



ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

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Affiliated Unions in :

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CHINA
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DUTCH GUIANA
ESTONIA
FINLAND
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GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
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ICELAND
INDIA
INDO-CHINA
IRELAND
LUXEMBURG
MADAGASCAR
MOROCCO
NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
PALESTINE
RHODESIA
RUMANIA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TRINIDAD
TUNISIA
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Relations with unions in :

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

Other relations in :

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

Transport Workers of the World Join Up!

EUROPE is once again in the melting pot. War harasses it in the North and the West. For ages there has been fighting either to establish or to overthrow a hegemony over the old continent with its many nations, races and faiths. Never has any usurper succeeded in permanently dominating other peoples. To-day such an ambition has less chance of success than ever.

While war ravages Europe, Japanese aggression in China continues, and many peoples suffer under the yoke of foreign totalitarian oppressors.

Although Europe's significance for world affairs may be declining, she still plays an important part and is bound to the other continents by many ties. Developments in Europe will have their repercussions on the other continents. Therefore the workers of the whole earth have a paramount interest in the outcome of the struggle which is now being waged in Europe.

The European problem cannot be solved by armed force or oppression. The solution lies in the co-operation of her peoples on terms of equality, of peoples democratically minded and democratically governed, of peoples prepared to labour in common for the enhancement of one another's and thereby their own material and cultural standards. These are the aims for which the organized workers of Europe defying dictatorship are fighting. In their struggle they need the support of the organized workers in other continents. The reward for such support will be the victory of the European workers, who in their turn will be able and willing to render the support they can to their fellows overseas. That is the meaning of international solidarity, a meaning which every working-class organization must understand that wants to do its duty in these dark yet momentous days.

The International Transport Workers' Federation is not a European organization. It aims to be universal, and it is. But it must become still more so. Therefore the possibility is provided of establishing self-governing sub-secretariats in different parts of the world.

There are countries where affiliation to the I.T.F. is forbidden. These restrictions must be and will be removed. But what prevents the organizations of the Americas, of Africa and Australasia from taking their proper place in the International? If they understand the great task international trade unionism has to play in the establishment of Peace and the realization of Social Justice, then they will be prepared to strengthen the power of the I.T.F.

TRANSPORT WORKERS OF THE WORLD, JOIN UP!

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE I.T.F.

We are back in 1922. The I.T.F. is assembled in congress in Vienna, the beautiful Austrian capital, for centuries a centre of European cultural life. In those days too it was again a centre, of two social phenomena which normally do not occur together: a powerfully organized and class-conscious workers' movement and an indescribable distress of the people.

Post-war Vienna had been chosen for the congress of the I.T.F. in recognition of the magnificent achievements of the Austrian working class. The misery prevailing among this admirable working population was a sight which aroused in the delegates feelings both of shame and of anger; shame and anger at the Peace Treaties, the evils of which were in Vienna perhaps more evident than anywhere.

This was the theme of the address, passionate and clear, whereby at the opening of the congress the 129 delegates were welcomed by Seitz, who later was to win such fame as the burgomaster of Vienna. To the so-called Peace Treaties he attributed the picture of unemployment, misery, and poverty presented by Vienna. Challenging the common assertion that Vienna was a poor city and Austria a poor country, Seitz exclaimed: "Comrades, we are not poor. We have only been robbed of our freedom and our right of self-determination. Violence was done to our desires and we were forced to form a new and isolated economic organism."

It was as though by holding the congress in Vienna the I.T.F. wanted to demonstrate the effects of the Peace Treaties to the delegates. One of the British delegates seemed to feel this when he said: "Here, in Vienna, we foreign delegates have seen plenty of practical evidence of the results of the Peace Treaties. Every one of us English comrades feels ashamed when he changes money here. He cannot but say to himself: 'No doubt the German and Austrian comrades think we English and French are rolling in money.' Nevertheless I can assure them that, for fifty years past, distress, starvation, and unemployment have never been so great in England as they are now. The English workers are suffering directly from the results of these Peace Treaties."

From these few remarks taken from the report of the congress it is plain that the I.T.F. delegates clearly recognized that the working class had gained nothing by the war. The victory which was sealed by the Peace Treaties was not that of the workers, or in the words of Ernest Bevin representing the British transport workers: "These treaties are the outcome, not so much of the passions excited by the war, as of the eager desire of certain dominant individuals to maintain their supremacy in the world."

That a peace resting on such foundations carried in it the seeds of new wars was stressed again and again at this I.T.F. congress of 1922. Ben Tillett pithily put it thus: "Thrones may have fallen, but Imperialism still threatens us with new wars."

The Vienna Congress adopted a resolution calling upon organized labour to make every effort to secure a drastic revision of the Peace Treaties. Since then the I.T.F. has devoted constant attention to the problems following in the train of these Treaties. It foresaw the danger of war which they created, and tried to combat it and to avert the fascist menace it brought into existence. It worked by argument and action for the abolition of war and reparation debts, for stabilization of currency and exchanges, it urged the necessity of restoring a free international exchange of trade. For all these points of an impressive programme—to which we hope to revert in a future article—the foundations were laid in the resolution of the Vienna Congress, which warned "the workers in the various countries against the appalling but certain results of the steady decline in the standard of life forced upon the workers first in Central Europe, and afterwards in the other countries, by the monstrous effects of the Peace Treaties."

The I.T.F. has not achieved its object. It received too little support. Too many remained unorganized; too many of the organized remained outside its ranks. In addition the counter-forces called forth by the Peace Treaties were so strong that, to take the case of Vienna, the strongly organized class-conscious workers' movement was crushed in blood by the forces of reaction. But the distress from which the Viennese workers were struggling to escape, remained. To-day that distress persists on an unprecedented scale. To-day Vienna also is a city without culture.

The I.T.F., meanwhile, has chosen other ways of carrying on its struggle. It has not had to relinquish Vienna entirely. It knows it can count on many supporters there when the time is ripe. These workers in Vienna count also on the I.T.F., on an I.T.F. which in the meanwhile has won the support of many who at one time stood aloof. They count on no more Peace Treaties being concluded which condemn the working class to slavery.

The I.T.F. counts on you!

Further particulars on the matters dealt with in the notices and articles published in this paper are obtainable by transport workers' unions upon application to the Secretariat of the I.T.F.

In addition to this paper the I.T.F. issues two fortnightly publications: "Press Report" and "Fascism." They will be sent free of charge to every transport workers' organization on application.

Germany's Ruthless War against Neutral Shipping Sharp Protest of Scandinavian Seamen

"The next war will require the highest degree of brutality." (*Deutsche Wehr*, organ of the German Officers' Corps, 9 August, 1936.)

New victims are continually added to the long list of neutral ships sunk in Germany's brutal war at sea. Almost daily radio and press report that another neutral ship has struck a floating mine, has been torpedoed, sometimes without warning, or even bombed from the air, that the heroes of the air have not even shrunk from machine-gunning defenceless men on deck or in lifeboats.

In violation of all international rules of warfare German mine-layers and aircraft have strewn mines at random, not with the object, that is, of closing access to a region for war or merchant ships, but solely for the purpose of destruction, of spreading fear, of making the North Sea unnavigable. The thought possessing them is that "if we cannot trade the others shall not either."

That the merchant ships of belligerent countries should be exposed to inhuman treatment is bad enough; that defenceless fishing boats should be attacked and lightships bombed, testifies to the mentality of German warfare. In the light of the quotation printed at the head of this article little else could be expected from the Nazi regime. British and French ships can at least expect protection and counter-measures. They can experience the satisfaction, if satisfaction it is, that the German outrages will be avenged, that the pirates of the sea and the air will not escape the punishment they deserve.

But neutral shipping is unprotected, or must place itself under the protection of the allied fleets. The governments of the neutral countries content themselves—we admit they cannot very well do much more—with more or less vigorous protests on paper, which the Wilhelmstrasse answers with the cynical and traditional: "It is not true." IN BERLIN NO IMPRESSION CAN BE MADE BY WORDS BUT ONLY BY DEEDS.

Who could have expected otherwise? No one is to-day so backward or naive as to expect the Nazi regime to show the slightest respect for international law, for the interests of the neutral states, to say nothing of the lives of neutral seamen. A state where there is no justice, where justice is determined by the interests of the state and of the one party tolerated, party which is identified with the state and vice versa, a state which violates treaties freely signed, a state which by preference throws itself upon a weaker opponent, who with such a state would speak of justice and chivalry?

Up to date 150 neutral ships totalling 400,000 tons gross have been sent to the bottom of the sea. Over a thousand neutral seamen, to say nothing of passengers, have lost their lives. Scandinavian countries have been particularly affected. Norway has lost 327 men and 49 ships, Denmark 225 men

and 19 ships, Sweden 243 men and 32 ships. U-boats were responsible for many of the outrages. To mention a few of the most recent cases of sea piracy: The Norwegian s.s. *Songa* was bound from America for a neutral European port and was sunk far out in the Atlantic, her crew being huddled into open boats in the middle of the winter. The Norwegian s.s. *Tempo*, engaged in neutral trade, was attacked by German aeroplanes which sunk the vessel, swept her deck with machine-gun fire, and even shot at her crew after they had entered the lifeboats. The Norwegian s.s. *Enid's* crew was shelled after they had entered the lifeboats. The Dutch vessel *Burgerdijk* was torpedoed fifteen miles off the British coast on its way from America to Holland, although it carried wheat for account of the Dutch Government.

Hundreds of neutral seamen have already lost their lives.

It is possible to build new ships or to buy new ones in America to replace those lost as a result of the German methods of conducting war.

But it is not possible to restore life to the seamen murdered in the peaceful exercise of their calling.

If there is no authority which can ensure enforcement of international law or which can ensure respect of the lives of neutral seamen, THE SEAMEN THEMSELVES AND THE ORGANIZED WORKERS AS A WHOLE WILL HAVE TO TAKE INDEPENDENT ACTION TO THAT END.

The Norwegian organizations of seafarers, masters, mates, engineers, and lower ratings, have issued a joint statement that unless these methods of warfare cease, they will appeal to their members to refuse to man ships carrying cargo destined for German ports.

And the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stockholm on 12 February last, adopted a resolution, protesting "against every form of warfare harmful to defenceless neutral seamen. We co-operate in maintaining the supplies of the neutral countries and call upon the governments of the Scandinavian countries to consider the possibility of investigating in what way and under what conditions this work can be continued without danger to the lives of seamen."

Behind this quietly worded warning of the Scandinavian representatives of the seamen smoulders the fire of opposition to the criminals of the seas. IT IS THE TASK OF THE NEUTRAL SEAMEN AND THEIR TRADE UNIONS TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF COUNTER-MEASURES IN THE EVENT THAT THE GERMAN SEA PIRATES IGNORE THEIR WARNING.

TRADE UNIONISM IN WAR-TIME

By John Marchbank, *General Secretary, National Union of Railwaymen*

The main line railway transport system of Great Britain is owned and controlled by four joint-stock companies, and the London Underground railways form part of the London Passenger Transport Board. When War became imminent the Government immediately took control of the railways and appointed a Railway Executive Committee, comprised of one manager from each of the five principal undertakings above-mentioned, along with a retired manager as Chairman, to administer the railways on behalf of the Minister of Transport. Similar action was taken in the last Great War, but on that occasion there were over one hundred separate railway companies. The revenue receipts and expenses of the controlled undertakings will be pooled, and the resultant net revenue after payment of Excess Profit Tax of 60 per cent will be appropriated to pay to each main line undertaking a guaranteed minimum sum equal to its average net revenue for 1935, 1936, and 1937, and to the London Passenger Transport Board an amount equal to the revenue for the last year, and any surplus will also be divided pro rata, after one-half the excess over £43½ millions has been paid to the Government, except that the companies shall not be paid more than the Standard Revenue fixed by the Railways Act, 1921, and the London Passenger Transport Board Act, 1933, which is approximately £56 millions.

The war has brought in its train many pressing problems which have taxed the strength and wisdom of the railway trade unions. Whilst the great increase in traffic and the severe weather has necessitated a considerable amount of overtime, the standard week of forty-eight hours for the wages grades has been maintained unimpaired, and all overtime worked has been paid for at the recognized enhanced rates. Moreover, the majority of railwaymen are classified in the Schedule of Reserved Occupations as from the age of twenty-five years and are thus protected from being called up for military service, which ensures that the railway personnel will not be unduly depleted, although about 40,000 railwaymen have already joined the Armed Forces.

As regards wages, the N.U.R. were engaged in negotiations when War broke out for a minimum wage of 50s. a week. As from last October the fifty shilling a week minimum rate has been established for London, 48s. for industrial centres, and 47s. for rural areas. During the first four months of the War the Index figure of the Cost of Living rose 19 points from 155 to 174. A demand was therefore made for a flat all round increase in wages of ten shillings a week. After protracted negotiations with the Railway Executive Committee an agreement was reached providing for an addition of £10 per annum for Clerks and Super-

visors and 4s. per week for the adult wages staff covered by National Agreements, with proportionate advances to women and juniors. These additions to operate from the 1st January last and to be taken into account in calculating the enhanced rates for overtime, Sunday duty and night duty. In consequence of the new minimum rates above mentioned, many grades will receive consequential increases in wages to maintain the necessary differentials. Altogether, it is estimated that the increases in railway wages secured since the outbreak of war will amount to over £6 millions per annum, and will benefit about 600,000 employees.

The war is making heavy demands on railway rolling stock and on the production of railway workshops. Already the railways have utilized six miles of passenger carriages and vans for conversion into ambulance trains for use in this country and abroad, and nine additional ambulance trains are at present under construction. The railways run an average of about 160 special trains a day for the Government, which additional traffic adds to the difficulties of the "black-out." The Air Raid Precautions Regulations provide that no light shall be visible from the air. The lighting of Marshalling Yards has had to be cut by about 90 per cent, and over 40,000 railway carriages have had to be specially fitted with blinds and shades specially designed to throw the light below the level of the carriage windows. On receipt of an air raid warning the lights of every train will be extinguished by means of a master switch.

The trade unions have agreed to certain adjustments in Footplate Staff arrangements to meet war-time requirements, under which engine cleaners on reaching seventeen years of age will be permitted to undertake firing duties on shed and shunting work, and the retirement of engine-men at the age of sixty on the Great Western Railway will be suspended as a temporary measure.

No matter the nature or number of problems that may arise on the British railways, whether arising from circumstances connected with the war or otherwise, the trade unions will be always on the job to defend and advance the interests of railwaymen.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM NEW ZEALAND

It does appear to me also that now is the time when the Labour Movement throughout the world should have complete unity, for when peace is declared—which must happen some day—Labour should be heard and conditions should be laid down which would prevent dictatorship, Fascism or any form of aggression ever again troubling the world.—James Roberts, Secretary, New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union, and President of the New Zealand Labour Party.

FRENCH RAILWAYMEN AND THE WAR

By Jean Jarrigion, *General Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Federation*

At the end of 1938 the number of employees on the French Railway system was 500,994, of whom 34,315 were casually and 466,679 permanently employed.

If it is taken into account that the recruitment of staff was stopped in 1938 and that an increasing number was pensioned off in 1939, it may safely be said that the 110,000 railwaymen who are mobilized and have joined their military formations (infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineer corps, navy, air force, etc.) represent 25 per cent of the staff. Traffic on the railways has, on the other hand, increased by 40 per cent. The speed has been lowered and consequently the rotation of the rolling stock slowed down. Large numbers of locomotives, passenger vehicles and goods wagons have been immobilized for the permanent or sudden needs of the armies. Further, the black-out impedes quick working during the dark hours. In view of all these setbacks 25,000 pensioners were called up to resume their duties. Of these, 15,000 were still in the service at the end of 1939, the others had been sent home.

At the outbreak of hostilities working hours were increased. For locomotive and train staff to ten hours per day with a spreadover of fifteen hours, but twelve hours of consecutive rest at home and eight hours outside the place of residence were guaranteed. For stationary staff working hours were fixed either at ten hours per day with a spreadover of twelve, or at twelve hours with a spreadover of fifteen.

At the end of November, 1939, the average working hours for locomotive and office staff were reduced to an average of nine hours per day and nine hours and twenty minutes for light services.

Generally speaking, working hours have been increased by one third, but without involving any extra pay. It should be mentioned in this connection, however, that mobilized railwaymen receive full pay less their soldier's pay. The Federation is out to reduce working hours, as a prolongation of the present strain will diminish output and lead to overfatigue and illness.

No holidays have been granted since the beginning of September, but after pressure by the Railwaymen's Federation it has been decided to grant up to twelve days for the year 1939 to those who have had less.

Also in other respects the war means hardship for the railwaymen of France. Wages have remained unchanged since the beginning of September and all promotion has been stopped for the duration of the war, so as to avoid those staying behind being placed in a more favourable position than those at the front. During the first two months of the war there were no changes in the cost of living, but owing to the fall of the franc

and the higher costs of production a sharp rise has set in. Thanks to the activity of the Railwaymen's Federation an increase of 5 per cent on wages (not including the family allowance) has been granted as from January, 1940, but this does not meet the actual increase in the cost of living. It is also intended to increase slightly the allowances for staying away from home and for night duty.

Pensioners called back to work receive an allowance which is dependent upon the amount of their pension. It shall never be less than 20 per cent of the pension.

Although the railways are now under military command, the railwaymen, during the normal execution of their duties, continue to be governed by the ordinary disciplinary stipulations laid down in the collective agreements.

Free passes and cheap tickets for railwaymen and their families were cancelled at the outbreak of war, but have to a small degree been reintroduced.

The above conditions apply to France proper as well as to Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco.

With so large a number of railwaymen in the army, trade union life is naturally unfavourably affected. Many branch secretaries, treasurers, contribution collectors suddenly had to leave their jobs and long working hours leave little time for leisure. Serious trouble arose, moreover, over the attitude of the Communists, who then had to be "purged" because of their subversive actions. Branches led by Communists were simply closed and new ones opened. Yet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, the Federation was able to keep going and now it may be safely said that the worst is over.

On 17 December a National Council meeting was held in Paris, where it could be reported that out of 890 branches only 70 had expressed disagreement with the policy of the C.G.T. (French Trade Union Centre) and the French Railwaymen's Federation's supporting of it.

Meetings and conferences held all over the country go to show that the Federation has withstood the fireproof and that its vitality and activity are unimpaired.

But there is much to be done to complete and extend the Federation's achievements, and that will be its preoccupation in the near future.

Relations with Government departments and the Management have been maintained, but the Federation is not at all content with the measures taken in the social sphere, as they do not reveal a just evaluation of the important contribution which Labour is making and has to make during the present upheaval.

TO THE READER. Let us know your opinion about this paper; send us your suggestions; do not be afraid to criticize us. We welcome constructive criticism.

Meeting of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F., London, 27 & 28 January, 1940

An ordinary meeting of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. had been fixed for 10 and 11 October, 1939, in Amsterdam, but had to be postponed owing to the transfer of the Secretariat to England. The postponement did not mean that the work of the Secretariat was not supervised in the meantime, for soon after the removal of the office a new Management Committee was set up, which met three times between October and January.

A new meeting of the Executive Committee was called for 27 and 28 January, in London, and attended by all the members except one, while further the members of the Management Committee, the secretaries of the I.T.F., as well as a German and a Polish comrade, were in attendance.

The President of the I.T.F., Charles Lindley, was in the chair. In his opening speech he gave an analysis of the international situation and expressed the firm conviction that the present turmoil would lead to the downfall of aggressors and dictators. The I.T.F. would continue its work and succeed in overcoming the difficulties arising from the war.

A full report on the activities of the Secretariat for the period 1 June, 1939, to 15 January, 1940, gave rise to a long discussion. The decision to transfer the headquarters and to set up branch secretariats was approved. Arising from the report, valuable information was given by the members from France and Spain. With reference to the trade union position in France, the meeting with satisfaction noted the steps taken by the French organizations to discard disruptive elements from their ranks.

In view of the fact that leaders of the Polish Railwaymen's Union have been arrested in the part of Poland occupied by Russian troops and carried off to Russian territory, it was decided to send the following telegram to the Russian Railwaymen's Union in Moscow :

"The Executive Committee of the International Transportworkers' Federation are informed that several leaders of the Polish Railwaymen's Union have been arrested and deported to Russia, including the President Mastek, the General Secretary Grylowski, and the Lwow union official Talarek. We request you to investigate the whereabouts of our comrades, to inform us about the accusations brought against them to justify their imprisonment, and to promote with all the power at your command their being liberated and allowed to leave the country via a safe frontier."

It was decided to strengthen the relations with extra-European organizations as much as possible. Plans were discussed for holding territorial conferences in different parts of the world as soon as circumstances allow.

In this connection it was decided to start publication of a monthly journal in English and Spanish to be sent free of charge to all unions

concerned. Affiliated unions will receive a sufficient number of copies to supply one to each of their branches.

A special appeal will be sent to unaffiliated transport workers' unions urging them to join the I.T.F. without delay.

Important reports on Poland, Finland, Germany, and other countries were other features of the agenda. They were all very interesting and will be dealt with in the publication of the I.T.F. in so far as suitable.

Finally, the following resolutions were adopted :

The international situation

"The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London on 27 and 28 January, 1940, for the first time since the outbreak of war ;

"Desires to put on record the failure of the great powers to establish collective security and welfare on a sound basis ;

"Considers that if the great powers had proved capable of establishing such security and welfare they would have become the vehicles of a new world order ;

"Reiterates its oft-expressed opinion that the German dictators have deliberately sought to wreck peace in Europe, possessed as they are by the mania to subjugate Europe and the whole world, an object for the attainment of which they shun no means ; that a victory of this brutal regime would bring for the working classes the enslavement already witnessed in Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and war and misery for generations to come ; that it is therefore the task of the workers of all countries, without committing themselves to the policies of the governments, to help all they can to bring about the defeat and downfall of the Nazi dictatorship, whilst watching for the maintenance of their rights ;

"Expresses its sympathy with the British and French workers and peoples who have been obliged to go to war against aggression and for the defence of the peoples, including the German ;

"Extends its fraternal greetings to the working classes in Germany and the countries under the yoke of Nazi dictatorship, and its sympathies to those harassed, tortured or murdered in concentration camp or prison because they have incurred the displeasure of or have opposed the Nazi regime of violence ;

"Calls upon those peoples to struggle against their oppressors by all suitable means and assures them of all the assistance of which the I.T.F. is capable, satisfied as it is that the overwhelming majority of the German people can be won over to the cause of democracy ;

"Brands the alliance between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany as a betrayal of the cause of peace and the struggle against Nazism and Imperialism, as a betrayal of the workers whose countries are at present at war with Nazi Germany and who have always been urged by the followers of Moscow to such active resistance, as a betrayal also of the German workers who believed in the Soviet system and policy and sacrificed their freedom and lives in the struggle against National Socialism ;

"Declares that the denial of human rights, and terrorism and violence, have made possible the developments witnessed in Germany and Russia ; that experience shows that authoritarian, totalitarian and dictatorial rule result in oppression and war, and that the working classes have therefore to strive for complete economic and social as well as political democracy ; that to attain these objects, to achieve a peace based on justice, and to bring about between the peoples co-operation to promote the common welfare, it is necessary for the workers and their independent organizations to join together in fighting the dictatorships of Hitler, Stalin and other potentates ;

"Appeals to all organized transport workers still outside to join the ranks of the International without delay."

Finland

"The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London on 27 and 28 January, 1940, for the first time since the outbreak of war—

"Expresses its horror at the treacherous attack upon Finland, an outcome of the unholy alliance between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia ;

"Observes that the staging of the conflict with Finland is an exact imitation of the Nazi method, and that the bombing of open towns and villages and shooting of fleeing women and children from the air reveals a brutality like the German bombing and killing at Guernica in Spain ;

"Expresses sympathy with the Finnish people who, including the workers, are united in the struggle against aggression ;

"Notes with satisfaction that they are not prepared to submit again to the Russian yoke under which they suffered so long ; that they rally to their own democratic government and repudiate the puppet government installed by Stalin ;

"Urges that the utmost moral and material support be given to the affiliated Finnish trade unions ;

"Calls upon the Russian workers to resist a regime which by the attack on Finland has outraged the conscience of humanity, and trusts that the workers in all countries will turn in disgust from the Stalin regime ;

"Strongly urges the states who are members of the League of Nations and the United States to give all effective assistance

in men, munitions, medical supplies and food to the resistance to this brutal aggression."

Poland

"The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London on 27 and 28 January, 1940, for the first time since the outbreak of war—

"Extends its deep-felt sympathy to the Polish people overcome after a heroic struggle, especially on the part of the labour legions, against an overwhelmingly stronger aggressor.

"After hearing a report by a member of the General Council of the I.T.F., K. Maxamin, assistant general secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union, the Executive Committee—

"Expresses its horror at the extortions, evictions, lootings, violations, executions and other atrocities defying description which have been committed by the Nazi invaders ;

"Stigmatizes these outrages before the world as an outcome of National Socialist education of the young, and expresses its contempt for the bestial Nazi regime ;

"Protests against the destruction of the free trade unions in the regions occupied by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and against the arrest and carrying off of Polish workers and their leaders ;

"Assures the Polish members of the I.T.F. of the fullest possible assistance in their struggle for the liberation of their people and for the establishment of an independent democratic Poland."

FINLAND'S PLIGHT—WE BACK FINLAND

There has never been a lack of historical lies and half-truths. Just as one can always hire the services of a lawyer, however bad the case, so any crime can always be excused by an appeal to the past.

Are independently thinking workers impressed by the argument that governments of countries which have condemned the aggression of Soviet Russia against Finland in the past committed acts of aggression themselves? And, what is more important, would such sophism make any impression upon the Finnish people who to a man are resisting the invader and fighting for their independence with the courage of despair?

No, such attempts to explain and excuse a crime only seek to evade the question.

When governments commit acts of aggression they do so AGAINST the will of the peoples over which they rule ; but when they express abhorrence at acts of aggression they speak IN THE NAME of the peoples. For the mass of the people, the working class, are the conscience of a nation.

It is true that the Communist revolution in Finland in 1918 was crushed by the Finnish ruling group with the aid of German troops of the kind with which Stalin has made his pact. Those German troops conducted themselves in Finland in a similar way as those who in Poland to-day cement the Russo-German alliance in blood.

It is true that since then there have always been Finns who felt themselves united to the Soviet Union. But the last of them were massacred when Soviet airmen dropped the first bombs on the very districts of Helsingfors inhabited by those Soviet supporters.

But it is also true that the workers of Finland have not been inactive since 1918 ; they have built up independent trade unions, a co-operative movement which is an example to the world, and a political party which is the strongest in the

country, so that they are able to exert a great influence over the affairs of State.

It is also true that they have succeeded in improving the conditions of the working class step by step, and that living standards in Finland had risen far above the Russian level.

It is true that the Finnish standards were still far below those of the Scandinavian workers. But who could be surprised at that? It is also true that the Finnish workers, with the assistance of the working class of the Scandinavian countries, were steadily making up the arrears. To raise living standards from an Asiatic to a European level is no easy task.

The Finnish workers have nothing good to expect of the Russian conquest.

Warning voices say that the Russian bear must not be angered too much lest he range himself entirely on the side of Hitler.

So what? we would ask.

Abandon Finland to its fate? Leave in the lurch our Finnish members who call for help? Let the Finnish trade unions be suppressed, their leaders killed and replaced by Russian " commissaries " who will determine who shall be allowed to sit on their committees, and who shall be deported to Siberia?

We back Finland, and await the verdict of history with confidence.

History is in the making—what will the Russian workers say?

SCANDINAVIAN RAILWAYMEN AND FINLAND

A meeting of the Scandinavian Railwaymen's Secretariat, which embraces the railwaymen's unions of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland (all also affiliated to the International Transport-workers' Federation), was held in Oslo, the capital of Norway, on 12 January last. The Finnish representative, Mr. Saveri, reported on the

(Continued on page 21, col. 2.)

Poor Poland

By Karl Maxamin, *Assistant General Secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union**

"These weeks we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the conclusion of the non-aggression pact with Poland. Between them and us peace and understanding shall reign." *Adolf Hitler* in the Reichstag on 30 January, 1939.

No earthquake, however terrible, could have wrought more havoc than did the German army in Warsaw. "What I saw," said an Italian diplomat, "was worse than the earthquake of Messina in 1908." More destruction was done by the sub-men than could have been done by the blind forces of nature. In the war of 1914-18, which I experienced as a soldier, I did not in four years see so much cruelty, so much sheer destructiveness, as in the few weeks of Poland's resistance. To describe it all and examine the events leading up to this conflict, would fill several numbers of this journal. So I must confine myself to as brief as possible a summary of what I consider the most essential.

The preparations for the attack on Poland were not solely military in character. Let this be a warning to other countries. The war was prepared by German sociologists, economists, geologists, and psychologists in every detail, and was preceded by espionage in every sphere. Espionage and preparations were facilitated by the feeble attitude of a Polish Government, which had tried to keep off its mortal enemy by concluding a ten-year pact with it. Beck's friendship for his hunting companion Göring has indeed been rewarded. Non-aggression pacts for totalitarian states mean to await a favourable opportunity for attack.

It is true that the Polish Government had no or little support among the population, but is that a reason to assault a country and its people? The Polish people fought not for its Government, but for its freedom. To those who fought for the freedom of the Poles, to working Poland, the future Poland will belong.

The military resistance which was offered was due not to the general staff of the Polish army—which had control of the Government—but to independently acting military formations, and the defence of Warsaw was chiefly in the hands of workers' battalions which had their headquarters in the building of the Polish Railwaymen's Union.

The defence of Warsaw was not ceased because of lack of courage or materials, but because the city was without water, light or food. Open warfare has ceased, but guerilla fighting continues.

From hiding-places in the Carpathian Mountains and the river valleys brave men are carrying on a fight to the finish. Two to three divisions have been added to the German occupation army recently!

Is there anyone who believes that this war was undertaken by Germany for the sake of Danzig or the Corridor? Of course not. These were but pretexts to mask the real intention of the attack: the *Drang nach dem Osten*, the eastward urge that haunts all who dream of Teutonic conquest; the establishment of a German hegemony over the whole of Central Europe; to free a large area for colonists from Germany, Russia, Tyrol, and the Baltic states; a jumping ground for the conquest of South East Europe; the control of raw materials and foodstuffs for the final struggle against the West.

It is only too well known how the Germans ravaged Poland and are still ravaging it to-day. Whole towns and villages of no military significance were wiped out. Very many railway stations were destroyed without necessity, unless it was to kill the refugees in them; hospitals bombed at every opportunity; ten thousands of non-combatants murdered; ten thousands driven from home; and every day still scores are being executed and hundreds if not thousands daily die of starvation or exposure.

Why all this cruelty, all this inhumaneness?

The explanation that these characteristics are inherent in the National Socialist make-up is plausible, but not sufficient. Plausible it is because the worst atrocities were committed by the S.A., the S.S., the Gestapo, and then of course by young soldiers who changed the uniform of the Hitler Youth for that of the soldier, pure products therefore of National Socialist training, whereas the older men on the whole behaved with fair decency. The explanation, rather, is that an example had to be made: Look, peoples of the West, North and South-East! This is what awaits you if you dare oppose us supermen! But there is more. Poland is no thinly populated country, and National Socialism will not rest before millions upon millions of Poles have been exterminated. Germany, so runs the Nazis' reasoning, is a "People without Space," so Poland must become a "Space without People."

* Karl Maxamin is a member of the General Council of the I.T.F. and experienced the siege of Warsaw. At risk to his life he succeeded in escaping to Rumania. His account is based upon what he saw himself or heard from trustworthy comrades he met in Rumania and elsewhere.

But to destroy the Polish spirit is impossible. To destroy the hatred of the Prussian oppressor is also impossible. To kill is possible—the dead have no spirit, know no hatred. But to kill all is again impossible, because the German "masters" need serfs to work for them for starvation wages. That is why so many schools have been closed. The Poles must be reduced to illiteracy again, in order that they may be easier prey for the German oppressor.

What the position is under German occupation? Germany has occupied an area of 70,000 square miles with a population of 22,000,000. Of this about 35,000 square miles with a population of about 8,000,000, containing less than 5% Germans, has been annexed to the Third Reich. In this part peasants are being driven from their properties, shopkeepers ejected from their businesses. Workers, peasants, school teachers, and intellectuals, and even children, are being carried away to Germany to work or to be tortured in a concentration camp. Horrible are the conditions in the camps, of which many have been established in Poland. The death rate is terrible, hygienic conditions indescribable. After seven o'clock in the evening no one may be in the streets. In the towns two heavily armed soldiers are stationed at the corner of every street. Armoured cars patrol the streets. In the cafés only German officers are seen. On trams that circulate the first places are for German officers, next German soldiers, and if there is still room Poles and finally Jews may be carried. In various towns in the west Poles and Jews are not allowed to walk on the pavements. They must walk in the road and uncover their heads at the approach of every German "hero."

Frightful is the number of executions, which the population are made to witness until late at night. In Posen 4,000 persons were executed; in Bromberg 1,000 (by the middle of November). Wagonloads of young women, many of them seized in the streets, have been carried away to brothels.

The plight of the Jews is if possible still more tragic. During the first days hundreds were slaughtered in the streets. In Warsaw a ghetto has been created, while in Lublin an area has been reserved for Jews. It has room for 50,000 people, but 750,000 are being sent there. Thousands already camp in the open air and die of hunger and exposure.

At Tarnow children under threat of death have been made to set fire to churches and synagogues, the spectacle being filmed by the Germans. Priests are arrested and tortured.

Libraries, archives, museums, laboratories, factories have been plundered; precious books burned; churches have been sacked; public and

private buildings have been looted and wrecked by German soldiers.

Economic conditions are shocking. Factories have been deliberately burned down, after their machinery had been carried off to Germany. Farmers must take their supplies to institutions controlled by the military authorities. Cattle has been largely killed off and sent to Germany. There is little fodder and food also is becoming more and more scarce. Silk, leather and textiles are unobtainable, and there is no question of any being imported from Germany.

Unless help comes from abroad, the Polish population and the Jews will literally die of starvation. Meat prices have risen 350%, bread prices 400%! Other prices correspondingly. Wages for the few who are employed have not risen, however, and sometimes they have even been reduced. A whole population is doomed if the rich countries do not come to the rescue. Offers have already been made from America, but the German occupation authorities will not allow the distribution of food to be done by foreign committees. The Germans want to distribute it themselves. I have no confidence in this compassion of the German National Socialists, whose whole conduct and only object is to ruin the Polish people.

Poor Poles! Poor Warsaw, a third of your houses lie in ruins; your parks and gardens have been changed to cemeteries. A relentless enemy tramples on the heart of your people.

But you will not perish. By your struggle you have made possible the mobilization of the Western powers, and with them you will triumph. I know you regard and treat the foreign invader with contempt. I know also the experience you have in illegal struggle. You have already unmasked the agents provocateurs in your ranks. You have already drawn up the programme for the new Poland for which you fight:

Independence, democracy and social justice.

Abolition of all privileges.

Abolition of large ownership of land.

A democratic national defence.

Political, economic and cultural equality of opportunity for all nationalities.

Good education. Freedom of science and religion.

Fraternal co-operation with the free democratic peoples of Europe.

* * *

In a future article I hope to describe the conditions in the part of Poland occupied by Soviet Russia, and to deal with the Ukrainian question.

HE SAID IT!

"I have never written a single line or made a single speech in which I have expressed any attitude contrary to my actions."—Adolf Hitler in the Reichstag on 28 April, 1939

RETIREMENT AGE FOR CONDUCTORS IN AMERICA

In the January issue of *The Railway Conductor*, organ of the Order of Railway Conductors of America (founded 1868), Mr. J. A. Phillips, the President of the Order, publishes some interesting data concerning the age of conductors still in the service.

Approximately 650 conductors over seventy years of age and 3,875 conductors sixty-five years of age or over are now in service. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, there are between 23,000 and 24,000 conductors working at present, so that about one out of every six or seven conductors now working is over sixty-five years of age and eligible for an annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act.

This law is, however, quite insufficient. We should say it must be, as the contribution paid by the employees and the railroads was $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ each up to the end of 1939 and 3% each as from 1 January, 1940. That makes a total of 6% only.

The Order of Railway Conductors has balloted its members on some twenty sample proposals for the amendment of the Act, five of which would be given first consideration. The five highest ranking proposals read as follows:

11. To eliminate the service requirement in disability annuity cases and to change the qualification to "retired by a carrier for mental or physical disability" or its equivalent, but making no provision for a minimum annuity.
2. To provide for compulsory retirement at age of seventy in 1940, decreasing one year every year until sixty-five is reached.
18. To provide an annuity to the widow of an annuitant equal to one half of the amount received by the annuitant.
3. To provide for compulsory retirement at the age of sixty-five.
15. To provide pensions for those retired by the roads prior to 29 August, 1935, who are not now receiving pensions.

In his comments on these proposals Mr. Phillips points out the need of liberalizing the requirements for disability annuities. As the law stands, a conductor who is injured or disabled is liable to get no pension at all. The Act says that a man must be "totally and permanently disabled for regular employment for hire" in order to qualify for a disability annuity. Thus, a man who is taken out of service, because his eyesight, hearing or physical general condition does not satisfy the rigid standards required for railroad service, may fail to qualify for a disability annuity because he is still able to do some light work. Quite a number of train service men are already in that position and some of them are probably on relief. An amendment based on proposal 11 would take

care of these men and of about 6,000 similar cases arising each year, at an additional cost to each employee of only 50 cents for each \$100.00 of the taxable payroll.

WAGES OF SECTION LABOURERS ON THE ATLANTIC COAST LINE

Mr. F. H. Fljozdal, the President of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, in the December 1939 issue of the Journal of the Brotherhood, states that the 30-cent minimum hourly wage fixed by the Wage and Hour Administrator meant an increase for a number of permanent way labourers. Trackmen on the Atlantic Coast Line received only 21 cents an hour. On other roads there were some maintenance of way men receiving under 30 cents. Since 1923 the rate of pay for the overwhelming majority of the section labourers was \$1.60 a day on the Atlantic Coast Line, with some receiving \$1.10 a day, the day supposed to have been based upon eight hours work, but there were numerous instances where investigation revealed that during the past five or six years the gangs worked more or less regularly nine, ten, and even eleven hours a day without overtime being allowed.

BUT BOILERMAKERS ARE BETTER OFF

American boilermakers have signed an agreement with the Commercial Boiler Works, of Seattle, Wash., which provides for the six-hour day in 29 counties of the state of Washington and the eight-hour day in the rest of the state and in other states.

Double time to be paid for overtime on Saturdays, Sundays, and official holidays.

These are the hourly wage rates: Foremen \$1.75; assistant foremen \$1.59; and helpers \$1.25. When men are called in and not given work on arrival, they are to be paid \$3 a day per man for waiting time.—*Labor*, Washington, January 2, 1940.

REPORT FROM THE PALESTINE RAILWAYMEN'S UNION

The outbreak of war has overshadowed all other conflicts.

During the first eight months of 1939 the country was in a deplorable state because of the disturbances, and the members of our union were exposed to great dangers while carrying out their duties. This state of affairs has now almost come to an end.

Although Palestine has not yet been touched directly by the war, the economic repercussions are very serious. Unemployment has increased, the cost of living is rising. On the railways the five-day week is still in force. There is little activity on the railways because of the reduced citrus exports. Oranges, lemons, etc., are Palestine's chief articles of export, but it is exceedingly difficult now to find markets and sea transport facilities for them. Moreover, the import of capital from abroad has almost come to a standstill.

Raw materials and other essential commodities to be imported from abroad are difficult to be had,

AMALGAMATION OF SWEDISH RAILWAY- MEN'S UNIONS

An Amalgamation Conference of the Swedish unions of railwaymen, locomotive staff and train staff, will be held in Stockholm from 14 to 18 April next. With the exception of railway clerks, who still have a union of their own, but who most probably will join in the near future, all railwaymen will after the amalgamation have been completed be in one and the same union. This development of trade union organization in a large but thinly populated country calls for some comment.

It is no idle statement, but a fact, that the Swedish trade union movement is the strongest in the world. The Swedes, because of their modesty, never boast of their achievement, but we, as the International to which they belong, desire to bring them into the limelight, as their example might (and should) inspire others. Sweden's population has not yet reached the 6½ million mark, but the Swedish Federation of Labour has a membership of over 800,000, and there are still a few organizations which do not belong to it and whose aggregate membership may be calculated at about 100,000. The transport workers (dockers and road transport) have 36,000 members; seamen 14,000; railwaymen 37,000; locomotive engineers and firemen 5,000; and they all belong to the International Transportworkers' Federation. One hundred per cent union organization is no exception in Sweden; it is the rule. At the start the Swedish trade unions were built on

and necessarily efforts must be made to make the country more self-supporting both in respect of food and industrial products. The Government is taking measures to help unemployed Arab and Jewish communities by providing funds which will partly have to be used for public works.

We estimate the rise in the cost of living at 15 per cent. Most of the bigger industrial concerns are granting cost of living allowances, but so far Government employees get nothing extra. The Railwaymen's Union has been negotiating with the Railway Management, but its efforts have not yielded any results so far, apart from the fact that the matter has been referred to the Colonial Office in London. Pressure is being brought to bear through the I.T.F. to obtain a favourable decision. Representations have also been made to the Management in the matter of providing gas masks for the railwaymen, but so far without result.

The membership of the union has remained stable and it will continue its work to further the interests of the railwaymen, regardless of nationality, race or religion. The cause of democracy can, in countries like Palestine, best be served by enhancing the workers' standard of living, which we sincerely hope will also be understood by the powers that be.

the craft system. There is little doubt that this system offers the best opportunity for bringing the workers of the same trade together. Only a few years ago there were separate organizations for sailors, firemen, and cooks and stewards; but they have since amalgamated into one organization. Amalgamation should never be an end in itself. Fusion of weak unions does not make a strong union because it has more members. As a matter of fact, it may become even weaker, as it will not be able to look after the several interests for which it has to cater. It is only when unions become strong, when they have reached certain standards of wages and general conditions, that they must co-operate to further the interests of the whole if solidarity between workers is to be maintained. Of the correctness of this ideal the Swedish trade union movement is thoroughly convinced. The main object of the movement as a whole is to-day to bring up the lower paid workers to decent standards. The consequence of this may be that the better-paid workers have to wait for improvements and will get no increase at all.

In reality, it is considerations of this kind that have led three or four Swedish railwaymen's unions to join their forces and to form one bloc for negotiating with the railway managements on staff conditions. Better-paid railway employees feel that they have a duty towards those who are at the bottom. They think no longer of getting something for themselves and leaving others in the lurch. They will not allow the management to play off one group against another; and they know this: that if they do desert their comrades, their own gains will not be lasting, because the next time they in their turn will be deserted by their colleagues and left alone by the employers as well.

We desire to congratulate our Swedish comrades on their amalgamation. We are aware of their motives and we are sure that by setting up sections within the central organization for the different departments they will be able to protect the individual as well as the common interests of the railwaymen of Sweden.

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

On a motion sponsored by George Harrison, President, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (U.S.A.) the inter-American Conference of States, members of the International Labour Organization, meeting at Havana, Cuba, late in November, went on record in favour of the free association of workers, not only in unions within their own trade but also in confederations of unions. Brother Harrison was a worker delegate to the conference representing the United States.

Thus 134 delegates and advisers, among whom were important government officials representing nineteen of the twenty-two western hemisphere states committed themselves to the principle that workers should have the right to organize freely and without interference for the purpose of bargaining collectively.—*Railway Clerk*, Cincinnati, Ohio, January, 1940.

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

QUOTATIONS

The trade union press is tending to become increasingly general in character. It no longer confines itself to questions affecting the trade and trade unionism, but deals with important events, the significance of certain phenomena in economic and political life, and so on. Although our space is limited, we propose to reproduce here extracts from matter of this kind. We begin with *North American and New Zealand papers*.

The trade union press may not be modest in these times. It is capable of exerting a great influence on the building of the new world, if it steadily and lucidly propagates the programme of the working class with regard to the peace and war aims, if it maintains its freedom and independence, and points to the shortcomings and dangers which exist and have to be combated also in the democratic countries.

A MESSAGE FOR THE NEW YEAR

... The great nations are not yet ready to limit their sovereignty to the extent demanded by the necessity of co-operation in an international institution such as the League, but they will inevitably see that this is a small sacrifice as compared with the toll of war in life and property. . . .

Democracy, like charity, must begin at home. It cannot be said that representative government has been fully achieved in any nation; the determination of political policies has remained in the hands of comparatively few people, and the method of expressing the popular will has been far from adequate. . . .

Much more difficult is the problem of applying democratic principles in the field of economics. Along with political democracy there must be industrial democracy, with provision for the representation of the workers as well as the owners of the machinery of production, and this must lead to the adoption of co-operative methods, as well as national planning, and the public ownership and operation of all public utilities at least. . . . Poverty and plenty cannot be reconciled, and whatever adjustments or reforms of the economic system are required must ultimately be made.

In the larger sphere of international affairs, the part played by economic factors must be more widely understood. There is an increasing conviction that the fundamental cause of war is economic insecurity, and that dictators are little more than popular symbols of economic unrest. . . . Only when the nations of the world have united in a common effort to provide economic security, on a basis of justice and democracy, will the evil spirit of war be exorcised.

The task of reconstruction must therefore be threefold: the establishment of machinery for the adjustment of international disputes and the promotion of human welfare in the widest sense; the perfection of democratic institutions in every nation, and the provision of economic security within and between the nations. Canada is bound to play an increasingly important role in international affairs, because of her strategic position. . . .—A. R. Mosher, President of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other Transport Workers, January, 1940.

NEW RAILWAY LINES IN LATIN AMERICA

A total of approximately 2,830 miles of steam railways are under construction or planned for the future in Latin America at the present time, according to a survey of the Department of Commerce.

South America has by far the largest mileage under construction or projected, with 2,015 miles, while Mexico, with 828 miles, has the largest amount of railway construction of

any one country in Latin America. In Central America only 31 miles are under construction or planned. On the 2,830 miles total, present construction projects are actively engaged in building 1,261 of railway lines, while the other miles are parts of projects which are expected to begin in the immediate future. In addition there are 717 miles of electrified lines now under construction or projected in Brazil.—*Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1939.

IF YOU INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE MASSES

"Several months ago an investigation was made of the manner in which American families spend their incomes. It was found that there were 16,000,000 families receiving less than \$1,250 a year. The investigation figured out that if all these could be raised to \$1,500, and if they spent their money as do those already receiving that amount, \$800,000,000 more would be spent each year for food, \$400,000,000 more for clothing, \$600,000,000 for rentals, \$450,000,000 more for fuel, light, refrigeration and house furnishings, \$385,000,000 more for automobiles, and \$200,000,000 more with the doctor, the dentist and the druggist."—Information Branch of the Wage and Hour Division, U.S. Department of Labor, especially prepared for *The Railroad Trainman*, December, 1939.

NEW ZEALAND SEAMEN CONDEMN RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE

At a stop-work meeting held on December 5th, 1939, at Wellington, the Federated Seamen's Union of New Zealand carried a resolution, from which we quote the following:

"This meeting . . . records its profound sympathy with the people of Finland now suffering under brutal aggression in pursuance of the policies of the Stalin-Hitler partnership. . . .

"This meeting remembers the conditions under which the Soviet Government was first established in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, and how it expressly repudiated the kind of aggression that Stalin and the present Russian dictatorship have launched. Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific Socialism, vigorously opposed aggression against small nations. . . .

"To us the crimes of Stalin's dictatorship are even more repugnant than those of his comrade and fellow-worker Hitler—for at least the latter never pretended to act in the interests of the working class throughout the world. . . .

"In conclusion, we appeal to the German and to the Russian workers to remember their splendid tradition of resistance to oppression, and to rise against and overthrow the Hitler and Stalin dictatorships that have not only revealed their inability to fulfil any of their promises to their supporters, but, despite years of mutual recrimination and mock hostility, have shown themselves to be for all practical purposes and particularly as regards the treatment of their own workers, and the workers of small nations, dictatorships of the same order. Therefore, we call upon the German and Russian people to replace them by governments controlled by and acting in the interests of all the useful people of their countries."

SOVIET RUSSIA BECOMES AN AGGRESSOR

The most amazing alteration of Russian policy was shown by the invasion of Finland, following the refusal of the Finns to follow the example of the small Baltic nations, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, and give Russia what she wanted in the way of ports, air-bases, etc. It is now believed that Russia demanded a free hand in the Baltic as a condition of entering the democratic "Peace Front." . . . In any event, Russia has abandoned a policy of working for peace, which was of great moral value, and is now on the old imperialist trail, against which she fulminated for two decades. The invasion of Finland is utterly inexcusable, and has done immense harm to the principles of which Russia was the chief proponent and example.—M. M. MacLean in *The Canadian Railway Employees' Monthly*, Quebec, Canada, for January, 1940.

LABOUR UNITY AGAINST MONEY-POWER

The slogan "Workers Unite" was never more applicable than to-day. . . . The Labour Government was elected by the people of this country by an overwhelming majority fourteen months ago. Ever since, money-power, class privileges, and their agencies in New Zealand have adopted a policy of aggression towards the people who produce goods and render service for the nation.

The Labour Government decided that money should be the servant of the people. The forces of reaction demand that the people shall be the slaves of money, and that New Zealand shall continue the happy hunting ground for profiteers. Organizations have been established for the sole purpose of defeating the Government. . . .

The Labour Movement can and must defeat all those agencies if New Zealand and its people are to live as a free democratic state, but we require unity within the Movement to achieve this purpose. Have we that unity to-day? We believe that we have. There may be discontent over many things, but fundamentally the great Movement of Labour is sound, and it only requires a lead to show to those who are fighting against the best interests of this nation that democracy in New Zealand will not tolerate an attack against its rights and liberties. . . .

The rights and privileges fought for by trade unionists for many years are at stake. The rights of the people of New Zealand to elect their own government are being challenged. The living standards of the wage and salaried workers obtained through the legislation passed by the Labour Government are being threatened. Labour organization must be up and doing, for Labour cannot allow either class privilege or money-power to wreck our present form of government and our social and economic institutions in New Zealand. . . .

The slogan of the Trade Union Movement for over a century has been "Workers Unite." That unity was always necessary to protect the economic interests of the working-class. To-day this slogan is more applicable than ever. Labour by its organization and effort has elected a Labour Government in New Zealand. We have a movement second to none in the world. Unfortunately we quarrel over non-essentials, but let us show those who want to wreck the Labour Movement that Labour can sink its differences, and that the workers will rally to the cause of maintaining Labour in power in New Zealand, and making this country a land where poverty, unemployment, and all those ills created by money-power are unknown—a country where living standards will be in accordance with the productive power of the people—a country where those who produce wealth and render service will be rewarded by the full fruits of their Labour.

(*The New Zealand Transport Worker*, Wellington, 15 December, 1939.)

EMPLOYERS' METHODS IN THE U.S.A.

The National Manufacturers' Association has been proven an enemy of all and any form of trades unionism, except alleged organizations commonly termed "company unions," at hearings held by the La Follette committee of the United States Senate.

Sworn testimony by members of the Manufacturers' Association, their own gunmen and private detectives, and other witnesses, prove that body to have for years past used any and every means to head off, suppress, and destroy efforts by their employees to organize and bargain collectively. The methods used ran all the way from the use of spies in shops and factories, undercover agents in the unions, hiring of finks, former convicts, gunmen, and the use by them of tear gas, machine-guns, sawed-off shotguns and other weapons, to creating "riots" during which it was possible to kill with impunity officials of unions. The "black list" was also used to prevent any employee, discharged because of his union activities, or because it was thought he had engaged in union activities, from securing work at his trade or calling.

That terror and intimidation were the stock in trade of that Association in its fight to prevent A.F. of L. unions being organized in plants owned by members, is shown by the evidence produced during hearings held by the Senate Committee.

Now comes the head of that Association in a speech at a midwestern city meeting, and attempts to make it appear that all who favour organization of labour are either alien enemies of Americanism or being directed by paid agents of foreign governments. . . .

As a cold hard fact Americanism to such as the head of National Manufacturers' Association, means the denial to all who labour of the right to unite with their fellows in an effort to secure conditions and wages by virtue of which they could lead a more pleasant life, both physically and mentally. . . .

"Americanism" as used by members of the National Manufacturers' Association is a cloak in which they array themselves the better to make of this democracy a state similar to the totalitarian states across the sea, wherein labour would be stripped of freedom to unite and worked at long hours for contemptible wages without the right to in any manner protest. . . .

(*The Railroad Telegrapher*, St. Louis, Mo., for December, 1939.)

(Continued from page 15.)

situation in his country. Since the Russian aggression on Finland, democracy has become stronger than ever in the country and trade union work is proceeding as usual without any restriction of rights whatsoever.

The Secretariat unanimously decided to ask the affiliated unions to grant one crown per member (70,000 crowns in all) for the Finnish Railwaymen's Union, which is to use the funds for relief work among Finnish railwaymen and their families.

Scandinavian Transport Workers and Finland. The Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, to which all transport workers' and seamen's unions belonging to the I.T.F. are affiliated, held a special conference at Stockholm on 12 February, 1940. The following resolution was adopted:

"The Conference decides to vote a sum of 10,000 crowns from the Federation's funds for the purpose of giving financial aid to the Finnish transport workers' and seamen's organizations. It further decides to invite its constituent unions to contribute an amount of not less than one year's affiliation fees for the Finnish organizations, to be forwarded to them through the Federation."

The Swedish Transport Workers' Union, in addition to the 10,000 crowns already given to Finland, has decided to grant a further 10,000 crowns in response to the above appeal.

The I.T.F. has sent £100 to the Fund started by the National Council of Labour in Great Britain.

AN INTERESTING SUMMARY OF CHANGES IN THE U.S.A.

More than 600 officers and members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers met in Cleveland, on 2 December, 1939, to pay tribute to their President, Mr. David Robertson, who celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his membership of the Brotherhood. The President of the United States sent him a personal letter, addressed to "My dear Davy," honouring him as a man who had done so much in the interests of the wage earners of the United States and assuring him that he had established a record for fairness, square dealing, liberalism, and labour statesmanship.

Mr. Robertson, in a masterful address, gave a survey of the changes which he had seen happen during the forty years of his membership and we think that this summing up is of interest to all our readers.

Wages and Hours

Forty years ago the wages of locomotive firemen on a leading eastern railroad were classified on the basis of \$1.75 per day for the first year of service, \$1.90 for the second year, and \$2.12 thereafter. Classification has long since been abolished, and to-day the predominating rate on the same railroad in freight service is \$6.59. Forty years ago the basis of a day's work on the same railroad was twelve hours. To-day it is eight.

Changes in the Transportation Industry

Forty years ago the motor vehicle was but an experiment. To-day there are in round numbers thirty million motor vehicle registrations—approximately 25,000,000 passenger automobiles, and 5,000,000 motor trucks.

In 1916, there were 60,000,000 head of live stock received at markets by rail, and 985,000 by truck. In 1936 there were 22,000,000 received by rail and 27,000,000 by truck.

Within ten years the number of passengers carried by airplane increased from 5,782 in 1926 to 1,020,931 in 1936.

Due to vast expenditure by the Government for river improvement, commerce by water transportation increased from 116,300,000 tons in 1921 to 276,263,000 tons in 1936.

Railroad mileage in 1900 was 193,346. It steadily increased until 1916, when it reached an all time peak of 254,251. Since that year there has been a steady reduction in mileage to 236,842, where it stood on December 31, 1938.

Technological Developments and Rationalization

Technological developments have played their significant part in the railroad industry as in others. The most outstanding are the increase in the size of locomotives, the size of freight cars, and the length of trains; in mechanical devices used in the laying and repair of tracks; in the building and repair of engines and cars, and even in the clerical department.

Forty years ago the average tractive effort of locomotives was approximately 20,000 pounds; in 1938 approximately 50,000. The average ton capacity of freight cars was 25 tons; in 1938 it was about 50. The revenue tons per freight train were 244, in 1938 they had increased to 677—an increase of 241%.

There is no record of the average speed of freight trains prior to 1921. In 1922 an average speed of 11.1 miles per hour was obtained; it had increased to 16.6 miles in 1938.

Number of Staff

While the number employed in given periods has been affected by business conditions, it cannot be denied that technological improvements have played a vital part in reducing employment.

In 1920 the peak was reached with 2,023,000 employees. In 1937 the number was 1,137,000, or 45% less, although revenue freight ton miles had decreased only 12% and gross ton miles had increased 3%. In 1938 there were 958,000 railway employees in service.

Between 1922 and 1938 the total number of engineers and firemen was reduced from 124,232 to 94,504—or 34%; but in the same period the number of ton miles per engineer and fireman increased by almost 30%.

Development of the Brotherhood

The Brotherhood was born on December 1, 1873, when eleven locomotive firemen designated themselves as members of Lodge No. 1 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. In 1875 the membership had increased to 900 Firemen in thirty-one lodges.

The Thirteenth Convention, which was held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1886, has been termed the first real labour convention of the Brotherhood. From that time until 1895, during which its members were involved in the Burlington strike of 1888 and in the American Railway Union and Pullman strikes of 1894, considerable difficulty was experienced by the officers in preventing complete disruption of the organization.

A new era in the development of the Brotherhood followed the troublesome period of 1894. In 1895 the Brotherhood had 519 lodges, 22,461 members and assets amounting to \$12,400.47. In 1905 the membership had reached 58,849 and the assets amounted to \$530,296.66. In 1913 the organization had 826 lodges, 91,108 members, and the assets amounted to \$3,183,019.65. In 1922: 905 lodges, 107,302 members, and \$10,329,856.06. The peak was reached in April, 1920, when 126,487 members were on the rolls. But from 1923 to 1933 the number of engine service employees was reduced by 60,000 and consequently the membership total fell from 118,045 in December 1923, to 60,591 in December, 1933.

On September 30, 1939, the total assets of the Brotherhood had risen to \$25,353,588.18 and the membership on October 31, 1939, was 80,357, representing a net gain of 2,733 during the first ten months of 1939.

Speaking of relations with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Mr. Robertson ventured the prediction that while certain influences may continue to keep the engineers in two separate organizations for some time, there will eventually be but one organization, representing all engine-men.

MISCELLANEOUS

Jugoslav railwaymen's wages have been increased. Not only were the Yugoslav railway labourers successful in re-establishing their trade union, but they have also succeeded in increasing their rates of pay as from 1 January. Wages grades (as apart from salaried grades) have had their basic wages increased by 10%, representing from 55 to 159.50 dinars per month. (The official rate of exchange is 165 dinars to the £.)

100,000 *British railway shopmen* had their weekly wages increased by 5s. for adult workers and proportional increases for junior workers retrospectively from 1 January.

Gains for French sleeping and dining car personnel. Their union has secured the following gains: Payment for holidays not taken owing to the outbreak of war; payment of part of the wages to mobilized men, and a monthly allowance for the dependants of mobilized men.

The Railway Labour Executives' Association (U.S.A.) won an important lawsuit when the judge ordered the restoration of \$162,000 wage deductions made by the Rutland Railway in 1938.

Retirement of two prominent European railwaymen's leaders. Mr. P. Moltmaker, President of the Dutch Union of Railwaymen has been obliged to retire because of ill health. Mr. Moltmaker was a member of the Management Committee of the I.T.F. for twenty years and is one of the few who wear the golden badge of the I.T.F. After a lifetime of splendid service to the British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, the General Secretary, Mr. W. J. R. Squance, has retired.

Legal rest periods for Argentine motor drivers. All professional motor drivers, both in public and private service, now come under an Argentine Act providing for a weekly rest period.

Award for Philadelphia motor drivers. The National Labour Relations Board has ordered a company in Philadelphia to re-engage eighteen drivers dismissed late in 1935 for union activities and to pay them back wages estimated at a total of \$58,000.

Trolley-bus drivers in Flint (U.S.A.) secured an increase of 5 cents an hour (bringing their hourly wage up to \$0.73) after an eleven-day strike.

Eighty thousand employees of private company-owned bus, tram and trolley-bus undertakings in England and Wales have received an increase of 4s. a week for adult males and 3s. a week for adult females.

Overtime in French ships. By decree of 31 December it has been ruled that in future overtime will be paid for the time worked in excess of forty

hours per week, instead of after forty-five hours. Sixty per cent of the normal rate will be paid out and 40% goes to the National Solidarity Fund.

New wage rates and overtime rates have come into force for the catering staff in French merchant ships. Cooks in passenger boats will get 965 francs per month, in cargo boats 950.

Danish Seamen's cost of living allowance. A sliding scale has been introduced into the collective agreements for Danish seamen, with retrospective effect from 1 November, 1939. As from that date an allowance is paid of 12.90 crowns per month for firemen, 13.50 crowns for A.B.'s and 6 crowns for boys. For every rise or fall of one point in the cost of living index these rates will be increased or reduced, as the case may be, by 2.15, 2.25 and 1 crown respectively.

London Passenger Transport Board Employees, including all coach, bus, tram and trolley-bus drivers and conductors, certain inspectors, and others, have obtained an increase of 4s. a week or 1d. an hour.

Part-pay scheme for Dutch dockers. Regularly employed and part of the casually employed dockers in Holland come under a part-pay scheme when unemployed. This means an improvement on the unemployment insurance scheme. Organized dockers will receive up to 70% of wages (unorganised men 65% only). If any work is done relief pay is increased by 25% of the wages earned, or to put it the other way, relief pay is cut by 75% for each half day worked. (Men starting work are guaranteed half a day.)

New Zealand Waterfront Transport Control Boards will continue to operate after a six-month experiment. Some of them have done excellent work in guaranteeing the terms of awards or introducing improvements on the waterfront demanded by the workers.

The Cardiff Coal Trimmers' Union has obtained an increase of 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ % on the tariff wage rates.

50 to 60,000 *British seamen* will get an increase as from 1 March amounting to £1 per month or 5s. per week, and half those sums for boys. In addition the war risk bonus of ratings will be increased by £2 a month.

Dutch seamen's wages were increased by 5% as from 1 February. Negotiations are proceeding on a scheme for maintenance allowances to crews of ships laid up owing to war conditions.

Danish seamen's war risk bonuses were increased to 350% (on the ordinary wage) for trade in the Skagerrak, the North Sea, and to British, Irish and French Atlantic ports. (Between 61 degrees northern latitude, 20 degrees western longitude, 47 degrees northern latitude, and the line Vinga-Skagen.)

TRANSPORT AND TRANSPORT WORKERS UNDER FASCISM

The Failure of the German State Railways. As we have pointed out on many occasions, the rolling stock and installations of the German State Railways have been neglected for years. The first winter of the Nazi war bears out our assertions, because the service is in a disastrous condition. Important German towns at a time of intense cold suffer from shortage of coal and potatoes. Coal wagons sent from the Ruhr to Antwerp in Belgium are all labelled: "To be returned straight away." The Swedish State Railways have come to an agreement with the German Railways to send a number of wagons to Germany for the transport of coal and coke from German mines to Baltic ports. By the end of January, 1940, not less than 500 wagons were sent over. The Swedish Railway-men's Union, in commenting on this notice, asks whether Sweden will ever see them back.

Serious Coal Shortage in Germany. Since the occupation of Poland there is plenty of coal in Germany, but not of the transport material for carrying it to the industrial centres and towns. As there live many foreigners in Berlin, the Nazis have always tried to keep that town sufficiently supplied, but when the canals became frozen even the capital of Germany had to do without. According to the Berlin correspondent of the Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* the coal shortage became daily more acute in the first days of January. The burning of wood is strictly prohibited. In the streets people could be seen hauling hand-carts with a few kilos of coal they had been able to obtain. In the workers' districts in the north and east of Berlin the situation became unbearable, and demonstrations took place. "One day suddenly men, women and children appeared in the waiting rooms of the big railway stations to warm themselves," writes *De Telegraaf*, an Amsterdam newspaper. "In the evening blankets and even mattresses were brought in and laid on the floors, with the intention of the families spending the night there. Neither the management nor the police, which had been called in, could make the people leave. They did not want to go back to their cold homes."

Shoe shortage in Germany. "As the war preparations made heavy demands on the leather industry it was not possible to build up reserves of leather," writes the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Cologne). As a result there is a shortage of shoes in Germany. Where possible, more recourse will be had to wooden shoes than hitherto. Shoes are rationed, but the *Kölnische Zeitung* admits that in many shops it was not possible to obtain shoes on the cards.

More accidents in German long-distance road traffic. There has been a sharp increase in the frequency of accidents in long-distance road haulage in Germany. Roadsides are strewn with

stranded vehicles. There is no time for repairs and no consideration for the drivers, and spare tyres are very difficult to get.

Wage cuts for Berlin transport workers. A new Wages Decree came into force on 5 December, 1939, for the Berlin forwarding and delivery services. The wages of casual porters at the central meat market have been cut by 20%. Extra payment for preparatory and finishing work is not allowed. All contracts providing for higher wages have been cancelled. Employers conceding demands for higher wages are punishable.

Fourteen-hour day for all German transport workers. On the day of the invasion of Poland the Nazi Government by one stroke of the pen abolished all restrictions on the working hours of adult German workers, and the regulations for the protection of female and juvenile labour were drastically impaired. Under the pressure of mounting reports of falling productivity and growing opposition among the workers the Nazis promised that as from 1 January the hours of male adult workers were not to exceed 10 to 12 per day. Permission of the Ministry of Labour would be required to work days of more than 10 to 12 hours for longer than three weeks. "Labour protection has been reintroduced" boasted the Nazi press. The test came on 20 January, when an order was published authorizing employers to work at their discretion up to fourteen hours both on week-days and Sundays.

Life in an unfree country. The German State Railway Officials' Calendar for 1940 is a beautiful document worth saving. Let us quote what is expected of a railway clerk. "The National Socialist State requires its officials to marry and to have an appropriate number of children." "The family of an official must be National Socialist. It must not only avoid the negative and adapt itself—as must all citizens—but also has the duty of working for the N.S.D.A.P." The calendar obligingly reminds officials that a German who fails to send his children to the State Youth "is punishable by fines of up to 150 marks or imprisonment." Every railway clerk is of course compelled to buy a calendar and to subscribe to a Nazi paper. Isn't it a lovely country?

Industrial enslavement under the swastika. Since the outbreak of war industrial enslavement has been extended to practically all workers. Workers not released by their employers may only change their jobs with the express consent of the labour exchange authorities. This is how workers dissatisfied with their jobs are treated. Nazi judges in Solingen condemned to two months' imprisonment a worker who by constant grumbling had sought to obtain a better job and had absented himself from night work, and another to six months' imprisonment for "frivolously absenting himself from his work for a considerable period." All that is part of the "totalitarian war."