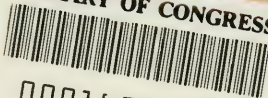


UA23  
G7

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



00016992872



# PREPAREDNESS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

## AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION ON JANUARY 18, 1916, AT  
WASHINGTON, D. C., TOGETHER WITH A LETTER  
WRITTEN ON THE SAME SUBJECT TO THE  
NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE  
DATED JANUARY 19, 1916

BY

SAMUEL GOMPERS

PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



PRESENTED BY MR. CHAMBERLAIN  
FEBRUARY 7, 1916.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1916

U423  
G7

D. of D.  
FEB 21 1916

# PREPAREDNESS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

---

By SAMUEL GOMPERS,

*President American Federation of Labor.*

---

For 17 months war such as has never been known in the history of man has been devouring life and consuming the handiwork of men. Such a stupendous horror has compelled men to think deeply of the principles underlying our institutions and the spirit that makes for human progress and liberty.

Before the outbreak of the present war many believed that a great war involving many nations was no longer possible; that men had developed ideals of justice and of humanity that would prevent the possibility of their taking the lives of fellow men, even in the name of legitimate warfare. They hoped much—their ideals were untested.

With the declaration of war the men of each country rushed to their flags. Soon there were mobilized thousands of men fighting for conflicting ideals. When it was necessary to decide whether they proposed to stand by and see another nation invade their fatherland, trample upon their national ideals, ruthlessly disregard solemn pledges given in treaties, they found that there were some things of higher value than peace. They found that there are dangers of peace more far-reaching than the dangers of war. They realized that it is better to fight and die for a cause than to maintain peace and their physical safety at the sacrifice of their manhood and of the ideals that ennoble life.

And yet it is not an unbeautiful theory that has been dissipated by the shot and the smoke of the European war. There were many who held that an organized society was possible upon a basis of the brotherhood of man, in which all had regard for the rights of others and would subordinate their selfish interests to the welfare of others. This ideal made paramount the sanctity of human life and regarded war as a relic of barbarism possible only because institutions of justice had not been sufficiently developed. Wage earners generally of all civilized countries proclaimed and indorsed this ideal and declared that they would use every means within their power to prevent war even to the extent of stopping all of the industries of the nations through a general strike. There were many extreme pacifists who could find no justification for war or the use of force in international affairs.

And I, too, found this ideal attractive. In a speech made in April, 1899, in Tremont Temple, Boston, I said:

The organized wageworker learns from his craft association the value of humanity and of the brotherhood of man, hence it is not strange that we should believe in peace, not only nationally, but internationally.

It is often our custom to send organizers from one country to another for the purpose of showing to our fellows in other countries the value of our association in the labor movement. If international peace can not be secured by the intelligence of those in authority, then I look forward to the time when the workers will settle this question—by the dock laborers refusing to handle goods that are to be used to destroy their fellow men, and by the seamen of the world, united in one organization, while willing to risk their lives in conducting the commerce of nations, absolutely refusing to strike down their fellow men.

My belief that war was no longer possible was based upon what I desired rather than upon realities because I felt so keenly the brutality, the destruction, and the waste of war. It seemed to me that war and conditions of war cut through the veneer of civilization and disclosed the brute in man. The consequence and the purpose of war accustom man to treat human life lightly. They make men callous to human suffering and they idealize force. No one can hear of the atrocities, of the terrible carnage of the present war, of the destruction on the battlefields and on the high seas without a feeling of horror that civilized men can plan such methods, can use the skill of their minds and bodies and the wisdom of past generations to such terrible purpose. But what if these horrors done to the bodies of men shall prevent greater horrors to the minds—the souls of men?

The pacifists and those who hold to policies of nonresistance have failed as I had failed to understand and to evaluate that quality in the human race which makes men willing to risk their all for an ideal. Men worthy of the name will fight even for a "scrap of paper" when that paper represents ideals of human justice and freedom. The man who would not fight for such a scrap of paper is a poor craven who dares not assert his rights against the opposition and the demands of others. There is little progress made in the affairs of the world in which resistance of others is not involved. Not only must man have a keen sense of his own rights, but the will and the ability to maintain those rights with effective insistence. Resistance to injustice and tyranny and low ideals is inseparable from a virile fighting quality that has given purpose and force to ennobling causes to all nations.

Though we may realize the brutality of war, though we may know the value of life, yet we know equally well what would be the effects upon the lives and the minds of men who would lose their rights, who would accept denial of justice rather than hazard their physical safety. The progress of all the ages has come as the result of protests against wrongs and existing conditions and through assertion of rights and effective demands for justice. Our own freedom and republican form of government have been achieved by resistance to tyranny and insistence upon rights. Freedom and democracy dare not be synonymous with weakness. They exist only because there is a vision of the possibilities of human life, faith in human nature, and the will to make these things realities even against the opposition of those who see and understand less deeply. The people who are willing to maintain their rights and to defend their freedom are worthy of those privileges. Rights carry with them obligation—duty. It is the duty of those who live under free institutions at least to maintain them unimpaired.

As the result of the European war there is hardly a citizen who has not in some degree modified his opinions upon preparedness

and national defense. The belief prevails that there must be some policy of preparedness and national defense, although there is wide diversion as to what policies ought to be adopted.

Preparedness and defense are practically the reverse and obverse sides of the same problem. There are two lines of approach to this problem—one indirect, involving consideration of the development, health, and conservation of the citizens, and the other direct, involving the weapons of defense and specific plans for the use of power.

In the past we have trusted much to the rugged physiques, muscles, and nerves trained and under control and ability to coordinate powers quickly to meet emergencies which belong to the outdoor life of a pioneer people. Life on the frontier developed physical strength and virile manhood. Mental and physical weakness could not survive in the dangers of that life. But the frontier has vanished. The majority of our citizens no longer live in the open, and they show in their physical development the effect of the restricted life of the city. They have not the physical strength or endurance that would fit them without further preparation to be called into service in a citizens' army.

Since opportunities for physical training are not freely and readily available to all, some definite national policy must be devised for physical training and physical preparedness of all citizens. Such a training could be readily given through our public school system and other auxiliary agencies.

Physical training is properly a part of educational work, and therefore should be under the control and direction of public agencies. We are constantly coming to a better appreciation of what proper physical development and good health mean in the life and for the working ability of each individual. Physical training and good health are just as important and just as necessary to all other interests of life as they are to national defense. The chief problem is that training of this nature should be in furtherance of broad, general usefulness and ideals and not be narrowly specialized or dominated by the purpose of militarism.

Physical training must fit citizens for industry, for commerce, for service in the work of the nation, as well as for service in defense of the nation. But physical training and preparedness are insufficient. There must be a spirit among the people that makes them loyal to country and willing to give themselves to its service and protection. That spirit can not exist unless the citizens feel that the nation will assure to all equal opportunities and equal justice. They must feel that they are a part of the nation, with a voice in determining its destinies. This spirit of loyalty depends not only upon political rights, but upon justice and right on the industrial field, aye, in all relations of life.

National preparedness involves also power to coördinate and to utilize national forces and national resources. War as it is being waged to-day is not determined merely by the men on the battle field, but also by the mobilization of the national resources, national industries and commerce. The real problem is the organization of the material forces and resources of the country, the coördination of these in the furtherance of a definite defensive military policy. All of the power and resources of the belligerent countries are concentrated to sustain the armies in the field and to equip them with the

necessary weapons of war. The contest between industries, the question of commercial control, of superiority of economic organization, are fully as important as the contest between the soldiers on the battle field. Whatever, then, is the necessary part of the organization of industrial and commercial life is an important factor in national preparedness.

Our industrial and commercial development has been of a haphazard nature rather than in accord with any definite, constructive, statesmanlike plan. Because of the vast natural resources of our country and the variety of untouched opportunities, it has been possible for us as a nation to achieve tremendous results without definite plans, without much wisdom, and without the use of the best judgment. Considering our opportunities and the vast wealth of our country, to have failed would have been much more marvelous than the degree of success to which we have attained. As our population has increased, as free lands have disappeared, as there is no longer the former wide range of opportunity, success in the future will be more directly the result of the best use of available opportunities and of the best coordination of existing forces. As frontier opportunities have disappeared, so frontier business policies will no longer succeed. Commercial or industrial policies that aimed at immediate results with extravagant disregard for conservation or for economical utilization of materials will be replaced by better policies of developing commerce and industry upon a basis that means constructive development instead of exploitation. The economic highwayman must disappear as did the frontier highwayman.

Constructive development must have consideration for every factor concerned in production and must secure to each equal opportunities that will result in the best service and in the conservation of the future service. Such a policy will involve thorough organization of all the factors of production. This organization must extend to the human element in production in order that there may be accorded to the workers proper consideration of their needs and proper conservation of their labor power.

Preparedness as viewed from this standpoint is a part of the larger problems of national development—physical, mental, economic. It is a civic, an economic, as well as a military problem. National development can be in accord with the highest ideals only when all citizens have the right to voluntary association to promote their own welfare and to activities necessary to carry out the purpose of such organizations. This broad general policy includes associations of wage earners—trade unions. These associations of the workers must be recognized by all agencies, whether private or governmental, that are concerned with the life and the work of the workers.

Great Britain, in dealing with immediate problems of national defense, has found that the labor movement must be recognized as the natural and official representative of the wage earners. She has found that she can deal with national problems only when she considers the ideals and the demands of the chosen representatives of the workers.

But the principles of human welfare can not be ignored in military matters or in plans for national defense just as they can not be ignored in industry or commerce. That infinitely valuable and

sacred thing—human creative power—and the safeguarding of human rights and freedom are of fundamental importance and are correlated with national defense and must not be sacrificed to any false conception of national defense. For to what end will a nation be saved if the citizens are denied that which gives life value and purpose?

The labor power of workers is to them their all. The deep significance of the protection and conservation of their labor—their very lives—is what the British Government of to-day has failed to understand. The deep significance of this declaration made a few days ago in England by an important labor organization has a meaning for us:

Unless the Government is prepared to confiscate the wealth of the privileged classes for the most successful prosecution of the war, the railroad workers will resist to the uttermost the confiscation of men whose only wealth is their labor power.

Some employers of our country and some Government officials have refused to recognize organizations of wage earners, but organizations of wage earners are a necessary and an important part of the organization of industry and society, and any national policy that refuses to recognize and take into account such an important force must prove ineffective.

National policies, whether political or military, must be in accord with broad democratic ideals that recognize all factors and value each according to the service that it performs. There is a human side to all of our national problems, whether industrial, commercial, political, or military. It has been the general practice of governments to accord only to employers, the owners of capital, of the managerial side of commerce and industry, real participation in government and in deciding upon governmental policies. According to this custom the wage earners belong to the class of the governed, never to the governing class. This policy is a reflection of conditions existing in the industrial and commercial world. However, a change has been coming. The wage earners, through their economic associations, have been making the demand that those who supply the creative labor power of industry and commerce are surely as important to the processes of production as those who supply the materials necessary for production. They have, therefore, made demand that the human side of production shall at least be given as much consideration and as much importance as the material side. They demand that industries and commerce shall be conducted not only in the interests of production but with consideration for the welfare and the conservation of the human beings employed in production. They have asserted the right that every policy affecting industry, commerce, financial institutions, and everything that is involved in the organization of society in some way affects the lives of those concerned in the industries or occupations and the welfare of those who are the consumers. Therefore they demand that those who are concerned in the conduct of the industry or occupation must be given the same consideration as those who are to make profits by the industry. They have declared that there are principles of human welfare and have demanded that these must be considered in determining national policies. This is a democratic ideal and one

which will promote the welfare of all of the people. Hence, it has an important bearing upon national preparedness, for it means that the great masses of the people will be better fitted physically and mentally to be intelligent, able protectors of the nation.

In addition to policies of general preparedness, which are a part of the larger problem of national development and conservation, there must be some specific plan and agency for national defense. Even the Socialists agree upon the necessity for wars of defense and for agencies of national defense. When war was declared the Socialists of Germany, of France, and of England flocked to the national standard to defend the flag. There is not a national Socialist organization in Europe that is not defending its participation in the war upon the plea of the necessity for national defense. The old international idealism of human brotherhood has, at least for this war, been shot to pieces on the battle fields of Europe. They forgot their theories of pacifism and flew to arms to defend their homes, their families, and their governments.

And the Socialists of the United States have not escaped dissensions as the result of the war and are now in a bitter wrangle upon the degree of military preparedness that ought to be adopted by this country. Some of the more violent pacifists are trying to forcefully eject from the party those who declare a policy of nonresistance as incompatible with the conditions that confront our Nation. Other Socialists, such as Charles Edward Russell, renounce their old dreams and acknowledge that human nature makes it necessary for us to be ready for national defense. Prominent members of the Socialist Party—Joshua Wanhope and W. J. Ghent—declare that socialism is a revolutionary movement and hence Socialists can not renounce the use of force. Both declare that the Socialist parties of the world have never taken the position of advocating Tolstoian nonresistance. Morris Hillquit has admitted that preparedness seems doomed to become the issue in the national convention and a plank in the Socialist Party platform. Henry L. Slobodin has said:

The Socialists had many occasions during the last 50 years to deliberate upon this problem and declare the Socialist attitude on military preparedness. And not once did the Socialist declare against preparedness. On every occasion they declared that the Socialists were, in their own way, in favor of military preparedness. The Socialists always were against standing armies and huge military establishments. But they always were and now stand committed in favor of universal military training and a citizens' army.

Recent dispatches from Berlin say that the executive committee of the Socialist Party has by a vote of 28 to 11 adopted a resolution censuring 20 Socialist members of the Reichstag for attempting to thwart the party's policy by declining to vote in favor of the war credits.

Quite in contrast to this vacillation is the consistent attitude of the American Federation of Labor. The following declaration, made years ago, has stood the tests of the experiences of years. It embodies the wisdom labor has gained in the struggle of life and work.

A man who is a wage earner and honorably working at his trade or calling to support himself and those dependent upon him has not only the right to become a citizen soldier, but that right must be unquestioned.

The militia, i. e., the citizen soldiery of the several States in our country, supplies what otherwise might take its place—a large standing army.

The difference between the citizen soldiery of the United States and the large standing armies of many European countries is the difference between a republic and monarchy—it is the difference between the conceptions of liberty and of tyranny.

While organized labor stands against the arbitrament of international or internal disputes by force of arms, yet we must realize we have not yet reached the millennium; that in the age in which we live we have not the choice between armed force and absolute disarmament, but the alternative of a large standing army and a small one supplemented by a volunteer citizen soldiery—the militia of our several States.

The 1915 (San Francisco) convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirmed this position by refusing to adopt resolutions which called upon all workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces.

A great majority of our Nation are agreed upon the necessity for adopting a definite policy for necessary national defense. Of course, there is not unity upon any one policy. Whatever plan may be adopted, the organized-labor movement of America, which is directly representative of millions of organized wage earners and indirectly representative of millions more of unorganized workers, demands that certain fundamental principles must be regarded.

All policies and plans for national defense must be determined by representatives of all of the people. The organized-labor movement, which is the only means for expressing the will and the desires of the great masses of our citizenship, asserts its right to representation in all committees, commissions, or bodies that decide upon military defense. The working people of all nations are always those most vitally affected by military service in time of peace or war. Upon them falls the burden of the fighting in the ranks and they have ever been expected to act as shock absorbers for the evil consequences of war. They have been the chief sufferers from evils of militarism wherever that malicious system has fastened itself upon a nation. Since they have been the victims of the hurtful policies of military defense, they will be the most interested in safeguarding our own national plans from dangers and from evils of militarism that have been disclosed by the experiences of other countries.

Preparedness is something very different from militarism or navalism. Both leave an indelible impression upon the nation, one for freedom and the other for repression. Militarism and navalism are a perversion of preparedness—instead of serving the interests of the people, the people are ammunition for these machines. They are destructive to freedom and democracy.

An understanding of human nature and of conditions is convincing proof that every nation must have some means of self-defense. The agencies and policies for this purpose must be carefully chosen.

The labor movement has always been a leader in the cause of democracy. The labor movement demands democracy in all things, including military organizations and institutions of the country. It holds that policies and methods of self-defense are best safeguarded when there is equal opportunity for all to become members of whatever organizations and institutions, whether military or otherwise, exist throughout the country. Not only must entrance to all institutions be freely and equally accorded to all but the military must be democratically organized, democratically officered, and under the control of heads who are responsible to the citizens of the land.

In addition to the Regular Army there must be a citizenship physically fit, ready and able to serve. Equal opportunity for military training must be provided for the citizenship generally—opportunity attended by provisions that make it equal in reality and truly democratic.

All agree that physical training with knowledge and the ability to bear and use arms will have a wholesome effect upon the health, strength, and preparedness of the people of the United States. If that training is given through voluntary institutions, organized upon a democratic basis, it will have a wholesome effect upon the civic life of the nation also.

Democratic spirit is essential. Any plan that recognizes professions or other distinctions will tend toward military castes, a condition incompatible with the freedom, the spirit, and the genius of our Republic.

Absolute democracy in voluntary service for national defense will have an effect upon all other relations of life. It will make for better understanding. It will bind all together in unselfish service and broaden and deepen that which constitutes the common life of our nation. Men can not resist the appeal of human nature.

The labor movement is militant. The workers understand the necessity for power and its uses. They fully appreciate the important function that power exercises in the affairs of the world. Power does not have to be used in order to be potential. The very existence of power and ability to use that power constitutes a defense against unreasonable and unwarranted attack. Ability and readiness for self-defense constitute a potential instrumentality against unnecessary and useless wars, or the denial of rights and justice.

The labor movement has never advocated the abolition of agencies for the enforcement of right and justice, or for the abolition of the military arm of government, but it does demand that these shall be so organized as to prevent their misuse and abuse as a means of tyranny against the workers, and to prevent the development of pernicious results that have grown out of militarism, the building up of a separate military caste and the subversion of civic life to military government and military standards. When military institutions and military service are separated from the general life of the people they become subversive to the ideals of civic life, they become dangerous to the best development and the best interests of the nation.

The rights and privileges of citizenship impose a duty upon all who enjoy them. That duty involves service to the Nation in all relations of the common life, including its defense against attack and the maintenance of national institutions and ideals.

There are no citizens of our country who are more truly patriotic than the organized wage earners—or all of the wage earners—and we have done our share in the civic life of the Nation as well as in the Nation's wars. We have done our share to protect the Nation against insidious attacks from within that were directed at the very heart of our national life and would have inevitably involved us in foreign complications. The wage earners stood unfalteringly for ideals of honor, freedom, and loyalty. Their wisdom and their patriotism served our country in a time of great need. No one can

question that the wage earners of the United States are patriotic in the truest sense. No one can question their willingness to fight for the cause of liberty, freedom, and justice. No one can question the value of the ideals that direct the labor movement.

The labor movement takes the position that plans and policies for national defense and preparedness must be in accord with an educated conscience which can discern values, and is able and alert to distinguish the vital from the less important, and willing to insist upon the ideals and standards of justice, equality, and freedom.

Every observer knows that there is no peace—all of life is a struggle, physical and mental. Progress results only from the domination of the forces making for freedom and opportunity over the forces of repression.

I may summarize the situation into these few concrete suggestions:

1. The recognition of and cooperation with the organized-labor movement in all fields of activity—industrial, commercial, political, social, moral defense.

2. Establishment and extension of the citizen soldiery, democratically organized, officered, administered, and controlled.

3. Prohibition of the use of the militia for strike duty.

4. Education of wage earners upon an equality with all other citizens in manual training, physical and mental development, in organizing, officering, administering, and leading in the operations of a military character for the defense of our country.

5. Industrial education and vocational training as part of the educational system of the States, with financial aid of the Federal Government.

6. Education of the young, physical and mental, including the art and the duty of defense, the ability to bear arms, the inculcation of the ideals of democracy, civic rights, and duties and obligations.

7. Inculcate in all our people a social conscience for a better concept of industrial justice.

The thoughts and suggestions I have submitted should commend themselves to the serious and favorable consideration and action of all of our people—all their groups and associations. Put into actual operation they will make not only for immediate effective preparedness for defense, but will prove the potential means for permanent preparedness and defense, while at the same time make all our people more efficient in their every endeavor, and in addition safeguard the spirit of justice, freedom, democracy, and humanity.

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or date, located in the upper left corner.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
*Washington, D. C., January 19, 1916.*

MR. HENRY L. WEST,  
*Executive Secretary, the National Security League,  
New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Since it was impossible for me to be present at this meeting of the National Security League, in accord with your request, I am writing you in regard to certain fundamental principles that ought to be presented in connection with the subject before your congress.

In considering preparedness and national defense, it is of paramount importance to have in mind that these concern the citizens of the whole Nation, and therefore all have a right to a voice in the determination of plans and policies that shall be adopted to secure these purposes. Voice in determining plans and policies means not only the right to pass upon them after they have been formulated but a right to representation in those bodies which shall deliberate upon and formulate plans.

No policy can be truly effective that is not representative of the thought and desires of the people generally. It is in keeping with the spirit of a free people that the wage earners who constitute the great majority of our citizens shall be represented fully in the determination of matters that vitally affect their welfare. The wage earners as well as our citizens generally agree that under present conditions every nation must have some definite policy of national preparedness and some means for national defense. It is true that many efforts to attain these purposes have been attended by undesirable developments and conditions. In some countries national preparedness and defense have been perverted into militarism and navalism and have foisted upon those countries customs, conditions, influences that are baneful. But these results are due to the fact that policies for national defense and preparedness were not safeguarded by infusing into every detail the spirit and the method of democracy. These experiences must have a significance and a lesson for us, in contrast with the experiences in the democratic systems which have been adopted in Australia and Switzerland. The fundamental principles of these systems could be adapted to meet our needs and conditions.

National defense and preparedness are but one phase of national life. Provisions for this purpose must be a part of the whole plan for national development. In other words, military training and military institutions must be a part of the life of the people rather than of a nature to alienate citizens from the spirit, the ideals, and the purposes of civic life. A great danger comes from isolating the military, from making military ideals separate and often in conflict with those of the masses of the people. The military should not exist as something apart, but for the service of the whole Nation. The

basis and the prerequisite for all military preparedness and national defense is a citizenship physically strong, well developed, and fit. This essential can best be secured by making physical training a part of the work to be done at our public schools. Such training will not only prepare boys for service in the defense of the Nation but will make them efficient in all relations of life. It will afford to all equal opportunities for better health and preparedness to serve the country. The naval and military institutions of our country which give a special training to those who have a particular fitness and desire to follow military or naval professions ought also to be open to all who possess the required qualifications. Such a provision would enable men from all walks of life to enter the Army and the Navy—a condition which in itself would be in accord with the spirit of democracy.

Whenever the spirit of democracy is absent, there the accompanying evil of militarism, military castes, fasten deadly clutches upon freedom and civic opportunity, and obversely where the spirit of democracy obtains it tends to the abolition of military castes and the inherent vicious dangers of militarism.

In addition to those who enter the Regular Army and the Navy as a profession there must be reserves that can be called into the service of the country quickly to meet an emergency. It is necessary, therefore, that there should be opportunities afforded to the masses of the citizens for military training. However, all military training must be safeguarded to protect democratic ideals and civic institutions. Not only must there be equal opportunity for all citizens to enter military training organizations and camps; but that opportunity must be attended by such provisions as to make it an equal opportunity for both the poor and the rich. A fair compensation for service in military training camps must be paid as a substitute for wages lost. In these citizen organizations for military training there must be no recognition of distinctions, professions, or for any advantage or position that may be held by any citizen or group of citizens.

In order to insure naval preparedness and to maintain reserves for that service it is imperative that high standards of manhood and efficiency may be established in the Navy, the merchant marine, and for transport service.

When service in the Army and Navy and in training schools and training camps and reserve organizations is open to all; when those institutions are organized upon a democratic basis, democratically officered and administered; when there is equal opportunity for all for service in all positions, from the highest officer to the lowest in the ranks; and when the commander in chief of both Army and Navy and all military organizations within the country is an elected person directly responsible to the people, it seems to me that the greatest possible precaution has been taken to secure national defense and national preparedness without doing violence to the spirit of democracy and to our Republic. With these safeguards the dangers of developing militarism will have been reduced to the smallest possibility.

While the organized-labor movement deprecates war and is willing to do all within its power to prevent war, yet our experience with the practical affairs of life have taught us that we can secure justice

and recognition of rights only when we are prepared to defend and protect our ideals of justice.

Those who understand the present social and industrial conditions and the forces that determine relations between nations and who understand human nature realize that no nation can afford to disarm at the present time or to be without means of national defense. The great problem then is to adopt the best policies and the best means to see to it that the methods by which we insure additional defense are in harmony with democratic ideals and are of a nature to promote the best interests and the welfare of our citizens in all relations of national life.

Yours, very truly,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President American Federation of Labor.*



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 001 699 287 2