



ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

CROSSLAND FOSSE
BOX END
KEMPSTON
BEDFORD
England

Affiliated Unions in :

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

Relations with unions in :

CHILE
CUBA
ECUADOR
EGYPT
MEXICO

Other relations in :

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

The Managers—The New Ruling Class ?

DURING the last few years a theory has been put forward to which the labour movement would do well to give its serious attention. It is a theory that postulates social development in a direction other than that for which the labour movement—in so far as it is socialist—has hitherto been working. According to its exponents, the new society that will emerge from the present capitalist system will be not a socialist but a “managerial” one. A number of tendencies in the capitalist régime which are considered by socialists to be heading towards socialism, are interpreted by the new theory as pointing to a managerial society.

The supporters of the theory of the managerial revolution claim that the development towards a managerial society is being accomplished by means of a revolution which they call the managerial revolution. The theory can be summed up in the following manner. It is not the working class that will profit from the tendencies—ideological included—of capitalist development, but the group of managers who are playing an increasingly decisive part in modern, large-scale industry. It is the managers who will be the ruling class in the society that they will lead, a society freed from the already largely functionless owners of capital. A new class, the manager class, will come into power through a revolution in which the mass of the people, true to its historical tradition, will not itself win the victory.

There is no purpose to be served in criticising this theory here : we consider it more important to examine it so that the labour movement can draw from it lessons that will help it to something that is highly necessary—a greater consciousness of its task. Let us begin by acknowledging that the managerial theory has not been evolved out of nothing, but is duly based on social facts and events. For the greater part these facts are undeniable, as facts. The tendencies of development of capitalism deduced from these facts are broadly identical with those upon which socialist theory is based. The question, however, is whether there is any great likelihood that the development which the managerial theory presupposes will indeed take place.

The answer to this question depends on the changes which are taking place, or will take place in the near future, in social power relations. The measure of probability of the development anticipated by the theory will therefore be determined by the social activities of the particular groups that are in the most favourable position to exercise an influence on the future of society. It is here that the working class and its organizations come into the picture. If the labour movement should prove to be insufficiently conscious of the possible dangers lurking in the direction which social development might take, the likelihood that this development will tend towards a managerial society will, for this reason alone, be all the greater. Conversely, if the labour movement keeps its eyes open to these dangers, and acts accordingly, it will be the better

able to promote its own aims, that is to say, to further the coming of socialism.

The prospects opened up by the managerial theory are hardly likely to entice the labour movement. The supporters of the theory see in the development which is taking place the emergence of a new classification of social powers, which would mean the continued exploitation of the working class. They are themselves by no means enthusiastic as to the results of social development in this direction, and do not close their eyes to the mass misery it would bring with it. They give totalitarianism and world-war an even better chance in the new society than they already have under capitalism. But such expectations cannot be entertained unless it is assumed that the labour movement will prove unequal to the accomplishment of what socialists regard as its historic task. The exponents of the theory of the managerial revolution are, in this respect, quite outspoken. They do, indeed, expect that the labour movement will miscarry, and declare openly that the trade unions, in particular, cannot be regarded as anti-capitalistic institutions.

The development of power relations during the present world-war has been grist to the mill of the theory of the managerial revolution. It is a fact that the urgent necessities of the present war have brought about certain developments which provide the essential conditions necessary for the fulfilment of the managerial revolution. It is the State that harnesses capital and labour to war production, and places this production in the hands of the managers. It is under the direction of the State that the concentration of production in large-scale undertakings has made such tremendous advances. The exponents of the theory of the managerial revolution expect from these developments such an increase in the social power position of the managers that they will emerge as the ruling class. The managerial class will be even better able than the capitalist class to subordinate the State to their interests. They have, however, one thing in common with the capitalist class, and that is that their privileged position will also be based on the exploitation of the workers.

If this theory can be of any service to the labour movement it can only be as a very serious and timely warning. But to understand the warning, and then take it to heart, the movement will need to examine critically the social development of the last few years, upon which the theory is founded. If it fails to do so it will run the risk, in its ignorance, of enthusiastically welcoming, with false expectations, a new and extremely dangerous development of the organization and management of economic life. There are already serious signs of a state of mind which leads sections of the labour movement to harbour great expectations of these new developments; a state of mind which keeps it from doing what is still possible, and putting up a drive of its own along another line of development, that is to say the socialist line. In these circumstances the danger is by no means imaginary that a part of the labour movement may be already busy helping to pave the way for the coming of a managerial society which promises the mass of the workers further,

and probably still greater, misery than they suffer under capitalism.

We let the utterance which we quote below, and which clearly points in this direction, speak for itself. It serves as the justification, and our best excuse, for this somewhat "theoretical" article. The *Weekly News Service* of the American Federation of Labor recently published a leading article that asked the question: "After the War—What?" It contained, under the sub-heading "New Business Leadership," the following words: "Even though some of the rut-imprisoned industrial barons will try to continue business along the same old lines after the war, we look for a big change. Men like Henry J. Kaiser and Andrew J. Higgins will not be content to do things in the same old way. They will not be satisfied with small potatoes. The war has taught them to think in broad terms, to break the fetters of tradition, to seek out new methods and new industrial worlds to conquer. Instead of the Government having to show business the way, these leaders of industry will show Government the way out of our economic strait-jacket." To facilitate an understanding of the tendency welcomed in the last sentence, it may be pointed out once more that the supporters of the theory of the managerial revolution also foresee such a development. In our opinion this fact lends additional emphasis to the necessity of the warning the grounds for which we have indicated above.

In the light of what this new theory has to tell us, we conclude that either the labour movement has a socialist task to fulfil, and will fulfil it—especially in these critical times—with the utmost devotion, or it is predestined to lend its aid to the perpetuation of the exploitation of the working class.

THE LONDON "ECONOMIST" ON THE MANAGERIAL TRACK ?

... Labour and Conservative have lost their footholds in public opinion, and only established partisans and the respective vested interests of labour and capital remain loyal. It is symptomatic of the soundness of ordinary common sense that so many people realise that the present parties have missed the tide of events. Neither in their leadership nor in their programmes are they representative of the real issues of the times.

The Economist, 25th April, 1942.

THE END OF THE ROLLS ROYCE ?

New York, January 13th "Labor" special correspondence. An automobile 50 per cent lighter and cheaper than present cars, capable of travelling fifty miles on a gallon of gas, was a post-war prospect held out by Henry J. Kaiser, West Coast shipbuilder.

If established manufacturers do not produce the car, he will, Kaiser said. He also forecast the production of a vast number of civilian planes and home construction on a large scale.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ON TRIAL

The international organizations of the trade union movement are based on the conviction that in the ultimate analysis the moral and material interests of all workers are identical, and call for the unity of and concerted action by all trade unions throughout the world. If the war should put an end to the feeling of solidarity, and the will to world-wide unity, in any considerable part of the trade union movement, it would destroy the chief *raison d'être* of the international trade union organizations. It is the desire to bring about the unity of the working-class forces on a universal scale which makes the rôle of these organizations so important, and even essential, in spite of the fact that unity of action on a world-wide scale is still far off. On the other hand, any "international" organizations that should become the instruments of national, multinational or racialist groups not inspired by this desire would necessarily be playing a morally reprehensible and objectively reactionary part. The division of the labour forces into groups of this kind would produce the same results as splitting of any kind: the workers would reciprocally undermine each others' position, would ally themselves with their class enemies against other workers, would fight and weaken one another, and thus, without wishing it, would help their common exploiters to maintain and consolidate the régime of exploitation. If the destruction of the will to universal unity should be one of the results of the war, it is the exploiters of the world's labour who would be the victors, and the workers in all capitalist countries—even those which win the war—the vanquished.

The second world-war has put the world's trade union movement to a harder test than the first one. At the time of the first world-war the workers on both sides of the firing line were organized. The Executive Committee of the German Transport Workers' Federation, for instance, was able to meet in 1914 and reprimand Paul Müller, the editor of its journal, for having written that he rejoiced at the capture of Antwerp by the Kaiser's troops, and hoped that the German flag would fly there for ever; and was able to place Müller under the supervision of its President, Johann Döring, for the duration of the war, to make sure that no further jingoist propaganda should sully the pages of the journal. And representatives of the trade unions of the different countries of Central Europe were able to meet in 1917, in a neutral country, and telegraph to the workers' organizations of the Allied countries expressing a desire to see the reconstitution of the labour unity that had been broken up by the war, and to hasten the ending of hostilities by the concerted action of the trade union movements of the world.

During the first world-war the political and social régimes in the two belligerent camps were essentially the same. It is otherwise in the present war: in one camp the régimes are totalitarian; in the other, democratic in differing degrees. The war is also being fought out under completely different psychological, moral, economic and technological conditions. A further important factor is the existence, this time, integrated into the war economy of the Axis, of the enormous mass of the populations of

the vassal and occupied countries. The trade union movement has been destroyed completely in the Axis countries, and only exists underground in those which have been occupied. Everywhere active trade-unionists are hunted down—here by the Gestapo, there by the Gestapo and the quislings. The trade union movement in the democratic camp cannot, therefore, determine its action during the present war purely and simply by applying the lessons learned during the last one. Still less is it justified in judging the present attitude of the workers in the Axis countries in the light of what happened during the last war. In both judgment and action due allowances must be made for the totalitarian character of the present war, its origins and the circumstances leading up to it.

In taking sides in this war, the international trade union movement has been faithful to the highest principles of its moral and political creed. It has sided with freedom against imperialism, with equality against racialism, with brotherhood against nationalism. The organized workers of the world are defending this cause arms and tools in hand; without haggling over the cost either in blood or sweat; with the energy born of indignation against those who have hatched an ignoble plot against civilization. And their anger is driven to a paroxysm by the barbarity of the war-making methods employed by the Axis governments, and the atrocities their troops have committed in the territories they have occupied in Europe and Asia, atrocities the very mention of which makes one shudder.

But anger is a bad counsellor. Anger makes men confound criminals with their tools. Because the soldiers and air and submarine crews which do the barbarous work are, necessarily, drawn in large numbers from the working and peasant classes of the Axis countries; because the war industry which supplies the Axis armies is run with the help of the industrial and agricultural workers of these countries; they are inclined to treat the whole of the Axis peoples as active and willing accomplices of their criminal masters. From that to the repudiation of all feelings of solidarity, and of all idea of eventual reassociation with any group whatsoever of citizens of the Axis countries, it is but a step. But a trade-unionist cannot take that step without denying the internationalist ideal, and without doing grievous harm to the cause he is supposed to be defending.

In all countries of the world the members of the land, sea and air forces have been drilled to the point at which the very urge to live, the most elementary-manifestation of the will, no longer counts for anything. When orders are given they will march to certain death, in the very flower of their age. They can refuse nothing, absolutely nothing, without running the risk of being executed, often on the spot. To what depths military discipline can lead was illustrated in Austria in 1934—to quote only a single instance—by the battle for the Karl Marx Hof and other blocks of workers' flats, and the summary hanging of seriously wounded "rebels" taken prisoners in the course of the fighting. And now one reads, in the intro-

duction to the third Molotov note on German atrocities, that these atrocities are carried out in accordance with plans of the German Government, and in accordance with orders of the German Command.

The industrial and agricultural workers behind the line in the Axis countries are in a position very similar to that of the soldiers. A person living in one of the democratic countries may find it a little difficult to imagine this, but a consideration of the fate of the workers in the occupied territories carries conviction. These latter can certainly not be suspected of being active and willing accomplices of their Nazi-Fascist oppressors. The Nazi machinery of enslavement is so inhumanly efficient that a number of workers deported from the occupied territories, variously estimated at between four and seven million, are at present working in Germany for the war machine which serves to oppress their own countries. And those who remain at home do not escape the same fate.

And if this comparison is not convincing enough, just think of Spain. Unlike the German workers, the Spaniards fought against fascism, rifle in hand, for two years and a half, until only a few months before the present war started. They were defeated by Hitler and Mussolini, with the complicity of the very democratic powers for whom they fought the first pitched battles of the second world-war. Their fate proves that where the means are available it is possible to make the most heroically anti-fascist workers slaves of the nazi-fascist war machine. And the fascist dictators have never shrunk from using any means to achieve their purpose. The first countries that fell before their onslaught were Italy, Germany and Japan, and first casualties in the Axis war, long before the official opening of hostilities, the trade unions in the Axis countries, and those countries the Axis conquered prior to 1st September, 1939. International compromise with fascism—though not in every case so manifest as at Munich—has been a contributory cause to all these defeats of the trade union movement. The first nazi-fascist atrocities were committed against the persons and families of working-class leaders in the Axis countries. Matteotti and Huseman are only two illustrious names among thousands.

It is true that, included in the very large number of war criminals, there are many sons of industrial and agricultural workers in the Axis countries. Was not Hitler himself a house-painter? There are even war criminals who have come out of the ranks of our own movement. Mussolini was editor of *Avanti* at a time when that paper ranked among the most important socialist newspapers in the world. When the time comes for judgment and punishment we have every reason to be doubly severe with the war criminals, and quislings, who once belonged to the labour movement.

The workers in the Axis countries made, during the period when they were free to organize as they pleased, many tactical and strategic mistakes that have proved fatal to themselves and the world. There are, no doubt, among them some whom defeat has convinced that international working-class solidarity is a false god. The defeat of their new god will make them change their opinion once more. There are others whom defeat has

only strengthened in their old convictions. They are awaiting the hour of revenge upon their oppressors. They are waiting until the war has weakened the machine of oppression to such a point that they can defy it with some chance of success. Are they numerous enough to succeed?

Whatever their number may be, however small, the international trade union movement, in virtue of its principles and the interests of the workers of the world, has an obligation of solidarity towards them. These prisoners plotting revolt will need, if they are to overthrow their gaolers, to find reinforcements among those who have never known freedom. After decades of fascist domination this is indispensable. In so far as it has the possibility and the means at its disposal the international trade union movement should lend its aid to facilitate this recruitment. It should disseminate in the Axis countries, and others, the idea of international working-class solidarity. It should call upon the workers of all countries to remain united morally, pending the time when they will be able to unite physically to repair jointly the damage caused by the cataclysm they have jointly suffered; to rebuild the world on socialist foundations and thus bring about a real and lasting peace.

P. T.

ASIA ALIENATED

The peoples of Asia are further from us to-day than they ever have been. They are coming to believe that for them our victory over the Axis will have nothing to do with freedom and equality.

One hears everywhere of plans for a reconstructed Europe, of plans for feeding Europe's hungry millions, of health measures for Europe's sick and wounded. But who hears anywhere of feeding India's hungry millions, hungry not only in the brief years of this war but always hungry?

The war has been limited. It is now not even a war to save civilisation. It is only a war to save European civilization.

We of the West never seem able to realize that in the East there are civilizations far older and as great if not greater than Europe's civilization. Shall those not be saved?

All of Asia now knows and acknowledges, and so must we if we are honest, that the principles of human equality and human freedom may have nothing to do with our victory.

When we talk of saving only Europe we save a partial thing, a secondary thing. The civilization of Europe has never been integrated, ordered civilization. Because of this Europe has been the breeding place of wars, and will continue to be.

The roots of human civilization are in Asia, not in Europe. It is in Asia that people have learned the ways of living together that bring peace and not continual war. It is in Asia that people believe in and practice the laws of individual and collective freedom upon which alone peace can be built.

PEARL S. BUCK.

AIMS OF THE UNITED TRADE UNIONS

(With acknowledgments and apologies to Mr. Sumner Welles)

"The United States Under-Secretary of State stated on 26th February that the United States intends at once to undertake discussions with other members of the United Nations to decide on the most practical and effective methods for studying divergent views and policies in the international economic field, with a view to finding 'common denominators.' Such studies, said Mr. Welles, were already overdue."

"The Times," 27th February, 1943

We invite our readers to read this statement once again, and in doing so to forget who is making it and to substitute the words "the British T.U.C." for the words "the United States," and "trade unions" for "members."

Mr. Sumner Welles has spoken on the "Aims of the United Nations." We have adopted the title of his speech but substituted "Trade Unions" for "Nations." Further, we have adopted the text of his speech as reported in *The Times* of 27th February, 1943, and have taken the liberty of changing the words "peoples, Canada, U.S.A., countries, nations, governments," etc., into "trade union movements, British and American Trade Unions, movements, workers, trade unions," etc. Our changes and additions are printed in italics; omissions are indicated by points.

In dealing in this way with this particular speech, one of many made by a number of United Nations' statesmen, we pursue a definite purpose, i.e. to direct attention to a task of our own, the tackling of which is "already overdue."

We give below the altered text of the speech:

"To-day the trade union movements are fighting side by side to defend their liberties and to bring to utter defeat the band of dictators who have dared to think they could extinguish the light of democracy in the modern world. The British and the American trade unions have had very similar problems in this war. The two movements have expressed the intention to do something concrete about a declaration of aims by discussing soon with the trade union movements of other United Nations how the two, and other like-minded movements, can agree upon a programme to carry out these aims.

"I am not so bold as to venture a prediction as to the details of such a programme. However, I am confident that we can march together with other forward-looking movements along the road to a fruitful and secure post-war world, provided the workers . . . support their trade unions with understanding and determination in their efforts to do everything within their power to achieve these great objectives.

Freedom from Want

"There is no disagreement anywhere as to what the trade unions want. They want full employment for their members at good wages and under good working conditions, and the other physical and institutional arrangements that add up to freedom from want.

"I believe that, if the trade union movements were to set up machinery for the purpose of assembling and studying all international aspects of problems under the general heading of freedom from want, the controversies and conflicts of policy which have so long embittered

relations in the international economic field—and therefore generally—might largely disappear.

"If the study did no more than prevent the crystallization in one country or group of countries of ideas which are objectionable from the view-point of others it would serve a highly useful purpose.

"It is, however, my hope and belief that a trade union movement undertaking such as I have suggested would be able to formulate plans and recommendations of a constructive sort to find, so to speak, common denominators which would be advantageous to all.

"I believe that the initiation of such studies is already overdue. If we do not make a start now there is danger that we shall be brought together to make the peace with as many plans as there are movements. The day of complete victory cannot come too soon.

Discussions at once.

"I am glad to say that the T.U.C. intend at once to undertake discussions with other trade union movements of the United Nations as to the most practical and effective methods through which these vitally necessary conferences and consultations between us all can be held.

"What the workers of the United Kingdom are striving for, I am persuaded, is exactly what the workers of the United States are striving for. They seek the attainment of the noble objectives set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

"There is no working class which will not benefit more by peace than by war. Never again can humanity permit dictator demagogues once more to proclaim the alleged virile glories of war, or the cruel falsehood that there exists a master race.

"We hear much of the age-old rivalries which have persisted in Europe and in other quarters of the globe. But I think that . . . the Americas can say that, if twenty-two independent Democracies such as those which occupy North, Central, and South America—of different races, of different languages and of different origins—can achieve the measure of progress which we now have achieved towards a peaceful and humane relationship, and towards profitable economic co-operation, that same form of relationship can be achieved by the trade unions of the world.

"We cannot permit, this time, that the supreme sacrifice which our sons and our brothers are making shall be in vain. Only through our combined efforts can we make certain that the victory which we shall win in battle can become in fact the victory of peace."

The dogmas of a quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise to the occasion. As our situation is new we must think, even and not now; we must disenthral ourselves.

—Abraham Lincoln.

TRANSPORTATION WORKERS OF THE U.S.A. 'IN WAR-TIME

BY OTTO S. BEYER

Director, Division of Transport Personnel, Office of Defense Transportation

Transportation occupies a peculiar place in the American scheme of things, because, for years, it has been taken for granted—something accepted as a matter of course. And all this time transportation has been helping to elevate the American standard of life to the highest in the world, by being almost as much a part of us as the air we breathe in.

Now we are at war, and transportation, we are discovering, is something like the well that you never miss until it goes dry. To-day there must be some sacrifice in the civilian services of transportation because of the demands of war service.

War production is not something that begins and ends in a factory. War production begins at the mine, or in the field or forest. War production is made possible by an assembly line of transportation hundreds and thousands of miles long, crossing and criss-crossing in every direction. This assembly line first gathers materials from near and far, and then distributes them as finished products over all the world.

The assembly line of transportation is unlike the assembly line in a factory. If the assembly line in a factory breaks down, only that factory stops production. But if the assembly line of transportation were to break down, every factory dependent upon it would be forced to close.

It follows from all this that the transportation workers are directly engaged in war industry. Their services are essential to the war effort. They are moving the personnel, the raw materials, and the finished products of war. They are war workers on the home front, just as much as though they were manufacturing tanks and guns

and ships and airplanes.

In the past six and a half months the railroads of the U.S.A. have moved six and a half million members of the armed forces. And in the months to come, the Association of American Railroads reports, the railroads expect to transport men in uniform at the rate of one million every month. That's just what one part of the transportation industry, the railroads, are doing in moving personnel alone, without considering the enormous movements of supplies and equipment.

The transportation system of this country, taking into consideration the railroads, motor vehicles, ships, airplanes and pipe lines, requires an army of nearly two and three-quarter million men and women on the job every day. When we add private transportation, such as delivery service and the maintenance men in the garages and filling stations, that army might be more than doubled.

On the home front and on the battlefield transportation men and women are doing their job. They know how heavy is their responsibility in a war that depends so much on wheels and engines of transportation, whether these are transporting the goods or carrying destruction directly to the enemy. Transportation workers are united in the determination to stay on their jobs, on the fighting front and on the home front, until the war machine of the Nazi and the Jap is totally and finally destroyed.

Through their labour organizations they have pledged no strikes for the duration, and with few and relatively minor exceptions, they have kept their word. They have increased their hours on duty as the demands for man-

HALT THE MASSACRES

AN APPEAL TO THE GERMAN WORKER

BY DAVID DUBINSKY, *President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, U.S.A.*

Hitler has converted all Poland into a slaughter house. All civilized humanity has been stunned within the past few weeks by the horrible account of the murder of two millions of Jews by the Nazis in Poland, the Ukraine and in Lithuania.

The gruesome details of these mass murders freeze the heart and inflame the mind. The henchmen of Hitler have killed thousands of defenceless Jewish men, women and children in gas chambers; they have buried them alive in graves dug under Nazi machine guns by the victims themselves; they have massacred entire Jewish towns and settlements.

Even more terrifying is the information that five million more Jews in Europe are marked for destruction by Hitler. The conscience of the world and of America is appalled by this tragedy. Our President, two days ago, uttered a word of warning and of retribution to the Nazi murderers and joined his voice to the voice of the United Nations in an effort to save the millions of innocent Jewish people from the Nazi hangmen.

I shall not dwell on the frightful instances which are familiar from press accounts. I shall not even speak of the city where I was raised, the big city of Lodz, where tens of thousands of our sisters and brothers were slaughtered by the Hitler madmen in a bestial orgy.

But I shall mention only one fact, one page of horror in this book of woe. I have in mind the wholesale slaughter in the Medan Sanatorium for Tubercular Children on the outskirts of Warsaw. I have in mind the heroism of its teachers who preferred to die with their children rather than save their own lives.

I knew the Medan Sanatorium. The I.L.G.W.U. (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union) here in America helped to build it. Our members, Jews and non-Jews alike, before the war, supported groups of children of Polish garment workers in the Medan Sanatorium. And when the tragic news reached me that the Nazi assassins had broken into that Sanatorium to slay the ailing Jewish children inmates, I felt that no punishment is too great, no revenge too severe to meet this act of

power have increased. Railroad workers in particular are in the forefront of a programme for further increases in working hours in order to meet manpower shortages. Many of them are co-operating with their employers to find ways of doing their jobs with greater efficiency and less waste. They are co-operating with the Office of Defense Transportation in making effective the orders which have been issued by that office to conserve rubber and equipment and to increase transport capacity.

Like other industries engaged in essential war-time activities, the transportation industry has a problem of keeping sufficient men and women on the job in the face of growing manpower shortages. This means employing women in the many occupations in which they have been proved suitable. It also means employing them in a great many transportation occupations in which they may be strangers as yet, but in which they are going to prove that they can carry on just as well as men. It means employing older workers; some transportation companies have already boosted their hiring age limits to sixty and over. It means employing handicapped workers wherever they can be utilized. It means increased use of the placement facilities of the United States Employment Service. It means a greatly expanded programme of training. It means plans for job breakdowns that will permit utilizing less-skilled employees, and a system of up-grading the well-advanced workers in accordance with the high-speed tempo that war makes necessary and that human ingenuity and planning make possible. It means allocating men under the Selective Service Act as between the transportation industry and the armed forces, so that all can give their best to the prosecution of the war. It means subordinating private and peace-time self-interest to the co-operative give-and-take that, at one and the same time, is required by war and freely offered by every patriotic citizen.

These new workers will be required not merely for replacements. They are required for an expanding industry. Railroad employment is at the highest level in more than a decade and, if equipment permits, may increase next year a hundred thousand more. Cargo carrying by air will more than double the number of airline employees in the next twelve months. With ship-building up and submarine sinkings down, maritime employment will steadily increase. City transportation systems must enlarge their employee forces to meet the demands for transportation caused by gasoline rationing. Both equipment and manpower will be strained to the utmost to meet the need.

Transportation is still a hazardous game for many of its workers. Thousands have given life and limb in the ordinary pursuit of their daily jobs. The dangers of many transportation pursuits and the skill required to cope with them in rain and fog, in storm and snow, by day and by night, will not abate as the war burden grows on our far-flung systems of transportation.

When the last name has been entered on the roll of heroes of this war, I am sure that roll will include many transportation men and women: The engineer, piloting a hospital train in the face of artillery fire and low-level bombing. The truck driver picking his way over a shell-torn road with a precious cargo of gasoline. The air pilot spanning an ocean and dodging an air attack to land a cargo of machine-gun parts at a port in Africa. The seaman, who in spite of or perhaps because of the loss of his previous ship, is more eager than ever to get off the beach and sail again. The woman who has taken a man's place at the telegraph key or behind the bus driver's wheel. All of these and many more will have a place in the lists of those worthy of citation for exacting service rendered during trying times. *From an address delivered over the Mutual Broadcasting System.*

Nazi criminality.

In recent months, Hitler has begun to sense his end approaching. He has watched the growth of power of the United Nations, especially of our own United States.

Hitler is now avenging his defeats by the wholesale destruction of innocent men and women who cannot defend themselves against his armed gangsters.

Let us in the name of the American workers sound a warning to the mad Nazi rulers: Halt the massacre of innocent people! The world will hold you to a merciless accounting.

And to the workers of Nazi Germany I want to say the following: "You, enslaved and deluded men and women who are supplying the Nazi military machine with its tools and weapons of murder! For many years we American workers were your comrades in labour. For generations American and German workers used to exchange greetings and delegates at conventions—for years we regarded each other as comrades in the same cause. In the name of the hundreds of thousands of workers who belong to my organization and, I have a right to say, in the name of the millions of organized workers in our free land, I call upon you: Open your

eyes to your unhappy situation. The Nazis have placed the stamp of murder upon your country and upon yourselves. The massacres and pogroms which your Nazi masters have inflicted upon the nations of Europe have left a bloody stain upon your country. It is your great and immediate duty to cast off this band of assassins.

"We know that you are fettered and bound by the Nazi machine and we know, too, that the fight against the Nazis is hard and bitter—that this struggle demands untold sacrifices. We who are engaged in this struggle against the Nazi monster, we the workers and the peoples of the fighting democracies are paying with blood and tears in this world-wide fight for liberation. Your silence, German workers, may well stamp you forever as accomplices in the horrible crimes of the Nazis. You, German workers, must not depend solely upon others to liberate you. You, yourselves, must help in this struggle. When the hour of reckoning will come, the workers of the world and all humanity may hold you no less responsible for the Nazi crimes than the Nazis themselves unless by your courage and by your resistance you will prove to the world that the Nazi murderers are not speaking and acting in your name."

THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT CRISIS

II.

In the occupied countries of Western Europe the position of the railways is largely influenced by the German transport difficulties. In France the rolling stock, which amounted at the outbreak of war to 420,000 wagons and 17,000 locomotives, has been brought down, latterly, to less than half these figures, chiefly as the result—apart from war losses and requisitioning by the occupying power—of the increased wear and tear and the shortage of lubricants. The inadequate supply of fuel also a source of very great difficulties for railway operation, showing itself, for example, in the considerably reduced speed of the trains. The average speed of express trains on the fifty best runs, which was 102.4 kilometres an hour in the summer of 1939, had declined to 70.8 kilometres an hour in August, 1940, though it later improved slightly, reaching 78.2 kilometres an hour in January, 1942. The position of the railways in Belgium is not much different. At the end of 1941 they had over 98,000 goods wagons, of which, however, over 27,000 were engaged in international traffic. In the meantime the number of wagons withdrawn from the control of the Belgian railways has probably risen still further. In 1941 the number of passenger trains running in Belgium, including military trains, was only 40 per cent of the figure for 1938, though goods traffic reached something like 70 per cent of the 1938 volume. At the end of 1941 the number of trains had to be further reduced on account of the coal shortage, and for other reasons also. In the other occupied territories similar conditions prevail.

The position of the railways in practically all belligerent countries, but especially on the European continent, has also suffered deterioration in that they have had to take over practically all the traffic that was formerly carried by road in motor vehicles. Civilian motor traffic on the European continent has suffered a catastrophic decline, as available supplies of fuel and rubber are being used almost exclusively for military purposes. Exact figures have only been published for a few countries, but they are no doubt representative of the position in Western and Central Europe as a whole. In Belgium, for instance, which had at the outbreak of war over 305,000 motor vehicles, only 41,625 were still in use on 1st April, 1942. Of these 9,192, as compared with 154,765, were passenger vehicles, 29,148, as against 84,629, goods vehicles, and 3,285, as against 67,016, motor-cycles. The quantity of motor fuel available in Belgium for civilian purposes is estimated at about 10 per cent of the pre-war consumption. The situation is similar in France, where the power potential of the available motor fuel, including substitute fuels (charcoal and firewood for gas producers, etc.) is something like 15 per cent of the pre-war consumption. In the circumstances only the most indispensable motor services can be maintained. The greater part of the vehicles that have remained in use have had to be converted for propulsion by producer gas or other substitute fuels, and this substantially reduces the performance of the engines. As the war draws on wear and tear of vehicles (engines, tyres, etc.) comes more promi-

ently into play, while on account of shortage of raw materials replacements must mostly be done without, and only the most necessary repairs can be carried out; all of which further diminishes the performance of the vehicles still kept in use. In some countries, for instance, the few remaining motor-buses move at a pace that reminds one of the old coaching days. They are also generally overloaded to an extent that would have been inconceivable before the war.

In many countries an endeavour has been made to ease the transport difficulties by making greater use of the canals, and in a few cases it has been partially successful. On the English canals, for instance, there has been a considerable increase of goods traffic. In Germany the turn-round in the inland ports in 1941 was 25 million tons more than the previous year, an increase of about 20 per cent. In the occupied countries of Western Europe these endeavours have been less successful, as there has been great difficulty, owing to the shortage of materials, in restoring the locks and dams which were partially destroyed during the military operations. Frequently, also, there is a shortage of barges and fuel. No particulars of any kind are available as to the effects of the air attacks directed, during the last few months, against the transport system (railways, inland ports, canals, etc.) in Germany and the occupied territories.

The international transport system exhibits, therefore, a somewhat sombre picture of general decline, which finds expression both in a diminution of capacity and technical retrogression. The decline seems particularly severe if one not only compares the present situation with that existing before the war, but also takes into consideration the possibilities of development which, in consequence of the war, must remain unused in all branches of transport, but more especially in the case of civil aviation. Technological progress has not ceased. It still goes on, partly in the service of the war machine and partly in the quiet of laboratories and research institutions. But the results will only be fully taken advantage of after the war is over, when transport and transport technology may be expected to advance by leaps and bounds. The preparatory work is already being done in many countries. In Germany plans are being worked out for great European motor roads and speedways. In the United States of America great hopes are being entertained with regard to the future of civil aviation. In Great Britain the chief railway companies have set up a joint committee for research into post-war problems, and have jointly taken over the world-famous Cook's travel agency, with a view to placing their post-war business on the broadest possible basis. These few examples point the direction in which the development which has been interrupted by the war seems likely to go when it is resumed. There is every probability, therefore, that when the war is over there will be, as a result of improvements in the means of transport, further important advances towards the conquest of space, which will no doubt leave their mark on the economic reconstruction of the world.

THE SUBMARINE FREIGHTER

By K. K. DOBERER

"Porpoise Carrier Service" is the meaning of the three letters P.C.S., on the blue and red flag of the British submarine *Porpoise*. The white bars on the flag do not represent enemy ships sunk, as in the case of her fighting sisters, but so many successful trips, to the island forward base of Malta, with cargoes of aviation spirit and munitions of war.

"Freighting is one of those activities of the submarine branch which until now have not been made known to the public," says Lieutenant Bennington, the Commanding Officer of the *Porpoise*. But what has been published of his exploits will once again throw the limelight on the question of submarine merchant traffic.

There are two different ways in which one hundred per cent security from U-boat attack can be given to overseas cargoes. One is to send them in "flying ships," the cargo-carrying air liners of Mr. Henry J. Kaiser. The other is to follow the U-boat down under the sea, into a medium in which it has not yet been equipped to fight.

Cargo submarine of 7,500 tons. Senator Lee claims that the U.S. Army and Navy view sympathetically the idea of building cargo submarines; and Simon Lake, master builder of submarines, states that submarine freighters could be built in six months. A complete set of plans for a cargo submarine of 7,500 tons was prepared as long ago as 1939, at a time when it was Germany who wanted such vessels from the United States. A declaration by Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in December, 1939, put an end to the idea.

Germany believes in cargo submarines, and successfully used one, the *Deutschland*, to break the Allied blockade in the last world war. This submarine was built in Kiel in six months. It was a vessel of 2,000 tons, and was commanded by a merchant navy captain.

Profitable even in peace-time. There is one route on which cargo submarines might be run profitably even in peace-time, a route which is to-day one of the life-lines of Allied world strategy—the route through the Arctic Ocean. The distance from Liverpool to Yokohama by the western route, through the Panama Canal is 12,300 miles, and by the eastern route, through the Suez Canal, 11,200 miles; but by the northern route, through the Arctic, it is only 6,800 miles. The suggestion has already been made in peace-time that the 1,900 miles of Arctic sea should be traversed under the ice, in submarine freighters of about 10,000 tons.

The Arctic Ocean, especially in summer, is covered with a net of open water lanes, so that freighter submarines would only have to keep submerged for distances of sixty miles or so. In war-time this would make it possible to supply Russia by direct routes from both the east and west coasts of the United States, without any warship protection or convoy system. It would also enable fuller use to be made of the new Alaska highway.

Provisioning island base outposts. In 1937, plans for submarine freighters were prepared in Russia. They were planned for extreme range of operation, with

equipment for blowing up the ice from underneath whenever necessary. In its emergency armament programme, however, Russia had to give priority to tanks and guns, but the proposals might now be practicable within the frame of U.S. Lease-Lend transport.

The provisioning of Malta by submarine freighters suggests other strategical possibilities of such vessels. Here is a safe way, for instance, to supply new advanced island bases in the Pacific. But this might only be the beginning. Submarine freighters may look very expensive in comparison with the ordinary tramp steamer, or the new utility ship, but in the case of high-value commodities the one hundred per cent security might make them pay in the long run, and even in one trip with certain precious materials.

Manning the cargo submarine. There are big differences, in many ways, between the crew of a regular fighting submarine of the Royal Navy and that of a submarine freighter. The most obvious is the number of men. A modern fighting submarine of 2,000 tons needs a crew of sixty to seventy men, whereas a submarine freighter of the same displacement would not need half that number: it can do very well with about thirty.

This difference is even more marked with increasing displacement. A fighting submarine of 10,000 tons would need several times the number of men manning the ordinary big submarine of to-day, but a cargo submarine of that size could be worked with a crew of forty to sixty.

These figures alone show how uneconomic it is when fighting submarines are used for carrier services, but the submarine freighter also saves manpower in another way, as it takes less than half the time to train the crew of such a vessel as it does for that of a fighting submarine. The skilled personnel of a merchant steamer can be trained for submarine freighter service in six months; this applying not only to the engineers, but also to the captain. The chief essential is to choose a captain who knows thoroughly, from personal experience, the waters in which the submarine will have to operate. All men selected for the submarine merchant trade would need to be in good health and physically fit, but the same high standard would not be required as for the fighting service, so that men would not have to be drawn from the fighting forces.

Safety for cargo means safety for crew. Service on a cargo submarine is hard, but there does not seem to be too much difference between serving on a small tramp steamer and on a big submarine. Under war conditions, of course, there is one aspect of the matter that makes all the difference. To-day, service on a merchant steamer means front-line service. Merchant ships, whether in convoy or otherwise, are apt to be attacked at any moment by the enemy: there is at all times the lurking danger of aerial or submarine attack, the threat of bomb or torpedo. This imposes a heavy psychological strain on the crews of surface vessels and, in comparison, men

in submarine merchantmen would have a peace-time job. The crew would have a hard enough fight against the elements, against heat and cold, storm and ice, but the war-time enemy becomes more or less remote. The only danger might be from enemy aircraft, but at the time when submarine freighters are likely to be used the enemy is unlikely to have command of the air at more than a few selected spots, which can be safely passed under the surface. The safety for the cargo which the submarine merchant fleet would provide would also bring safety for the crew.

Conditions on submarine freighters. In stressing the greater degree of safety on submarine freighters we do not want to give the impression that the crew would have in any way an easier job—the job would be hard enough. Detailed reports are available from the crew and officers of the first cargo-carrying submarine that crossed the Atlantic under war-time conditions. Their experience shows that the most trying feature is likely to be not so much the under-water stages in the icy Arctic as the crossing of the Atlantic in stormy weather on the surface. In a heavy gale a surface ship works with its changing displacement, producing an elastic motion, but this is not the case with a merchant submarine, which has its bulk always under water. Heavy seas produce hard rocking movements, and many an old sailor will get seasick for the first time in his life. And there is a stickiness of the air that also plays its part.

The Gulf Stream Hell. The Gulf Stream Hell they called it when the first merchant submarine had to cross

this part of the Atlantic in a heavy gale. Under these conditions there is not much difference between travelling on the surface and submerged. All port-holes have to be closed, and the ventilators provide just enough air to supply the diesel engines: heat and evaporated oil is about all the crew have to breathe. Little by little the whole ship grows damp, and everything gets mouldy. When the outside temperature is 82 degrees it slowly amounts inside to 127. Nobody can sleep in this atmosphere, and everyone is glad to go on duty again. There is not a moment of real rest. Navigation is extremely difficult under these conditions. As a great deal of the dampness inside the submarine comes in through the open tower, it might be advisable to enclose this with glass in merchant submarines.

Most of the trying conditions in merchant submarines can be avoided if they are built large enough, so that devices can be used that are impracticable in smaller boats. In such vessels the oxygen supply can be much more generous, making it possible to rest the crew thoroughly as, if the sea is not too deep, the vessel can go to ground and rest with all engines stopped, enabling the crew to have a good meal in peace and quiet, followed by an undisturbed sleep. This was the method used by the crew of the first merchant submarine and, with bigger vessels, that can safely go deeper, it could be resorted to systematically. It is, of course, by no means a substitute for fresh air and sunshine, and merchant submarine crews will always need a period of rest after every journey.

FRENCH RAILWAYMEN'S CHILDREN HAVE A SWISS HOLIDAY

As a ramification of the Swiss Red Cross' work on behalf of child victims of the war, the Swiss Federal Railways this summer (1942) once more invited one hundred children of French railwaymen to spend two months in the foothills of the Alps in the Canton of Vaud.

Acting in co-operation with the "social service" of the French Railway Company, the Swiss Red Cross undertook to select the children in France, carry them as far as Geneva, and arrange for their reception. They came in two lots, on 3rd and 7th July, and numbered altogether 106 children, of whom 52 were girls and 54 boys. All the little guests, of ages running from five and a half to thirteen and a half years, came from the occupied zone of France, and particularly from places that had been heavily bombed.

Few of those who saw the arrival of the trains from France will ever forget the poor little pale, tired and emaciated faces, that had not seen soap for a long time. Nearly all of them bore clear traces of serious physical and mental suffering.

Once in Geneva the children were taken straight to hospital where, after being washed, they were examined by a doctor.

Our Administration entrusted the children to the Beau-Soleil Home, at Villars (where fifty were sent last year), and the Pension Bellevue, at Huemoz. Beau-Soleil is a modern educational institution, with well-lighted,

airy bedrooms with one to five beds each, spacious lavatories and bathrooms, large dining and playing rooms, classrooms, sports grounds, and even a swimming bath. Fifty-four boys and eighteen girls were accommodated here.

The girls lived on excellent terms with the boys, but they had their own personnel in charge, and their own programme of occupations for the day. Though housed in the same building, boys and girls formed two separate colonies. At the Pension Bellevue, a typical Vaudois chalet, in the pretty village of Huemoz-sur-Ollon, a little below Villars, thirty-two girls, big and little, were put up, the colony being composed entirely of girls. Children, management and supervising staff were not long in becoming one large family. At Villars, where the boys were in a majority, life naturally approximated more to that of an institution.

The railwaymen's children were delighted to be able to stay together, and not to be distributed among a large number of families. In all cases experience with this communal life was very satisfactory, though with rationing in force it is easier to find clothing, linen and shoes when the children are placed with families.

During the day the boys were in charge of three young masters, one of them being a sports master, but their more domestic requirements were attended to by female personnel. Thanks to the splendid weather the children

HUNGARIAN MOTOR DRIVERS LOOK AT POST-WAR PROBLEMS

In 1939 the Hungarian Government suppressed the journal of the Hungarian Motor Drivers' Union, so it has had to seek the hospitality of other papers for the expression of its views. The following statement of the Union's views on certain post-war problems was printed, on 15th January, 1943, in the *Magyar Szakszervezeti Ertesito* (Hungarian Trade Union Correspondence), published by the Hungarian Trade Union Commission (i.e. Federation).

The limitations imposed by war-time economy make it exceedingly difficult for us to keep our motor vehicles running, and it is inevitable that this circumstance should adversely affect the earnings, working hours and employment of the motor drivers. In the few undertakings that can put the motor drivers on to other kinds of work, such difficulties do not arise, but this is usually impossible, and employers then reduce the motor drivers' pay in proportion to the shortening of the working day. But with the shorter working day the motor driver is unable to earn enough to meet his usual living expenses, so the standard of living of his family has to be lowered.

These difficulties are the consequence of compulsory economy necessitated by the war, and their causes will partly disappear once the war is over, but some of them will remain owing to the exhaustion under war conditions, of accumulated stocks of all kinds of materials.

After the war, when it will once more be possible to use motor vehicles freely for the same purposes as formerly, it may be expected that they will be used, both for trade and industry, much more extensively than

before, but it will be little use abolishing the restrictions on their use so long as the supply of the necessary materials (petrol, rubber, etc.) is inadequate for requirements. In the beginning especially, before normal conditions have been re-established, vehicles will be badly worn, and it will be a long time before it will be possible to meet all requirements.

There will be a number of other circumstances to which we shall have to adjust ourselves. It has been necessary to train an extraordinarily large number of motor drivers for the fighting forces. When they return to civil life after the war it will not be possible to offer all of them work in the trade, though it may be expected that a large proportion of those who have passed the tests for motor drivers during the war will endeavour to get into it. The result is likely to be a considerable lowering of rates of wages for motor drivers, and those who are earning their living in this trade, and who will be entering it after the war, will have to be on their guard.

It may be that this war—more terrible than all former wars—is not very far from its end. The problem will then suddenly become an immediate one, impinging upon the lives of the motor drivers and changing the conditions under which they live. It is still not too late to make preparations for that contingency. We must recruit as many new members as possible for our Union, organizing those who are still outside it, for the motor drivers will need much more power if they are to solve this problem and many others, some of which already exist and some of which will only arise after the war.

were able to spend most days in the open air, from morning to night, but they were made to lie down, and keep silent, for an hour to an hour and a half, after dinner every day. The boys had regular, carefully graded gymnastic exercises and games, they organized little competitions, went swimming, and sang, even learning some of our Swiss songs. They also helped with the work in the home, as a training in order and discipline. Both at Villars and Huemoz little excursions and picnics were frequently organized in the neighbourhood.

The girls also had physical culture every day, they kept their own rooms in order (this was even the subject of a competition at Huemoz), and rendered valuable help in running the household side. They had all sorts of games, including round dances with singing. They even arranged little theatrical performances, sometimes playing pieces of their own, and giving great pleasure to visitors to the colony. But it was not all games and songs, there was quite a lot of earnest work done. Under the expert guidance and encouragement of the supervising personnel the girls did some useful work with their needles, showing themselves to be as skilful as they were eager to learn.

Apart from a little stomach trouble, unavoidable at the beginning on account of the change in diet, a few minor accidents and an outbreak of scarlet fever—fortunately mild, though very contagious—which occurred at Huemoz just before it was time for the return journey, the children kept in excellent health. Thanks to a pleasant and varied diet, the affectionate care of the

people in charge, the admirable management of the colonies, the sunny summer and the fine mountain air, the children benefited wonderfully from their holiday. It was not long before all faces were beaming. All conditions were present that were necessary for a good recovery, and the benefits were quick in showing themselves. With a very few exceptions all the children had put on a good deal of weight by the end of their stay, some of them as much as eleven pounds.

Our Administration made a point of doing everything it could to make the children's stay in Switzerland as advantageous, agreeable and happy as possible. Thanks to the funds supplied by the Federal Railways, and numerous donations from the personnel and others, it was found possible to supply the children with the most necessary equipment. We cordially thank all our employees who, in response to the appeal issued in June by the General Management, sent us clothing, linen, shoes, money, etc. We also express our sincere gratitude to the friends and acquaintances of the personnel in charge, who gave us many a valuable present. Everywhere we have found a great deal of understanding and still more good will—within the service, on the private railways, from the Post Office Administration and other federal, cantonal and municipal authorities, and above all from the Swiss Red Cross, to whose help we had to appeal to carry our undertaking to a successful conclusion.

From the Bulletin of the Swiss Federal Railways.

ELEVEN-POINT PEACE PROGRAMME OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

1. A long armistice in order to give the nations an opportunity to revive their economic institutions under responsible world leadership and in order to allow the evil passions and hatred engendered by the war an opportunity to be supplanted by a spirit of responsibility and world leadership. 2. The restoration of economic and civilian life in all of the devastated countries. This is to involve feeding, clothing, and educating the people of all of the occupied countries and backward areas until they reach the point of self-help. 3. The organized labour movement will oppose military rule after occupation. While it is recognized that the military must prepare the way for the administrators of peace, it does not follow that military officials have the training and the approach of civilian administrators who use the educational methods of democracy to achieve social welfare. 4. Full representation for organized labour at the peace table. The common people must have a voice if democracy is to be served. Thus, we can be assured that sub-standard labour conditions in any industry or in any country will

not be permitted to exist and that all nations are given equal considerations and equal opportunity for progress and the pursuit of happiness. 5. The elimination of proposals to isolate countries, to set up buffer states, and to balance powers against each other. 6. All governments must have the approval of the governed. 7. The territorial security of all nations must be secured against aggression. 8. Machinery should be set up for the development of a world community of nations in order to provide opportunities for and assurance of peaceful change. 9. No one race or continent should be dominant. 10. The right to membership in free unions controlled by the membership is essential if the common man is to participate adequately in the world conferences and in agencies that are to set up the world democracy for which this war is being waged. 11. Every political, economic and social institution must serve and protect the freedom and the welfare of human beings. The inalienable rights of freemen is the ultimate end which civilization promotes.

Read, Reflect and Write to Us

The purpose of this column is to provoke thought on world problems and those of our own movement, and it will contain matter from all parts of the world. This matter will be presented as it was served up, whether you or we like it or not. We accept no responsibility for the views expressed and, for the present, pass no comment thereon. Matter will be selected because it gives evidence of perceiving a problem, because it is calculated to provide thought and because it may contribute towards a clarification of thought.

Readers are invited to write to us, briefly and clearly, their views on the matter we publish. The American weekly, "The Nation," contains a section devoted to Political War and edited by J. Alvarez del Vayo, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Spanish Republic. We reproduce the beginning of an article appearing in the above-mentioned section and written by the editor himself.

For nearly four months now this section has been hammering away at certain specific points. We have considered them important enough to return to again and again. The points are these :

(1) Hitler and his Axis accomplices will try everything before giving up.

(2) Should he be obliged, for the moment, to renounce conquest by offense Hitler will entrench himself in "Fortress Europe," the stronghold fabric out of the territories occupied or still to be occupied, and will try to win the war by way of peace manoeuvres, cultivating disunity among the Allies and persuading them that an invasion of Europe would cost untold millions of men only to plunge them thereafter into bolshevism and chaos.

(3) To disregard the fact that the defeat of the Axis still requires all our strength, to believe that morale can be sustained by cheap optimism and headlines screeching victory, is to do exactly the opposite of what the character and dimensions of this war demand. If it takes months to conquer Tunisia and Bizerta, the task will not be easier when it comes to storming the Brenner Pass.

(4) When we gamble on dissension inside Germany we turn this war into a kind of Belmont track. Betting on the Reichswehr horse against the party's—on the generals against Hitler—is sheer waste of time. It is equally fruitless to trust to the diplomacy of appeasement to win over to the Allied cause the Francos who go about shrouded in a fiction of non-belligerence. In spite of the "Iberian bloc," in spite of assurances apparently given to Allied ambassadors, Franco, in the end, will march with Hitler.

(5) The peoples of the United Nations have taken to heart the statements of their leaders—the Atlantic Charter, the four freedoms, the "century of the common man"—and they will not easily permit the reaction to present them with a world order no better than the one which produced two wars in the space of twenty-five years.

(6) At the first sign of military success—hardly had the American troops landed in North Africa and hardly had the Russian advance made itself felt—reaction threw off the mask, discarded in an

hour all pretense that this was a war for democracy, and prepared in every way to make good its own victory at the moment when hostilities should cease.

We take our next quotation from "The Sun," the South African non-European paper, which puts forward an opinion on "Social Security" from the non-European point of view.

Plans for social security are receiving a lot of attention these days. If this panacea is destined to assure for everybody, everywhere, justice and equality of opportunity in human affairs and tranquil relationships in the social organism, then the world will perceive good issuing forth from evil ; the war will have made men conscious of the need for the exercise of those social virtues the import of which was so lightly disregarded in time of peace. But it is too much to expect from the generality complete acquiescence in the aims and objects of the groups, wherever they are, who are professedly striving for social security for everybody?

... For complete reorientation of outlook to become an accomplished fact there must necessarily be give and take ; will the leisured and privileged classes who have hitherto been notoriously callous about the sad lot of the many about them lend their co-operation in the attempt to make Social Security more than a recessive ideal ? Always the non-European who was too dark-skinned to pass as a Coloured European has had to hope for the best and prepare for the worst, and he will not easily believe that Social Security is going to drive Social Insecurity off the face of the earth. He remembers, among other things, the peace terms at the end of the Anglo-Boer War, the "entrenched" rights of the Act of Union, the security (?) after the Great War, the short-lived sincerity and solicitude when the epidemic of 1918 raged. While we see clearly how we are denied the rights and privileges of full citizenship we must not slacken in our efforts to work out our own salvation. Let us bend our energies to the task of constant endeavour : so shall we come nearer to Social Security.