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HUNGARY
ICELAND
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KENYA
LUXEMBURG
MADAGASCAR
MOROCCO
NEW ZEALAND
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PALESTINE
RHODESIA
RUMANIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TRINIDAD
TUNISIA
YUGOSLAVIA

Relations with unions in :

CHILE
CUBA
ECUADOR
EGYPT
MEXICO
UNITED STATES

Other relations in :

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

AN INSOLUBLE POST WAR PROBLEM

WAR REPARATIONS IN A CAPITALIST WORLD

AS soon as official War Aim No. 1, military victory, is assumed to be realized, there immediately looms up in its shadow the question : what about reparation of the war damage by the losers ? It is significant that the answer to this question is, at least so far, systematically evaded. The United Nations have indeed solemnly declared that those guilty of the crimes of war will be duly punished. But whether punishment will end there or be concerned also with the consequences of the universally condemned aggression which unleashed the war, is still wrapped in the uncertainty of the future. If the principle of punishment is carried to its logical conclusion, it necessarily results in a demand for reparation by the losers of the tangible economic damage caused by destruction and plunder to the ultimate victors. That the principle cannot be carried further is a fact which has to be accepted. It is in the nature of things that there cannot be any reparation in respect of values incalculable in economic terms, of human life, of physical, spiritual and moral mutilation. For such damage time is the only healer. But for the rest the future is still an unwritten page.

Let us suppose that war ends, according to the traditional conception, in a military victory for our side. It may then be safely assumed that the demand for war reparations, or whatever other name is given to it, will be raised. This is made all the more probable by the fact that the principal justifying this demand is rarely questioned, while the objections to reparations are usually based on purely practical considerations. The experience gained with reparations after the last war is the reason why, for the sake of convenience, the demand for reparations is not raised for the present. The embarrassing feature of the experience was that it revealed in a glaring fashion the inherent contradictions of capitalism. These contradictions resulted in the loser of the last war being economically strengthened by the economic punishment inflicted upon him, as the then victors know to their own cost now that they are once again forced to take up the fight for economic world supremacy.

Last time it was simply assumed that the vanquished in a world war would be helpless after the conclusion of a peace treaty. Military defeat was thought to be a sufficient basis for a policy of economic penalization. That the consequences of the measures aiming at economic penalization might be such that the loser would come to have at his disposal economic opportunities which would make him economically stronger instead of weaker, was not realized. Now this is exactly what happens when an obligation to pay reparations is imposed upon a capitalist state, whether democratic or not, which in a capitalist world, composed of states of the same character, first endeavours to maintain and then to assert itself. And such endeavour is evidently the least that can be expected of such a state.

In a capitalist world a world war is in the last analysis a commercial proposition. It is true that it is not deliberately planned as such, but its results are worked out in terms of such a proposition. Many a magnificent cause may be proclaimed as peace aim while the war goes on, but the fact remains that war is not undertaken with the object of serving the common weal. It is one group or another of economic interests which the war is designed to serve. But a world war as a commercial enterprise is at the same time an uncertain enterprise, a commercial gamble fraught with all the dangers of miscalculation, both great and small. It was such miscalculation which made the final outcome of the reparations after the last war an unfavourable instead of the expected favourable commercial transaction for the original victors.

This characterization of the practical effects of reparations, originally presented as a demand of justice, is no extravagant figure of speech. It is corroborated by a candid passage in Lloyd George's book *The Truth about Reparations and War Debts*. The writer, who as British Prime Minister played a principal part in the play of forces which had to settle these consequences of the war, and who a dozen years later felt a need to tell the "truth," wrote: "Viewed commercially, had the war been a business undertaken on the part of the Allies, reparations were the sole marketable asset accruing from their operations, so that the investors in the business would have to look to reparations as the sole source from which dividends or repayments of the capital invested would be forthcoming."

The fear which, in the light of experience, has to be entertained now, is that reparations might once again prove to be a double-edged weapon. Not because—as is suggested in some quarters to-day—the loser on the previous occasion was wiser to his advantage and succeeded in hoodwinking the winners by *The Greatest Swindle of the World*.^{*} But solely and alone because in a capitalist world reparations necessarily become a business proposition from which the economic rulers on both sides of the formerly belligerent parties seek to benefit as much as possible. They even have a mutual interest in the deal, which explains how the swindle was made possible; a swindle which to-day is said to be seen through on the grounds of the fact that the total of the foreign loans invested in the reparation-paying country exceeded many times over the total paid in reparations. Does anyone really believe that international finance capital, which was out for profitable investment and has never been insolvent, allows itself to be cheated so easily? But if what happened is to be put in terms of a swindle, what about investigating whether the capitalist interests on both sides did not join hands in mulcting a victim under the cloak of reparations?

The victim at whose expense the capitalist rulers of the former belligerent powers promoted their common

interests was the working class of all countries. The I.T.F. is entitled to be very emphatic in this pronouncement, as it was directly affected by this consequence of the reparation settlement. Under both the Dawes and the Young Plan the German State Railways were made one of the sources of the reparation payments. This burden on the railways had consequences very detrimental to the staff, whose trade union was affiliated with the I.T.F. But the I.T.F. saw that the effects would not be confined to the German railway workers. It recognized the economic relationships of the reparation transactions. It pointed out that the burdens imposed upon Germany were saddled on to its working class, resulting in a lowering of their standard of life, which was bound to have repercussions on the conditions of the workers of other countries.

It was this recognition which led the I.T.F. to regard it as its task to make it clear to the international working class that, notwithstanding all the contrasts which might exist between the national groups of capitalists, there is one point on which they are in complete agreement, that is, the joint exploitation of the proletariat, with the aid of the reparations and war debts settlements of their governments.

In 1932, after discussion of this international problem at its congress in Prague, the I.T.F. published a study entitled *Reparations and War Debts from the Labour Point of View*. We recall here the conclusion it arrived at, as a warning in the case that the victorious governments once more should want in the names of their peoples, to perpetrate such an act of "justice" the economic application of which would redound exclusively to the benefit of the capitalists of all countries. That conclusion stated: "In reality the reparations and war debts are the comparatively small weights suspended by the capitalists from the lever with which huge quantities of surplus labour are squeezed out of the world proletariat."

Whether the act of justice was originally intended to have this effect or not—the I.T.F.'s study showed that reparations and war debts served to lower the workers' standard of living to a level where capitalism is assured of a greater margin for exploitation. Now that during this war so few make to so many the promise (why don't the many promise it themselves?) that the organization of economic life will be aimed at raising the standards of living throughout the world, the workers' movement will do well to be especially on its guard. If the capitalist basis of society is maintained, it will have to watch that no repetition of an "act of justice" will bring about the very opposite of the loudly-proclaimed object, namely a lowering instead of a raising of the standards of living of all peoples.

Nothing is more imperative at present than that the working class should heed the appeal with which the I.T.F. concluded its study of the repercussions of the regulation of the economic consequences of war:

"The working classes must rise above the national political differences, and recognize the international community of interest consequent upon the interdependence of their economic conditions".

* by G. Borsky, with a Preface by Lord Vansittart (The New Europe Publishing Co., Ltd.) 1942.

LEST WE FORGET

THE LESSON OF THE SOVIET-FINNISH WAR

The Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-40 will probably strike historians and students of future decades by the successful deception which was practised by politicians and militarists on that occasion. The victims of this deception will do well to reflect now how they were misled, for those malevolent forces are still in existence and will still have many an opportunity of throwing dust into the eyes of the world. If the victims—and we were among them—realize by whom and how they were misled, they will perhaps save themselves from falling into the trap next time.

W. P. and Z. Coates have made an effort to provide evidence calculated to open the eyes of those who were misled by the cunning or stupid politicians who all but succeeded in provoking a war between Britain and France on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other. In a book entitled *The Soviet-Finnish Campaign* they show, with an abundance of proofs, how the British press, as organ of information following the course of the campaign, played a part which would have to be described as absurd if the systematic spreading of lies had not served sinister designs. These designs were evident in the political and diplomatic dispatches which attributed to the U.S.S.R. all kinds of war aims, such as the conquest of Narvik and Instambul, whilst ignoring completely the officially declared war aims of the Kremlin. To-day it is clear that they were no more or less logical speculations based upon more or less accurate evidence. Those dispatches breathe the same bad faith as the stories about the "defeats" of the Red Army.

If the British and all those indirectly under the influence of the British press wish to know by whom and how they were misled, they should read the book of the Coates.

The authors have imposed a regrettable restriction upon themselves. They have not stressed the role played by the Axis nor shown what strange things happened during the Soviet-Finnish war. For example: on 5th December, 1939, two consignments of aircraft arrived in Finland—fifty machines from Italy and thirty from Britain. On 16th January, 1940, the German Government raised the embargo on forty-five railway wagons which had been detained at Sassnitz and were loaded with arms from Italy. On 24th January, 1940, the Italian Catholic paper *Avvenire* reported that Spain was sending to Finland arms which had been left behind by Italian "volunteers." France and Sweden also contributed their quota of aid to Finland. A strange alignment of governments indeed. That the workers and trade unionists of Finland, once they were at war, did not notice these very suspicious facts about the foreign aid rendered to their country is not surprising, it is even natural. But what is serious is that the workers and leaders in the democratic countries were not

shaken for a moment in their anti-Russian prejudice to ask themselves: What is the meaning of the Axis attitude? Why should the German Government tolerate the sending of Swedish arms, munitions and volunteers to Finland, yet oppose the passage of Anglo-French troops through Norway and Sweden?

Circles solicitous for non-working-class interests certainly did not fail to observe these warning signs of the German invasion of Denmark and Norway. In trade union circles, however, it does not seem to have been understood that a bird may shed its feathers but not its habits, and that a Mannerheim is of the same kidney as a Franco. Since it was overlooked at the time of the Russo-Finnish war it is well to recall it now. Mannerheim is a "Finnish nationalist" who attended loyally at the Czar's court during the ruthless oppression of Finland, notably in 1905, and who in 1918 with the aid of the German Kaiser's troops, crushed the Socialist Republican Finnish Government, installed a White Guard Government in power, had the brother-in-law of the Kaiser "elected" King of Finland, and ordered the massacre of tens of thousands of political opponents, most of whom were socialist workers though labelled communists for the occasion. We should have realized that a cause defended by Mannerheim could not be ours. The presence of Mannerheim on the scene, the consignment of Italian and Spanish arms and munitions through Germany to Finland, and the noisy pro-Finnish demonstrations of Italian university students, should have made us understand that the Axis powers had big interests in Finland, and that certain of the rulers in London, Paris and New York, to say nothing of Stockholm, were either the dupes of the Axis or else intriguers seeking an understanding with the Axis on the back of . . . yes, of whom? . . . of the world working class and the U.S.S.R.!

The leaders of the European trade union movement understood neither the meaning of the war nor of the peace which ended it, which shows neither great perspicacity nor independence of judgment on their part. Our Finnish comrades and the socialist statesmen of Scandinavia and other countries did nothing and said nothing to make us understand. If the Communist Party press had not existed, it might have been easier to see clearly; as it was it only obscured issues which were hard to perceive.

May the error of 1939-40 be a lesson for the future. Power is everywhere in the hands of the same fascists, the same intriguers and the same dupes. Let us be on our guard!

P. T.

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GERMAN STATE RAILWAYS IN WARTIME

by H. KRAMER, GERMAN RAILWAYMEN'S LEADER.

I.

During the Last War

The war of 1914-18 wrought havoc with the German railway and transport system. Rolling stock and installations were ruthlessly used. Locomotives and wagons were stripped of all valuable metal, which was wanted for munitions. For railway equipment cast iron and inferior alloys were used. The 1,500 to 2,000 new locomotives put into service annually were also fitted with substitute metals. In addition the shortage of lubricants had serious effects. The tractive power of the locomotives declined rapidly and with it the velocity of circulation of the rolling stock. It was only by an extreme effort that the most essential traffic could be kept going.

A Man Power Act which was introduced at the end of 1916, as a means of raising output in the munitions industry to a maximum, under the pressure of the events of the war conceded the right of association to German railway workers, who formerly were not allowed to belong to trade unions. The ban on trade unionism was lifted because the reactionary forces in Imperial Germany realized that an enslaved personnel could not be expected to make a supreme effort. But the recognition came too late, and the "Kaiser's War" was not the war of the revolutionary railway workers. For the 826 railwaymen illegally organized in the "Hamburg Section" of the German Transport Workers' Union became the germ of the German Railwaymen's Union, which rapidly grew into a big and powerful organization. With its membership of 530,000 it was the largest railwaymen's organization in the international movement. What it did during the seventeen years of its existence in educating a corps of militants is our hope for the future.

From 1919 to Hitler

The German State Railways were obliged under the Demobilization Orders to increase their personnel from 700,000 to 1,119,000. The abrupt cessation of nearly all civilian traffic at the end of the war meant a corresponding slump in the revenue of the railways, which in 1918 showed a deficit of 1.8 milliard marks. The serious dislocations in the services during the winters of 1918-19 and 1919-20 caused the deficit for 1920 to rise to 6 milliard marks. This was the time when the reactionaries in the Reich re-appeared from their burrows, when Stinnes and the capitalist circles around him clamoured for the abolition of the eight hour day and the handing over of the State Railways to private enterprise. Their wishes were met, with the aid of the Dawes Committee which drew up a reparations settlement, without any consultation of the workers. In 1924 the German State Railway Company was brought into being. It was an independent

undertaking in which was vested the power to operate the railways. The Reich retained the ownership of the railway system, but only had limited powers of intervention on certain specified questions.

Under the Dawes Plan, the German State Railways were required to pay out the operating surplus 660 million marks towards the reparations fund and 33 millions in dividends on preference shares. Any balance of the surplus was used for building the "legal reserve for meeting the preferential dividend in case of a decline of revenue" and for interest payments. Further an annual tax of 290 million marks had to be paid to the Reich.

The conditions of the 700,000 active employees (in addition to whom there were 117,000 retired employees and 25,000 widows and orphans provided for by railway funds) were as follows. Working hours averaged eight a day. Overtime was paid for at 25 per cent and night work 35 per cent additional. For Sunday work there was also additional payment, namely 0.50 marks over and above the basic hourly rate. Annual holidays with pay were granted—three days during the first year of service, rising to 18 working days after 15 years' service. Each employee was entitled to five free travel vouchers a year for himself and one for his family, valid throughout the German railway system. Collective agreements further provided for the issue of protective and winter clothing to certain grades, sick pay and medical attention with free choice of doctors. These conditions were secured by trade union action.

From Hitler to the Present War

Hitler was contemptuous of the railways and favoured the motor vehicle. The building of motorways was furthered in every possible way. Just as formerly in the case of the German railways, so strategical considerations determined the planning of the motorways. Railway equipment and works were neglected. Under Hitler the railways were returned to State control. The post of general manager was coupled with that of Minister of Transport, and the whole of the railway personnel was placed under disciplinary legislation. Consequently, with the destruction of the trade unions, railway workers were completely at the mercy of the State Executive.

The Reich Ministry of Transport had also a department charged with the building and maintenance of waterways. Further the Reich Motorways Company was under the control of the Ministry. This centralized control permitted of a far-reaching co-ordination of rail, road and waterway transport. The divisional railway managements, though directly responsible to the Ministry of Transport, were grouped under three Railway Control Offices to assure flexibility.

(To be continued).

SOVIET RAILWAYS MEET WINTER'S GRIP IN WARTIME

by Chatwood Hall

In his speech before the Reichstag on 26th April, Hitler complained about the severe Russian winter—47 degrees below zero—even lower sometimes. He confessed that his locomotives were not designed for such intense cold. The Russian locomotives were, however, and through the immense effort of our fellow Russian railwaymen, the vital railway system has played its part admirably in helping to smash the Nazi onslaught. The article below, reproduced from the Australian "Railroad," presents a heroic picture of the outstanding war-effort of our Russian brothers, whom we salute.

Winter in peace time has always been the most difficult and trying time of year for the Russian railways. As is common knowledge, Russia's winter is severe, long and bitter; heavy frosts around Irkutsk, Moscow, Leningrad, and in the Ural mountain regions force the thermometer down to from 30 to 50 degrees below zero, Fahrenheit. Blinding snowstorms, razor-like blizzards and huge snowdrifts add to the hardships and dangers of winter railroading in Russia.

When a winter gale is beating down from Siberia, driving before it 30 and 40 degrees of frigidty, railroading becomes a supreme test of man's ability and resourcefulness to struggle with, endure and survive against nature and the elements in their harshest and most bitter mood.

Last winter Soviet railwaymen were in the very midst of this harsh and bitter struggle on the vast, snow-covered steppes of Russia. But at the same time they found added to winter's hardships the additional demands and responsibilities of war-time. Only supreme patriotism, labour heroism and stern determination that Hitlerism must be destroyed at all costs made these added war burdens in winter seem not as a weighty burden, but as a welcome duty and obligation of Soviet railwaymen before their country and the anti-Fascist working people of the whole world.

"In autumn prepare for winter" has always been the traditional slogan on Soviet railways at summer's end. This means, first of all, weather stripping the cabins of locomotives and re-enforced insulation of all other parts of the "iron horses" which are directly exposed to danger of freezing during low temperatures. Powerful snow-ploughs must be put in order to wedge their way through snowdrifts on the lines and, in addition, wedge-shaped ploughs must be fixed to the "cow catchers" of the locomotives. Those snow fences which one sees stacked in summer, usually near cuttings, along Russian railways must be looked over, repaired and placed in position for thousands of miles along the right-of-way to prevent huge snowdrifts from blocking the lines. These snow barrier fences are familiar to anyone who has travelled in Canada or along the northern tier of States in the U.S.A. on the Canadian Pacific, Great Norther, Milwaukee Road, Soo Line, etc.

Switchmen's booths at the switch points are, perhaps, more weatherbeaten than any other railway structure, and must be put in the best order to protect switchmen from winter's icy blasts; these must be chinked carefully and properly heated. Fur and wool-

lined top coats and knee-length felt boots (called "Valenki" in Russian) must be prepared to prevent frostbitten feet of railwaymen who must be exposed for hours at a stretch to Arctic blasts. The heating system of passenger trains, the air brake systems, the block signals, etc., must be carefully looked over and made ready to function without a hitch during the stubborn battle between the railways and winter's grip. In brief, inasmuch as winter increases tremendously the strain on practically the whole railway organism, everything must be done to prepare this entire organism to withstand this additional strain.

The last winter has made fulfillment of this task much more difficult and complicated than ever for Soviet railwaymen. Thousands of fitters, blacksmiths, plumbers, carpenters and other maintenance and shop workers have been mobilised into the Red Army to halt Hitler, Germany's "Drang nach Osten." But that has no meaning for "Old King Frost"; winter, like the railways, has a time table and arrives and departs on schedule, war or no war. This means that on the shoulders of those railwaymen not called to the front has fallen the responsibility of preparing the railways for winter. They must do the job without additional help, for there are no idle or jobless railway workers to be called on the job.

How have Soviet railwaymen met these added tasks and responsibilities under war conditions? Here are some typical examples. Stations and trains had to be camouflaged in order not to be conspicuous in a background of white snow; this is no small job. But there was no extra help to do the job. Railwaymen were working overtime, with their wives and children, camouflaging these objects. Into the superintendent's office of the Rossisch yards walked engine driver Kravchenko, who offered, with the assistance of his assistant driver and fireman, to do all of the winter preparation work on his locomotive. His proposal was accepted. What is more, all necessary material and details needed were made by this brigade right on the job during their spare time.

At the Petropavlovsk junction yards it was found that many of the switchmen were also qualified carpenters, plasterers, painters, etc. All of which means that these switchmen voluntarily sacrificed their off-duty time to repair their own cabins and booths for winter. On the Omsk Line all of the workers off duty organised "subbotniks" (voluntary devotion of off-duty time to work on some public project) to put sections of the roadbed and track in first-class order

ERNEST BEVIN

ON THE

TASK OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

The Emergency Committee of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. met in London on 20th April last. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour, delivered an address of welcome on behalf of the British Government. His address contained few of the usual complimentary phrases and was largely concerned with the problem of post-war construction. How are the world's productive forces to be returned to their natural function of meeting man's need to live?

During a career in the trade union movement dating back to the last war, Bevin has gained a rich experience of economic and social facts. He knows that revolution provides no solution to problems but raises them in their sharpest form. He knows also that the lack of solutions or slowness in their application may cause an explosion.

Are there in the world any forces or institutions capable of preparing and organizing the transition from war to peace? The British Minister of Labour assigns a prominent part to the I.L.O. under this head. The following are the main passages of his address :

Primary Producers. It was inevitable that in the starting of the I.L.O. organization most attention was paid to what might be regarded as the industrialized area of the world. But, as the organization has already recognized, the great task now is to pay more and more attention to the primary producer.

You cannot have a decent civilization if you leave the peasant of the world underpaid and, in spite of the fact that he grows the food of the world, underfed and in poverty. You cannot afford the industrialist to have his cartel, his price-fixing arrangements and all the other devices while leaving the primary producer

unprotected. It means suicide for the industrialist himself. There can be no decent basis of society but by a two-way traffic from the land to industry and industry to the land, and the standard between the two must be on a just and correct equilibrium.

The Transfer from War to Peace. The work of the office has been, I am afraid, to some extent handicapped by its limited resources. While we cannot afford to have any waste of expenditure and every penny voted must be used wisely, yet I do beg of the Governments to realize that the fullest use of this organization is one of the best insurances that they can invest in for assisting the preparatory work to enable us to transfer from war to peace—a far more difficult task than transferring from peace to war.

No one whose duty it is to look ahead and try to visualize how we are going to demobilize men and women from the Services and mobilize them for industry can but be concerned as to the tremendous problems that will arise at that time and all the dynamite that exists in consequence. It is essential, therefore, that countries should agree upon the objectives to be aimed for ; and if I may state it in a word, I would say that it is the duty of statesmen, industrialists, labour leaders and everybody to be ready to discipline themselves to curb every selfish interest in the decade following the close of hostilities, in order that the world can be set on a course of peace and progressive development and be prevented from relapsing into the barbarism of this age.

Maintenance of Controls. In war, out of the sheer desire of self-preservation, we are ready to undergo control, regulation, and discipline of the most amazing character, beyond the belief of what most of us would have thought possible. Now we do that, I repeat, for self-preservation. As soon as the "Cease-fire" sounds, there may be a danger of a tremendous reaction. It is, I suggest, then that the statesmen of the world and all those responsible for the leadership of mankind must stand together resolutely and hold on

Soviet Railways meet winter's grip in wartime—continued.

before snow flies. Ever since there have been railways in Russia it has been the practice to thaw out any frozen detail on locomotives with an oil-soaked lighted torch. Under war conditions, of course, use of such a torch is forbidden ; it would serve as a beacon for a German " Junkers " or " Messerschmidt." What to do ? Engine driver Truko proposed to provide each locomotive on his line with a few metres of hose and, in case of a detail becoming frozen, to direct a stream of hot steam from the locomotive's boiler on it. This simple proposal proved to be very cheap and highly effective in the severest winter weather.

Hundreds of similar examples exist of the initiative, inventiveness, sacrifices and resourcefulness of Soviet railwaymen towards guaranteeing smooth winter functioning of Soviet railways.

Winter in Russia has always been a severe test of railways, but the last winter proved somewhat of a super-test, what with the country engaged in a titanic struggle with Hitlerism, thus increasing greatly the manifold responsibilities and demands on the railways. That Soviet railwaymen have fully coped with their winter-time and war-time tasks is beyond all doubt, for a patriots and lovers of their native land and all humanity, Soviet railwaymen and their trade unions have vowed that their country and mankind's greatest enemy—Hitler Fascism—must be smashed once and for all time.

to some form of controls while the foundation of peace, stability and orderly development is being worked out.

In the first case we submit to control for self-preservation, and in the second case we must submit to national and international discipline for the sake of the generations yet unborn.

I trust, therefore, that the International Labour Office will be able to approach this problem in such a way that it will get the Governments and the great industrial leaders of all States to recognize this essential fact and so be able to suppress any sudden desire for immediate gain on either side and devote themselves to the real task of laying a solid foundation—and what a task, when you realize the terrible devastation in Russia, Eastern Europe, and in China, where the land fighting has been on so great a scale and when you consider how much further that devastation may extend!

Approach to World Problems. It has been said that the seeds of every great war were sown in the settlement of a previous war. If that has been true in the past, cannot we now, by care, equally sow the seeds of lasting peace during and at the end of this war?

No country can afford at the end of this struggle to be blinded by its own limited interest, nor can it make its contribution to the future progress of the peoples of the world unless it is prepared to look at the problems as a whole.

I have always been struck by the contribution that can be made irrespective of nationality when the people of the different countries can be induced to look at a problem on its merits. Perhaps the greatest proof of this is in the work of the International Labour Office itself. There it has been demonstrated that, irrespective of limited national interest, agreement has been possible on common social policies, thereby raising standards together to the common advantage.

Therefore, the less you discuss things as countries and the more you can face them as problems affecting all countries, the more likely are you to find a correct solution.

By this method of grappling with problems you do at the same time solve a good many questions of human relationships. Because immediately you get away from the purely nationalistic outlook or from the limited vision that arises from your own interests and proceed to grapple with problems on their merits, then inevitably the mental barriers that nationalism or narrow interest creates are broken down. The endeavour to find a solution brings people together in a manner that nothing else does, as is shown in the world of science and the arts. If you can remove the sheer fear arising from national barriers and create confidence in the world of industry and primary production, and if the objective that you want to reach is clear—namely, the raising of the standard of life of the people as a whole—then everyone gains in the ultimate solution and human relationships is enhanced in the process of finding it.

The heroism and endurance of suffering in war call for tremendous admiration, but I sincerely hope it will not stop with the emotions, but will make us ask: "Why was it all necessary?" If that question is asked, there will loom up before our eyes the evils which produced it—social, political and the rest. I trust that the very heroism and suffering of war will produce a determination to grapple with the evils and remove them.

The Solution. No one person or organization or State can produce a complete solution. What is needed is to get our objective clear and accept certain fundamental principles such as those expressed in Clause 5 of the Atlantic Charter, which reads:

"They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labour standards, economic adjustment and social security."

That is something to strive for, but it does not apply to one country; it applies universally, irrespective of colour or race. It really means the end of exploitation as we knew it in the nineteenth century.

Now, to achieve this end, mere revolutionary upheaval will not do; it would probably have the effect of setting us further back. It takes so long to rebuild. What it does mean is the facility to harness the experience and knowledge of men and women who are studying these problems and who are of good will, and to bring them into the common pool. Then reduce the problems to simplicity, in order that basic principles can be applied, subject to adaptation in the various parts of the world.

The main objective must, then, be co-operation to get rid of misery and insecurity, to give universal education, universal knowledge, to tear out from our history books the things that prejudice one people against another; to teach the idea that all have a contribution to make to human progress. In that task I know of no organization that has a greater opportunity than the International Labour Organization. It has the capacity to meet the new needs; it can be a great uniting force against all those institutions and tendencies which have sought hitherto to divide us.

LABOUR OR "NATIONAL"

An Australian Voice

After all, we still are a Labour Movement. That means, we believe—in peace or in war—that there are certain basic principles which guide our conduct. Those include the belief that at the root of all our evils are the inequalities of wealth and the private ownership of the means of producing and distributing wealth. In peace or in war inequality of ownership means that the nation is weakened in its resistances to the evils of poverty or the threats of Fascism. In peace or in war, inequality means that our health suffers, our labour forces are wasted, our possibilities of creating a strong nation are weakened. In peace or in war, if we would get the best out of our people we

must abolish inequalities and nationalise the basic industries.

Until equality prevails and the basic industries are nationalised, then our war effort is weakened. Only if we dare introduce equality and nationalise war industries will we be able to win this war without being defeated by some form of capitalism.

There is no equality of sacrifice in Australia to-day. It is only when we practise democracy that we will be able to arouse our people to the sacrifices of the Socialists of Russia. Deputy Prime Minister Forde (of the Curtin Government) was therefore playing up to the gallery of the press, the plutocrats and the politicians when he said, "Divisions of opinion, inequalities of status, contrasts of wealth and poverty, all fade out into nothingness in the blinding light of our new danger." Mr. Forde's attempt to fight this war without interfering with existing contrasts of wealth and poverty will prove a great failure.

Why cannot we have full national unity? The socialist would reply that the social struggle in society between the owning and working class makes agreement impossible. Let's take two recent incidents and examine them from this point of view.

(1) *Industrial Relations Council.* The insincerity of the employers' attitude to labour is revealed by the fact that although they will talk as loud as is desired, on the great work being performed by the masses, they oppose compulsory unionism. The newspapers,

moreover, are prepared to conscript labour, but not to strengthen the trade unionism, which prevent men and women from being exploited.

Employers behave like employers whether they are discussing equal pay for the sexes or compulsory unionism. Employers will always be employers—and national unity to them means their right to be employers first and patriots second.

Either, therefore, Labour must sell out their principles to the employers or the Industrial Council will collapse. You can be sure that the employers will not give in—until they are compelled by a Labour Government.

(2) *Travelling facilities for Railwaymen.* While the free passes have been cancelled on the ground that they must be postponed in the interests of winning the war, the trains are crowded with people who can afford to pay! Where, we ask, is the equality of sacrifice which cancels the free passes of railway workers and enable anyone with money to buy a ticket? Where, we ask, is the democracy, which permits a conspiracy of railway commissioners to cancel the free passes of railway workers and fill their trains with the holidaying wealthy?

Every day proves that a Labour Government which had the courage to apply Labour principles would not merely increase production but would arouse the Australian people to miracles of achievement.

(From *Railroad*, the journal of the Australian Railway Union)

WHITE IMPERIALISM

By Pearl Buck

The following is the beginning of a pamphlet published by the Post War World Council, New York, and written by the well-known writer on the life of the people of China. The first section discusses American attitudes towards the people of Asia; the second, American attitudes towards the Negro.

"Race prejudice continues unabated among white people to-day, the Japanese are saying. Tokyo radio programmes daily send their broadcasts over Asia in their campaign to drive out the white man. They dwell upon white exploitation of coloured troops and cite mistreatment of Filipinos by the American military and similar treatment of Indian troops by the English. Germany is helping Japan to stir up race hatred in Malaya, India and the Philippines by insisting that the interests of Asia lie with Japan and not with England and the United States. 'The coloured peoples,' Japanese propaganda says over and over again in a thousand forms, 'have no hope of justice and equality from the white peoples because of their unalterable race prejudice against us.'

"It will be better for us if we acknowledge the danger in this Japanese propaganda. The truth is that the white man in the Far East has too often behaved without wisdom or justice to his fellow man. It is worse than folly—it is dangerous to-day—not to recognize the truth, for in it lies the tinder for tomorrow. Who of us can doubt it who has seen a white

policeman beat a Chinese coolie in Shanghai, a white sailor kick a Japanese in Kobe, an English captain lash out with his whip at an Indian vender—who of us, having seen such oriental sights or heard the common contemptuous talk of the white man in any coloured country, can forget the fearful bitter hatred in the coloured face and the blaze in the dark eyes? Who of us can be so stupid as not to see the future written there? The most dangerous human stupidity has been that the white race in the baseless prejudice through which even the meanest of white creatures has felt he could despise a king if his skin were dark.

"We must realize, we citizens of the United States, and this whether Britain realizes it or not, that a world based on former principles of empire and imperial behaviour is now impossible. It cannot exist. We must make clear our determination for real democracy for all peoples with mutual responsibility demanded of all to fulfill its conditions. Nor can we postpone such decision for democracy by saying 'Let's win this war first.' We cannot even win this war without convincing our coloured allies—who are most of our allies—that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over coloured peoples. The deep patience of coloured peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will."

Anti-Labour Press War in the United States

The Labour Movement has never been favourably looked upon by the big daily newspapers of the capitalist countries. All the great social improvements for which it stood, whether it was limitation of child labour, or measures for the protection of labour or other labour legislation, were frowned upon from the start. This has been so for the past century. The press fought against the existence of the trade unions from their inception, and when this was no longer possible against the reforms which they advocated. And every favourable opportunity of reviving these attacks, whether economic depression, political crises or even a war emergency, is eagerly seized to put the Labour Movement in its place as it is called.

If we are to believe the big press only one thing is wrong with the United States war effort. To say it in the heading of a report published by the *London Times* of 23rd March last: "Obstacle to U.S. War Output—the Forty Hour Week." Longer hours may be worked, provided that the employer pays extra. But that many of them cannot do, for, says the *Times*, "there is only a slight margin of profit and sometimes the risk of a loss." A century ago similar opposition was voiced in Britain against the introduction of the ten-hour day. On the authority of the economist Senior it was then claimed that the employer's profit was made in the eleventh hour, so that the ten-hour day was economically impossible. This last-hour theory will be heard in all sorts of variants until the last hour of capitalism.

However that may be, the United States press seeks consistently under the prevailing circumstances to make labour the scapegoat for every defect in the war effort that there may exist anywhere, at the same time that it constantly preaches national unity. The United States press follows a deliberate policy of sabotage by playing up statements which they could determine to be untrue and then playing down the corrections which are made. Here are a few samples, collected in a single week.

One story widely published was to the effect that the War Labour Board had decided in advance on a formula for settlement of the union shop issue in the steel cases pending before it. The chairman of the Board, Davis, promptly scotched this lie. "The dispatch is wholly without foundation," he said. "Did the newspapers carry this denial promptly? They did not. Instead, the daily press played up baseless and inflated strike figures put out as anti-labour propaganda by the National Association of Manufacturers. Secretary of State, Perkins, protested. "The Department of Labour has been publishing accurate figures on strikes for the past eight years," she said. "No newspaper ever mentions these, however. But when the National Association of Manufacturers releases a lot of inflated figures, the newspapers fall over themselves to give them a big play."

Here's another story. Again the United Press was the culprit. It put out a yarn claiming that a National Labour Relations Board investigation of company unionism at Curtiss-Wright aircraft plants was delaying airplane production. It was even suggested that the board's action was holding up parts needed for American planes grounded in the Far East. Anonymous Army and Navy officials were the "authority" for this statement. The story was widely published. It was immediately and indignantly denounced by the National Labour Relations Board, which said the story was part of a conspiracy to terrorize the board into abandoning efforts to protect workers. "Such attempts to force the board to abandon its functions have been made before" said the official statement. "The public should know that in each instance it has been the board's experience that prompt hearings have allayed tension and unrest which otherwise would have immediate and disastrous consequences. An opportunity to present issues at hearings before labour boards is the method provided by the Government for avoiding strikes and lockouts." This was an important and significant statement. Again did the newspapers publish it? They did not.

We conclude with the special campaign waged against the forty-hour week on the ground that it restricts production. The evidence shows: first, that in industrial centres, such as New Jersey, less than 50 per cent of existing productive capacity is being used, so that more than forty hours a week are not needed and could not be used. Second, that shortages in raw materials are holding up production, so that in many cases even forty hours a week are unnecessary.

On the other hand evidence also shows, and in spite of newspaper misrepresentation the public is realizing it, that labour in the war industries is not limiting itself to forty hours a week. The average is now forty-six hours, and in many industries it is still higher. For instance: shipping 48.2, aircraft 48.7, engines and turbines 51.1, machine tools 55. These hours are steadily increasing, as workers are given a chance to do more and as materials and factory space become available.

The object of the newspaper misrepresentation is not to strengthen the war effort, but to use the war circumstances to weaken the labour movement. Its object is to create a public opinion which holds labour responsible for the shortcomings of the war effort, though it is not to blame for them in the least, and seeks to raise antagonisms between labour and the great group of the working and intellectual middle class, which sees its social position deteriorating. These tactics are as old as the capitalist press itself. They become increasingly transparent, especially in war time when social tensions must become more acute. The American press at least can say that they asked for it.

CHINESE INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVES UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE

side by side with the industrial work, both to teach

The advance of Japanese troops in Burma and the possibility of communications with outside sources of supply being cut off, places yet a heavier responsibility upon the young shoulders of China's industrial co-operatives. Although these small machine shops, chemical plants, and textile mills cannot be expected to turn out the heavy implements of war that would be needed by a modern army for a full-dress campaign, they could, nevertheless, if sufficiently expanded in time, render the Chinese people immune to Japanese economic pressure and penetration by making them self-sufficient in all vital necessities of life.

When Japan invaded China's coastal provinces, she destroyed or took over 90 per cent of China's modern industries, deprived China of direct access to the sea, and drove sixty million refugees into the undeveloped interior. Out of the dire need of this situation grew the Chinese Industrial Co-operative movement. With machinery salvaged from the coast, and with local resources, little shops were erected in caves in abandoned temples, and in remote districts which were safe from bombing attacks. Operated on co-operative principles, the shops set to work to make use of what resources lay at hand. New machinery was built, looms were constructed for textile weaving, and a chemical industry developed. These shops help to provide China with vitally needed light machinery, clothing, and medicines, and at the same time they offer jobs to refugees and disabled soldiers. An extensive educational programme has been carried out

better technical methods and to spread an understanding of democratic principles.

At present there are about 3,000 local co-operative factories. It has been estimated that if this number could be increased to 30,000, China would be independent of *smuggled* Japanese goods and would be in a strong position to resist Japanese efforts at economic subjugation. Little capital is required to start co-operative factories, and they are able to operate on a slender margin of profit and under conditions of danger that would discourage private enterprise. To-day, with a total capitalization in American dollars of not much more than \$670,000, the Co-operatives are turning out over a half-a-million dollars worth of consumer, capital, medical and military goods monthly. Aside from the immunity to Japanese economic penetration which a further expansion of the Co-operatives would bring, the movement is helping to unify the Chinese people behind a non-political programme of democratic reconstruction. Widely scattered as these co-operative factories are, and well hidden, it would be practically impossible for Japanese bombers to inflict any serious damage to them. Even an invading army would be hard put to it to eliminate them, for they can be moved from place to place if the need arises. With the course of the war now running so heavily in Japanese favour, China may find herself leaning on these democratic enterprises of self-help more heavily than any of the Co-operative founders could have imagined.

(From *Worldover Press*).

SOCIAL POLICY IN WARTIME

It has always been the case in history that in time of war problems of a social political character acquire an entirely new significance. For every war brings in the first place impoverishment—the so-called “fruits of peace” usually mature very late and finally only for a few. The impoverishment, however, brings about the much-discussed “social tensions.” What meaning precisely has to be attached to this very ambiguous phrase probably only a few people completely realize. For it is by no means simple to form even a rough idea of the social repercussions of a war. The simplest way of formulating it is that “the rich become richer and the poor poorer.”

This formulation is actually not so demagogic as it sounds. Its second part at least is almost one hundred per cent true. The first part is less generally valid; it is true that some rich become richer in war time, but certainly not all. Many a fine property is directly destroyed in a war; the various trades and industries benefit in widely differing degrees by a war; some are almost completely ruined.

It might be put thus: objectively, war always affects most severely the lowest non-owning strata of society, as for them every decline in the standard of living means privation and hardship, and the small

reserves are immediately consumed. In all things whereby man “enjoys life” as an animal being, the poor compared with the rich are in time of war even at a greater disadvantage than at other times. For however scarce and however strictly rationed certain things may be, with money it is always possible to get “substitutes,” there being far more alternative articles than is commonly supposed. Those without means in time of war live so to speak at the bare subsistence level, where they have literally nothing more to lose, and can only gain.

Subjectively it is perhaps the middle classes who are hit hardest by the war, for with their strongly developed sense of property they feel that they are constantly in danger of sinking to the “proletarian” level.

The intensification of the social tensions in the last analysis arises from the following contradiction, of which the effects are also psychological: on the one hand life becomes harder for the mass of the people, and on the other heavier demands are made on them. A soldier who knows that his family has only a bare existence and that his former livelihood is jeopardized, is expected to be prepared to risk his life for his country at any time. Opposed to the equality of the

demands of military service are the great inequalities of living conditions in civil life. Rulers in all ages have realized the potential dangers to them of the inequalities and social effects of war. The dictators who put an end to the old Roman Republic—Sulla, Caesar, Antonius, Augustus—assured themselves of the loyalty of their legions by promising the soldiers, the so-called veterans, land on which they could settle as freeholders, and these promises were to a large extent kept. At the time of the Roman Empire "social policy" consisted largely in providing the non-owning idle populace with "Bread and Games," in order to keep them in a good humour. History could be quoted endlessly to give illustrations on the theme of

Social Police in Wartime

In no war in world history have such huge masses of soldiers been called under arms as in the present—and in no previous war have material values been destroyed on such a tremendous scale. That means that the social repercussions of this war will also be on a scale that cannot yet be conceived. One thing must be admitted about Hitler: he understood at an early stage that this war called not only for military but

also for social "rearmament," and accordingly, whilst destroying all political freedom, devoted careful attention to the economic and social needs of the masses.

Here in Switzerland, also, we have in this war a better understanding of some things than in the last war. The most striking example of this is the introduction of the Soldiers' Wage Compensation Scheme. This indisputable great piece of work has so far remained an isolated case. In the matter of old age insurance no advance at all has been made. On the question of post-war social policy there is as yet no clarity whatsoever.

In the ruling parties they seem to be gradually realizing the existence of certain dangers. Before us lies a long memorandum on the Confederation's social policy of the past. It is an attempt to prove the thesis "that our State is completely aware of its social obligations and in particular also is fully equal to the growing social demands of the war period."

Behind this "fully equal," at least, we would place a big question mark.

(From *Der Oeffentliche Dienst*, journal of the Swiss Public Employees' Union).

THE WAR EFFORT OF CANADA'S RAILWAYS

The President of the Government-owned Canadian National Railways (the largest railway in mileage in North America) recently declared that Canada's railways had become a mighty war machine, and that they are to-day carrying a heavier burden than they ever did at the traffic peak in the last World War. This they are doing without serious friction of any kind. One of the reasons why relations between the Canadian National and its employees are so harmonious is that there is a member for the organized workers on the board of directors.

There is no proof whatsoever, declared the President, that government ownership of railways cannot be as efficient as private ownership. The facts are that the actual volume of traffic handled in 1941 was 17 per cent greater than that of the most prosperous year, 1928. At the same time the operating expenses in 1941 were \$20,000,000 or 8 per cent less than in 1928. But for the reduction in rates, the revenue would have been increased by no less than \$52,000,000.

As for the agitation now going on to abandon large sections of the Canadian National or even to consolidate the whole system with the privately owned Canadian Pacific, the President said that it has to be borne in mind that Canada was forced into government ownership because many privately owned lines had failed to stand up to the test in the last World War.

Finally, the President said: "This is a war of transport—transport on land, on sea and in the air. The railway is a mighty war machine, and war conditions present a challenge to management and to railway workers which will be met to the full. There will

PEACE AIMS IN THE FAR EAST

An American Opinion

No section of the war aims of the United Nations is more important than that relating to the Far East; and it is highly desirable that Great Britain and the United States, with the approval of their allies, should indicate promptly the general character of these aims. Immediate freedom for India is one of these, which need not wait for the end of the war and should indeed have been granted long ago. For the other Asiatic territories of the Western powers, plans should be worked out similar to those under which the United States promised the Philippines their freedom in 1946. There should be guarantees that political independence will not be followed by economic strangulation. In China, every scrap of foreign control of territory and of special legal privileges for foreigners should be abrogated; by the end of the war, China should certainly be strong enough to compel this even if it were not voluntarily offered.

It is important that the people of Korea should have a promise of permanent independence. The spark of freedom has never died out in Korea during thirty-two years of systematic persecution by the Japanese. The Koreans are as valuable potential allies as the people of any of the conquered countries of Europe. We could help our cause immeasurably by giving them a real reason to fight on our side.

(From *The New Republic*).

be no satisfaction until at the end of the war Canada will say, 'no job was better done than that of the railways.'

Read, Reflect and Write to Us

A New Column

In these days thinking is not only done at the top, among the experts, leaders, etc., but also to a great extent at the bottom, among "common men and women." This fact, that people are thinking anew, is one of the important features of the present period. Many things which hitherto were accepted unthinkingly are now critically examined. This thinking, evoked by the world events, constitutes a force which will help to shape the future. To think has become the supreme duty of all who realize that indifference about the future is little short of a crime. The immediate future may be decisive for the future of humanity. The possibilities of development of our society are at stake. Who now in his blindness refuses to think supports the forces which attack the very foundation of his existence; that foundation is our society. The present period is teaching us all that the form of our society determines not only how we may live but also how we shall live. It teaches us also that we have to decide the form of our society ourselves.

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

Readers are invited to write to us, briefly and clearly, their views on the matter we publish. Their contributions will be published if they are in their turn calculated to foster and clarify thinking. But it should be borne in mind that the column is intended for an international forum where local aspects are not in their place. Where a local colour does creep in, it should be excused, as to some extent it is unavoidable.

As the first contribution we reprint from the Weekly News Service of the American Federation of Labour a leading article by Philip Pearl, entitled "Facing the Facts":

WARS BREED POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS. This war is no exception. It may bring about political revolutions not only in foreign countries, but right here in the United States.

The political set-up in the United States to-day is antiquated. It dates from the Civil War. It is unwieldy, illogical and confused. Thus we have in the Democratic Party the liberal New Dealers side by side with the reactionary Southern Democrats. And in the Republican Party we find an impossible conglomeration of Western Progressives and rock-bound conservatives.

The last World War brought Communism to Russia. It brought Socialism and finally Fascism to Italy. It wound up with Nazism in Germany. An America it finally hatched the New Deal.

What is going to happen after this war? There is no question in our minds that America and her Allies will win this war. But at what price? What will the aftermath of the war do to America? Will it bring about political revolution?

A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE. These are questions to which we must give serious thought right now.

Great Britain, it seems to us, is headed toward Communism, or some modified form of it. The same trend, at a somewhat slower pace, is discernible already in America.

Now irrespective of the weaknesses and contradictions inherent in America's present political structure, we find it vastly superior to any form of Communism or Fascism we have yet seen in operation. But will it withstand the pressure of post-war upheavals?

The best thing that could happen to the American two-party system after the war would be a re-alignment of the two parties into one which would be frankly liberal and another which would be steadfastly conservative. This is the best development we can look forward to and it would be an improvement over the present set-up. But will we get it? Will the system of private enterprise, private capital and private profit survive?

Not if it continues to pursue its present, piggish, unintelligent policies.

Private industry and private capital to-day are doing everything within their power—albeit unintentionally—to drive this country to Communism.

This is a serious charge, but we have facts with which to back it up. We are making these statements not as a prophet of doom but in the hope that it will wake up American businessmen to the danger of their present course and influence them to change their stupid, suicidal policies immediately.

THE SUICIDE SQUADS. The American Federation of Labour, since the turn of the century, has been America's most formidable barrier against the infiltration of Communism. The A.F.L. has fought and stamped out Communism wherever it has reared its head within the movement. It has constantly preached the affinity of interest between employer and em-

ployee. It has vigorously combatted phoney class-consciousness. It has opposed punitive taxation and legislation which would cripple business. It has sought to collaborate with business on a friendly basis. It has always defended the profit motive.

Yet now private business is doing its best to drive the American Federation of Labour into the camp of the communists. By its own actions it is substantiating practically every charge made by the communists against private capital. It is trying to take advantage of the most dangerous war America ever has faced to beat labour down to its knees. It seems more anxious to weaken and destroy organized labour than to defeat Hitler.

The newspapers day in and day out are subjecting labour to the cruelest, most unjustified public whipping in history. The only two newspapers which have evidenced any degree of fairness toward labour are the *Daily Worker* and *PM*, which has a somewhat sunset hue.

How long, do you suppose, are American workers going to take such treatment? Where are they going to turn after the war when jobs become scarce and suffering becomes acute?

Before it is too late, we warn American business and the American press to get wise to themselves. The American Federation of Labour detests Communism with every fibre of its being. It will fight Communism in America to the last ditch. But will it be able to stem the tides of class hate now being whipped up by the suicide squads of American business?

A War-Time Lesson in Parliament on Economics

MR. ALFRED EDWARDS (Labour, Middlesbrough E) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he knew that £30,000 worth of British labour was recently used in salvaging gold alleged to be worth £2,000,000 but useless for the war effort.

SIR KINGSLEY WOOD (Chancellor of the Exchequer) replied that he was aware of the salvage of this gold, but that it was certainly not useless to the war effort. "I regard this salvage operation as a valuable service," he said. "We have to pay for essential imports not covered by Lend-Lease and by financial arrangements made by the Government of Canada. Gold, from many points of view, is a very advantageous export."

MR. EDWARDS. Is he seriously telling us that shipping space is being used to convey gold to pay our Dominions and would it not be safer at the bottom of the sea than on land in New Zealand? (Laughter).

He said he would raise the matter again.

House of Commons, 12th March, 1942.