office is out of action while the war is in progress. A reduced secretariat will work in Canada, but there is no doubt that pending the conclusion of peace the I.L.O. cannot inspire and stimulate the movement of progress through social legislation throughout the world.

The experience gained between two wars with the Geneva institution of international social legislation has not been satisfactory. The machine was too unwieldy. It proved extremely difficult to secure the discussion and solution of questions of major importance, while on the other hand there was too great an eagerness to harness the institution to tasks of minor importance. The instruments elaborated by the International Labour Conference were neither international conventions nor international laws. They were simply guides to national legislators, who were free to consider or to ignore them. The system of ratification was far from perfect.

Nevertheless, the experience has not been so disappointing that the international trade union movement can afford to condemn the institution. The International Labour Conferences, and the permanent machinery functioning in Geneva, have performed very valuable work. The outlook of many a national labour movement and of many men of good will in government and employers' circles has been broadened. A very substantial part of the progress made in social legislation in practically all countries of the world is directly or indirectly due to the activity of the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations.

The I.L.O. has accumulated and disseminated a vast amount of valuable information about a wide range of questions. It has set experts to studying and elucidating numerous problems of great importance to the working class and to legislators. It has contributed greatly to awakening a new sense of responsibility among those at the head of society. It has provided a public tribunal where workers' representatives and progressive men challenge those who would hold back social progress.

Although to the man in the workshop and to the shop steward of the trade union, the activity of the I.L.O. may seem without effect, and although the spectacle presented at Geneva may seem but a conference engrossed in academic discussion, it may be said that the work of the I.L.O. has been

fruitful. The results may be small compared with the money and effort expended, but they are too important for the international labour movement to lose interest in the future fate of the institution.

The I.L.O. must survive. It will not survive in a fascist world. We do not calculate, nor will anyone in the workers' movements of the free countries of the world calculate, with a fascist victory. The victory of the democracies must open up new perspectives. In the organization of the peace of the future the rights of the workers and the I.L.O. must play a greater and a higher part than in the peace of 1919 to 1933.

The New Zealand Federation of Labour is exploring the idea of an International Labour Conference to be held outside of Europe in the near future for the purpose of studying the problems which will arise at the end of the war—for the war will end some day—with regard to the future functioning of the International Labour Organization and its headquarters, the I.L.O.

The idea is worth consideration. Perhaps it will be necessary to devote more than one conference to the purpose, and to confine the first one to preliminary work. Whether such a conference is held or not, the workers' movement will sooner or later have to formulate a programme for reforming the I.L.O., with the view of remedying its main defects and making it an instrument capable of imposing its laws upon the employing class and governments of the entire civilized world.

. . . Universal peace . . . can be established only if it is based upon social justice.

. . . Conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled. . . . An improvement of those conditions is urgently required.

. . . The failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organization.

WOMEN IN LOCAL PASSENGER TRANSPORT

Equal Pay for Equal Work

Transport undertakings in the countries at war are confronted with difficult problems. The volume of local passenger transport has in many cases remained the same or has even increased as a result of industrial activity and military traffic. At the same time young and middle-aged male personnel is being drained away. Many men have been called to the colours or are employed in transport serving the needs of the army, navy or air force. Nor is there a reserve of man-power from which the departing men can be largely replaced. Among the unemployed there are few suitable for transport work. An unemployed building or mining worker as a rule lacks the physical and mental qualities required for the satisfactory performance of the duties of the driver or conductor of a bus or tram. The work of a conductor, for example, requires a sense of responsibility which the great majority of young people lack.

The only solution is to employ women. This solution is demanded by the interests of the over-worked men remaining in the service and by the interests of the public, the State and the undertaking.

The employment of women always raises the old controversy about the wages and conditions to which this labour is entitled.

In Great Britain an Industrial Court decision has gone a long way to meet the trade-union position on this issue.

As the employers and the trade unions catering for the employees of the municipal passenger transport services could not reach agreement, the question was dealt with for four days before the appropriate Industrial Court. The employers were only prepared to pay to women bus and tram conductors about 90% of the normal pay of men and to guarantee them not more than 40 hours a week. In support of their proposals they submitted evidence purporting to show that the principle of equal pay for equal work is not generally accepted or applied. They contended also that owing to more frequent absences from work and a higher sick rate the employment of women is disadvantageous, and that in the wages of men their responsibilities towards their families are taken into account.

The spokesman of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, comrade Harold Clay, invalidated a number of the employers' arguments. Whilst recognizing the truth of some of the assertions, such as those maintaining that in some industries female labour is inferior to male labour and that certain municipal undertakings pay allowances to the families of called-up men, he did not accept them as justifying the payment of lower wages to women employed in passenger

transport services. He was particularly concerned to demonstrate that women completely do the work of the men they replace, work which under war-time conditions is often more arduous than in peace time. His demand was "the rate for the job, whoever does it."

The Court, in its award, made a formal concession to the employers and what may be considered a much more important concession of principle to the employees. It decided that during the first six months of employment women shall get a wage not less than 90%, but thereafter the full rate for men. Contrary to the proposals of the trade unions, the employment of women under the age of 21 will be allowed. Women may be employed as from the age of 18, but until attainment of the age of 21 they shall receive only 90% of the men's wage. The working week of women may amount to 40 hours instead of 48 provided that hours in excess of 40 are paid for at the overtime rate applicable to men.

An agreement of principle has already been reached between the employers and the Transport Workers' Union. The Court award is to be enforced uniformly for the whole country. The Union will in probability be able to make further progress towards equality between men and women as the award comes to be carried out. It has every reason to be proud of the substantial contribution it has made towards realization of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Employment of Women on British Railways

As Great Britain expands its land, sea and air forces, the railways are deprived of men which are often hard to replace because no men are available or because those who remain have no aptitude or inclination for railway work.

In peace time women are commonly employed in railway offices. Now the employment of women in the operating services has become a necessity, and the National Union of Railwaymen has already been considering what working conditions should be enjoyed by such labour. Following negotiations lasting some time an agreement has been arrived at whereby the union consents to the employment of women in certain occupations which are not too arduous. Women are to serve a probationary period of three months, during which their wage is 8% below the men's minimum rate for the same work. After the three months they are to receive the men's wage, namely 50s. in the London area, 48s. in industrial areas and 47s. in rural areas. Upon definite appointment for the duration of the war women will receive a cost of living allowance.

MEXICAN WORKERS MANAGE THE RAILWAYS

An Interesting Experiment

An Act adopted by the Congress of the Mexican Republic on 23rd April, 1938, inaugurated an experiment unique in the annals both of trade-unionism and railway operation—the handing over of a big railway undertaking to be managed by the workers in the industry. It enacted that the Mexican National Railways, an undertaking operating some 8,000 miles of railway lines, should be administered and operated as from 1st May, 1938, by the *Sindicato de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros de la República Mexicana* (Railway Workers' Union of the Mexican Republic).

It was a bold experiment, and it required courage on the part of the leaders of the Union to accept the job, as the Mexican National Railways had behind them a long history of mismanagement and failure which even Sir Henry Thornton—who had so successfully tackled a similar job in the case of the Canadian National Railways—had not succeeded in clearing up.

The conditions of transfer, as laid down in the Act, are interesting. It was stipulated that the management should be in the hands of a Board of seven members, appointed and removable by the Union, who would hold office for a period of two years, but would be re-eligible. This Board appoints the General Manager.

Certain safeguards are introduced. The express consent of a representative of the President of the Republic is required for the construction of new railway lines; for the removal or suspension of the operation of any existing ones; for the sale or mortgaging of railway property; for agreements to manage or purchase lines belonging to other railway undertakings, or to lease lines to such undertakings; and for the contracting of loans. It is further stipulated that the product of the sale of material withdrawn from service shall be used for further investment and improvements. Another important article provides that the railways shall be so managed that the operating ratio—the ratio of expenditure to revenue—shall not exceed 85%.

It is further laid down that at least 5.36% of gross revenue shall be spent on additions and improvements, and that a further percentage of gross revenue shall be paid annually to the Government, the rate being 5.64% when annual gross revenue exceeds \$125,000,000 (all figures are in Mexican dollars) and 3.64% if it falls below that sum. Any excess of revenue over expenditure still remaining will then be allotted in the following manner:

25% for further capital investment and improvements;

25% to the Government (provided, however, that this amount, added to the 5.64% above-

mentioned, shall not exceed a total of 8.96% of gross revenue);

25% to the railwaymen's benefit funds; and

25% to the Reserve Fund.

It is provided that gross revenue within the meaning of the Act shall be the gross takings less all expenditure on taxation and amounts collected for railway passenger insurance premiums.

The Government appoints two auditors to control financial operations and see that the terms of the Act are complied with.

Under the Lines of Communication Act the Management—like the previous one—is required to carry practically all classes of mails free of charge. No rebates or exemptions from railway rates and charges may be granted except those stipulated in the Lines of Communication Act or resulting from reciprocal agreements with other railway undertakings.

Transitional articles provided that the new Management should take over the heavy indebtedness of the old one for purchases of equipment; that the Government's share of gross revenue for the first year of operation by the new Management should not be paid during that year, but be distributed over succeeding years; and that the remaining debts left by the previous Management should be borne one half by the new Management and one half by the Government; the latter's half to be charged to its share in the gross revenue.

It should be mentioned that the Union took over the railways with a heavy burden of debt and very serious arrears of maintenance.

It would be pleasant to be able to report that the Railwaymen's Union had encountered no difficulties in pulling the railways out of the deplorable state in which they had been allowed to fall by the previous administration. In the interests of truth, however, it must be said that this has not been the case. During the first two years of labour operation the Board of Directors was twice changed, and recent reports indicate that difficulties have been encountered in meeting current commitments, apparently as a result of somewhat too optimistic financial management. Too much money seems to have been spent on capital additions and improvements, while a very large part of the inherited arrears of maintenance have been made up. The Management is also hampered by the fact that it has difficulty in obtaining credit, and has had to meet heavy opposition from capitalist circles.

There is reason to believe, however, that with increasing experience these difficulties will be overcome. Indeed, figures of results for the first eight months of 1939, published in the *Railway*

Age of 6th January, 1940, suggest that things are by no means going badly. Gross operating revenue increased to \$104,069,344 for the first eight months of 1939, as compared with \$96,841,159 for the same period of 1938; while operating expenses showed the relatively smaller increase from \$81,046,251 to \$85,187,621. As a result the operating ratio declined from 83.69% to 81.86%, which is well within the 85% maximum fixed by the terms of transfer, and full of promise for the future.

To the net earnings of \$17,473,714, for the eight months, must be added the sum of \$4,439,845 representing collectible accounts handed over by the previous administration, making a total of \$21,913,560, which has been allocated as follows: additions and improvements \$12,566,643; floating debt paid on account of the previous administration \$4,546,378; loans to the Interoceanic Railway \$4,067,029; leaving a balance of cash in hand of \$733,509. The expenditure on additions and improvements represented over 12% of the gross operating revenue, as against only 5.36% required by the terms of transfer. Herein lies the explanation of the difficulty in meeting current commitments to which reference has already been made.

It is interesting to note that the Workers' Administration was able, within four months of taking over, to raise shopmen's wages by amounts representing some \$2,500,000 a year. Partly as a result of this there has been an increase in repair costs, though the greater part of this is due to a rise in the cost of materials, as the following quotation from the *Railway Age* will show:

"During the twelve months ending with September, 1939, passenger car labour repairs increased from \$168.74 per car in 1938 to \$169.89 per car in 1939, and materials increased from \$121.83 per car to \$138.39 in 1939; on the other hand labour costs for maintenance decreased from \$20.84 to \$20.05 per 1,000 kilometres run, but materials increased from \$15.05 to \$16.34. Labour costs for repairing freight cars during the same period increased from \$20 to \$21.69, and the costs of materials increased in the same period from \$18.74 to \$24.18. Maintenance of such equipment decreased from \$15.39 to \$15.07 per 1,000 kilometres run as to labour, and increased from \$14.43 to \$16.81 as to materials. Labour costs for backshop locomotive repairs increased from \$176.58 to \$184.67 per 1,000 kilometres and materials increased from \$96.04 to \$122.47. Ordinary maintenance repair costs this year were \$141.47 as against \$138.67 last year for labour, and material costs rose from \$33.46 to \$34.33."

Altogether the Mexican railwaymen's union has no reason to be ashamed of its work, and the further results of this interesting experiment will be followed with keen interest by organized railwaymen throughout the world.

Swedish Railway Unions Amalgamate

The efforts to organize the Swedish railwaymen in trade unions first took root about 1890. The small clubs and societies which existed began to change their character. By 1899 the progress made was sufficient to make possible the foundation of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

Locomotivemen, though among them the corporate spirit is strongly developed, could not arrive at the formation of a trade union of their own, nor decide to organize themselves in the all-grades Union. Not until 1908, with the aid of such locomotive drivers and firemen as had joined the all-grades Union, was there founded a Swedish Locomotivemen's Union, which issued the slogan: all drivers and firemen in one union!

This object has been almost completely attained. No less than 85% of Swedish locomotive drivers and firemen are in the Union. The all-grades Railwaymen's Union, though it did not endeavour to organize locomotivemen, has always had at least 10% of them in its ranks.

As the trade union movement grew in strength in Sweden and came to play an increasingly important part in the life of the nation, the Locomotivemen's Union desired to tighten its relations with the rest of the workers' movement. But a serious obstacle prevented it joining the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions: the principle of organization by industry. The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions admits only one union per industry to membership, and the excellent relations existing between the Locomotivemen's Union and the Railwaymen's Union could not induce it to make an exception in favour of the Locomotivemen's Union.

Faced with the alternative of remaining outside the Federation of Trade Unions or merging with the Railwaymen's Union, the Locomotivemen's Union chose the latter. This decision was not reached rapidly nor without an amount of heart-searching. Some effort is required to give up over thirty years' of autonomy and tradition. After several years of consideration a gallot settled the question. Three out of every four of the 4,563 members of the Locomotivemen's Union voted in favour of amalgamation. Since June 1940, consequently, the amalgamation is an accomplished fact. The rules for the unified organization ensure that the locomotivemen's interests shall be as carefully looked after as in the past.

The Swedish Locomotivemen's Union has been affiliated to the I.T.F. ever since its reconstitution after the war of 1914-18, and has always co-operated actively in international work, and will continue to do so. It was a tower of strength also in the Inter-Scandinavian Federation of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. After the liberation of Norway and Denmark, the Swedish locomotivemen will no doubt seek to re-establish these ties of neighbourly friendship.

Chaotic transport conditions in France

Transport in France has suffered very heavy damage through war activities. Only one definite figure has been made known, that of the more than 700 railway and road bridges blown up, but it is known that there has been heavy destruction, throughout the very large area of military operations, of shunting yards, safety and signalling installations and equipment, and rolling stock. In many cases, when the French army was in retreat and unable to move away trains and locomotives, the French railwaymen themselves finished off what the German bombs had not succeeded in destroying.

The inventory of road transport material remaining has not yet been finished, but it is known that the destruction has been very serious. This also applies to the inland waterway system: barges, locks and aqueducts were frequent targets of enemy bombardment. The mercantile marine has, of course, suffered from the submarine warfare. Civil aviation is the branch of transport that has suffered relatively the fewest losses.

It appears, however, that the armistice has inflicted on French transport even heavier losses than the war itself. The army of occupation has literally plundered the railways. Locomotives have been carried off to Germany by the thousand. Stocks of rails and other metallic supplies are now being used as raw materials for Germany's war industries. Road transport has been reduced to a few scanty bus lines and some more or less regular provision for the carrying of food supplies. The country's large fleet of motor cars and lorries has been condemned, for lack of petrol, to almost complete immobility. For the same reason the barges are at a standstill along the banks of the canals. Except for the few steamers running between France and Northern Africa, French merchant shipping is completely stopped: there is no further sea communication between France and her colonies.

There is no longer any exchange of goods between the France of the Vichy Government and the occupied area. Even postal and passenger trains between the two territories are very infrequent and cannot run on the direct routes. They are very carefully searched by the occupation authorities.

When the German authorities permit the six million refugees to return to their homes in the occupied area something like 5,000 special trains will be required to carry them. Railway officials reckon that with the material now available the transfer will take several months to accomplish.

The transport workers in France are having a very bad time. The degree of unemployment among transport workers is very great. Many railwaymen and other transport workers are separated from their families by the frontier between occupied and unoccupied France.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE WAR

Barbarians!

We protest against the most inimical war ever imposed upon humanity. Austria, Poland, Holland, Belgium. . . . What a nightmare is evoked by the names of these peaceful and industrious peoples of Europe! Nations which, after centuries of independent existence and patient constructive work, have been crushed or wiped off the map of the world at an astonishing speed.

The invaders of Norway and Holland, to justify their unqualifiable act, say that these countries are being taken "under their protection" as was said by Ariovistus two thousand years ago already—because they desired that protection to avoid the enslavement which the French and British democracies were planning to force upon them. The good wishes of the free men of the world are with those who fight stoutly for their freedom, and who, in these times of totalitarianism, fight for the freedom of all. Barbarians! That is the name given by all noble spirits to the Nazi-Fascists who have used their greater strength to crush forcibly the weak whom they chose as their victims and whose crime was to have resisted their designs.

J. Giachero, in "*La Fraternidad*," journal of the Argentine Locomotivemen's Union, of 5 June, 1940.

The Debt to France

The twilight of Western civilization now falls on France. It was not courage nor love of country that failed in the last dark hours. Nor was it because the sons of France were unwilling to die for the country they so valiantly defended that military disaster overwhelmed the armies of the Republic. The soil of France is red with the blood of its defenders from the Belgian border to Cherbourg on the west coast, and to Lyon far inland. . . .

The surviving democracies will never be able to repay the debt of gratitude they owe to the heroic defenders who gave their lives in a vain effort to stem the tide of dictatorship and aggression.

"*The Railway Clerk*," *Cincinnati*, July, 1940.

Banners of Hope

Mourning crape shrouds the tricolour, and it is dark around the ideas of freedom. But over many a country and over all the seas float other flags, in which we all, also the querulous, place our hopes: the Union Jack and—behind it—the Stars and Stripes.

"*Signalen*," journal of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union, of 27 June, 1940.

No one can tell what may happen

Those of us in the United States hope and pray that the war will not reach our country, but no one can tell what may happen at any moment. The whole world is like a tinder box; one little spark might start the conflagration going at any moment. However that may be, all of us who love democracy are interested in seeing the Allies' cause won in this great struggle.

W. D. Mahon, International President Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, July, 1940.

No time for recrimination

The horrors of the European War must shock every humane person. When the war broke out, most of the people in the United States were confident that the might of England and France would, in due time, win the war for them. Many of our people thought more about the mistakes of the English and French governments than they did about the growing menace of Hitlerism.

To-day we in the United States realize our mistake, just as the people of the British Empire and of France recognize their failure to meet the situation that has confronted them since Hitler came into power. This is no time for recrimination on the part of the Allies or ourselves. A large majority of the people in the United States now support the President in his determination to lend every available material assistance to the British Empire, which now is standing alone in the battle against Hitlerism.

J. A. Phillips, *President Order of Railway Conductors of America, July, 1940.*

In the true interest of America's defence

We feel that all possible aid, short of our entry into war, should be extended to the Allies, not only because of our emotional sympathy with their cause, but in the true interests of our own national defence. If the Allies can still defeat their totalitarian aggressors, the threat to our safety automatically ends. If they can prolong their resistance, weaken the power of the dictators and keep the war in Europe, it will give us time to strengthen our defences and keep the war away from our shores.

William Green, *President American Federation of Labour, July 1940.*

The resolve of the British

Nothing Hitler has gained in his blitzkrieg of terror, treachery and armoured assault will remain as conquests in his hands unless he can in the next few weeks or months conquer Britain. Every measure he and his accomplice, Mussolini, took in the *Diktat* imposed on France to utilise its industrial resources, organization, and geographical position for intensified war on our own island reveals the fear that gnaws at the vitals of the two Dictators; that their Empires, the product of violence, cruelty and oppression, will be destroyed in the final stage of the struggle upon which we have entered. The resolve of the whole British people at home and beyond the seas to fight to the last breath in resistance to Hitlerism is strengthened by the fate that has befallen France.

"Labour," official organ of the Trades Union Congress, London, July 1940.

Hitler can get on with it

Hitler can get on with it. He had his answer before his peace overture was made. The unfolding purpose of the world of free men that Hitler's brutal arrogance has antagonised and that will destroy his insane delusion of omnipotence is becoming clearer. There are "methods short of war" which will become increasingly effective in the economic and political sphere as the British Commonwealth develops its

resources for active warfare on sea and land and in the air. Hitler's blitzkrieg methods may have one more trial in an attempt at invasion. Sea-power and air-power will decide that issue—and then comes the systematic and steady destruction of Hitler's military power and of the foundations upon which it rests in the slavish submission of his people, by a combination of military and economic pressure which the Nazi-Fascist regime, though it spreads over a still wider area of Europe, cannot for long withstand.

John Marchbank, *General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, 26 July 1940*

War and Peace aims

The workers of this country are putting everything into this great drive because they know what Nazi rule means in Germany and every other country now under the Swastika, and they are determined that Britain shall save herself and the rest of the world from the evil forces which seek to destroy all that makes life worth living. They know, too, that any "peace" dictated by Hitler would be a hideous mockery, and that there can be no hope of real peace until victory over Hitlerism is achieved.

But there is another reason why the workers of Britain are straining every nerve to win the war. They are inspired by a vision of a better Britain which must arise when the war is won. A leading article in *The Times* on July 1 put this vision into shape in words which could not be improved upon:

"If we speak of democracy, we do not mean a democracy which maintains the right to vote but forgets the right to work and the right to live. If we speak of freedom, we do not mean a rugged individualism which excludes social organization and economic planning. If we speak of equality, we do not mean a political equality nullified by social and economic privilege. If we speak of economic reconstruction, we think less of maximum production (though this too will be required) than of equitable distribution."

That is the basis of the New Social Order for which Labour stands. "These things must be" if Britain is to lead the world out of the present darkness into the light of true freedom.

*"Labour Press Service,"
London, 3 July, 1940.*

Defence Committee on American Railways.

With the approval of public opinion, the United States Government has decided to carry out with the utmost possible speed a comprehensive programme of military and naval rearmament. Just as in the belligerent democracies, labour leaders in America are equally if not more anxious than business leaders that the execution of this programme shall suffer no delay.

The Railway Labour Executives' Association and the Association of American Railroads held meetings to consider what steps should be taken to ensure the fullest possible participation by the railways in the fulfilment of the programme for rearming the United States against the external dangers. The two bodies agreed to appoint each a committee of four members "to co-operate in the disposition of the problems of mutual interest which may arise from the government's rearmament programme."