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GERMANY
JAPAN
PORTUGAL
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and other countries

Rebuilding Trade Unionism in Liberated Countries

BY ARTHUR DEAKIN ✓

Acting General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

EUROPE is being liberated almost more rapidly than it was conquered - in the time between one news-bulletin and the next, the people in hundreds more square miles of territory may stand erect in the decency and dignity of free citizenship, after years of oppression. These are great days, great for us who are supplying troops in the liberating armies by virtue of the calls on our courage and endurance, greater still for those who are, with wonder and awe, realising that they again have the right to laugh, talk aloud and sing their national songs.

But our jubilation must be tempered with sobriety ; the irresponsibility that underlay the mood of 1918 was disastrous then ; it would be ten times more disastrous now. The tasks that lie ahead of us are going to require all our strength and unity of purpose, and to shirk them or bungle them would lead to appalling results.

Not only have we to secure for ourselves, in this island, a measure of social security and economic justice, we have got to help our fellow-workers in Europe to do the same.

It is an integral part of my faith in my comrades of the British Trade Union and Labour Movement that they will be prepared to give this help, freely and ungrudgingly, for the sake of justice, but, in any case, self-interest alone demands that it be given without stint, for no people can be free, secure and prosperous, while in another land the people endure oppression and want ; the influence of economic forces is world-wide.

Ever since Europe was overrun by the Nazis, the Union, in co-operation with other trade unions of this country, has done its best to preserve in the occupied lands some vestige of a workers' movement on which we could build when the opportunity should arise. In the early days, I suppose, most of us thought in terms of the end of the war, but our chance came much earlier. The underground movements which sprang into being, grew to such incredible strength, and played such an amazing part in the defeat of the Nazis, were based in nearly every case on the former trade union movement, and gave us the opportunity to utilise the rather loosely knit groups that were established, and to build them into smooth-functioning, well-administered organizations.

British Unions play notable part. British trade unions have played a notable part in keeping alive the resistance movements in conquered Europe ; our own Union, because of its great strength, its contacts kept open by the International Transport Workers' Federation, and the inherent international outlook that is to be found amongst transport workers, can claim to have taken a place in the front rank in this years-long unspectacular campaign.

Naturally, our efforts were not publicised ; nor were they individual or unco-ordinated. Much as every one of us would have liked to have performed some great personal service for our comrades, such deeds would, had they been attempted, have been dangerous to doer and intended beneficiary alike—as dangerous as they would have been futile. The only way in which it was possible for us to help to keep the candle of freedom alight in Europe was by integrated action through well-established, reliable international bodies, in our case the International Transport Workers' Federation and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

What was done through these channels cannot yet be told. The Nazis still hold sway over millions of foreign workers, and we are not going to give them information that may be of use to them. A survey of the reports of activities through the war years, however, makes interesting reading. In 1940, we were mostly concerned with receiving and clothing refugees, and making such provision as was clearly necessary to enable them to recover their sense of citizenship and decency, and in guiding them to the tiny groups of their compatriots in this country who were, as we ourselves were, living on faith and hope ; the only aggressive measures we were able to undertake were attempts to secure contacts in the occupied countries.

Assistance to Liberating Forces. In 1944, our efforts have been of a very different nature. Without going into dangerous detail, it can be said that industrial organization is complete enough to have been able to respond readily and satisfactorily to the calls for assistance issued by the military resistance movements, and to have materially assisted the liberating campaigns of the Allied Forces.

The help we have given must go on ; it is going to be as necessary in peace as in war. In every European country a workers' movement exists, but in nearly all of them it is without the means, machinery or local and national leadership to expand quickly into assumption of its proper functions ; in some countries it has lost (or has never yet caught) sight of these functions.

People Stirring in S.E. Europe. Some of the backward, mainly agricultural States in South-Eastern Europe have never been democracies, as we understand the term. There are signs that their peoples to-day feel the stirrings of an urge towards something they have missed. We have got to help them to become citizens of the world, educated up to democracy, and to know how to get it, and how to keep it. Even in these States there exists the basis of a movement on which to build ; Nazi oppression, love of country, and the efforts of a handful of wise leaders have helped us to preserve that much. In Western European countries, the existing organizations are generally more coherent ; they are ready to function, but lack the means.

And all these workers' movements, rudimentary or adequate, are going to receive from us every ounce of help that we can give. That much we owe to them, and to ourselves. Again, it is not to be a matter of unconnected

and sporadic charity. Anything but that. World problems can only be solved by world action, and the great Federal Labour organizations of the U.S.A. are working in close consultation with us on this side, and the Swedish Labour Movement, too, is busy.

Help of every kind. The help we give, between us, will be of every kind, financial, educational, scientific, technical and organizational. We shall not be niggardly in our money contributions to this great work, and our other resources, leaders, administrators, research workers health and welfare experts, will place their services freely at the disposal of their European comrades.

I can fittingly put in here a word of recommendation to our members of a scheme initiated by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, by which trades councils in this country can "adopt" a corresponding body in Europe, supplying it first with the funds necessary for its rehabilitation, and later with equipment and assistance in other forms. This scheme will give an opportunity for that intimate, personal help that so sweetens human relationships.

Democracy will triumph. And I am afraid that human relationships will need all the sweetening they can get for some years to come. A war as bitter as this one, and as widespread and prolonged, inevitably breeds distrust and hatred which find their outlet in the violence that has become commonplace and habitual. Human life, treated everywhere for five years as of less account than the piece of metal that destroys it or the food that sustains it, cannot be made sacred again, overnight, by statute. There are millions of youths and maidens who, from childhood, have lived with and by violence. Are they likely to get into the habit of meekly accepting the Chairman's ruling as final, and doing nothing more about it ?

Yes, they are—after a time ; that is why we are preparing to erect once again the machinery of government of the people, for the people, by the people. We believe in democracy, we believe in it so greatly that we have fought for it and worked to keep it alive through five years of danger and sacrifice. And our belief has been abundantly justified. Our democracy has triumphed, and has proved itself to be the only form of government that can bring decency and dignity into the lives of the peoples of the world.

For this reason we are going to give every people from whom it has been withheld, a chance to partake of our democracy. The young men and women who are alive only because their trigger-fingers are quick-acting will learn—in time—that taut muscles and supple limbs and clear brains are great gifts that can be used more enjoyably than in killing other human beings. And it is our purpose to guide them into a life in which the strength of their bodies, the skill of their hands and the products of their brains can be used for the benefit of themselves and their fellow-workers in all lands.

I can think of no worse fate for civilisation than that we should turn aside from this purpose, or fail to achieve it.

From *T. and G. W. Record*.

TRADE UNION RECONSTRUCTION IN ITALY

By P. P. FANO

I.T.F. Representative for Italy

The advance of the Allied armies in Italy was swiftly followed by the dissolution of the Fascist labour organization and the creation of new free trade unions. Persons who had held any office in a Fascist organization were excluded from membership of the new unions, and those who, without actually holding office, had aided and abetted the Fascist regime were debarred from becoming officials of them.

It was in most cases the older workers who took the initiative in the reconstruction work. They, indeed, were the only ones who had some previous experience of labour self-government, of which every trace had disappeared for over twenty years in Fascist Italy. Some of them dug out from its safe hiding-place the red flag of their pre-Fascist union, some produced a tattered pamphlet describing the pre-Fascist organization; they called together their fellow workers, particularly the younger ones, and a decision was quickly taken to start a new union on the firm basis of the old Italian tradition.

It was a spontaneous movement which, at first, lacked unity and co-ordination. The almost complete lack of means of transport and communication, following the destruction caused by the war and the scorched earth policy pursued by the Germans throughout the Italian territory, made it extremely difficult in the early stages to organize the workers on a wider basis than that of the town or village in which they lived. The first to succeed in organizing themselves on a national scale were the railwaymen, who as early as January, 1944, sent from all parts of the liberated territory their representatives to take part in the Bari Congress, where the old Italian Railwaymen's Union was revived. This union has at present a membership of over 50,000, which represents 70 per cent of the railwaymen of liberated Italy.

Even more difficult was the task of setting up a single General Confederation of Labour acceptable to all the trade unions. Before the liberation of Rome three distinct Confederations had come into existence in southern Italy—one in Bari, which included elements of all parties and embraced the majority of the new unions, and two in Naples.

The rank and file were in no way responsible for this division, which was the outcome rather of the fact, on the one hand, that the Christian Democratic Party had started to organize its own unions and, on the other hand, that some self-appointed leaders were reluctant to relinquish the offices they had assumed during the early days of the liberation when the situation was still fluid. The Italian workers wanted to follow the example of their comrades of the north, who were fighting unitedly against the Fascists and the Germans, and remembered only too well that the disunity of pre-Fascist days had undermined their resistance to the Fascist onslaught. This wish of the workers for unity was to be fulfilled after the liberation of Rome.

In Rome, while still under German occupation, the

Christian Democratic, Socialist and Communist labour leaders had signed a pact binding their respective parties to promote the formation of a single trade union organization, independent of the State and of the political parties and based on strictly democratic principles. When Rome was liberated, this pact led to the constitution of the General Confederation of Italian Workers, which was joined by all the trade unions and labour councils (local trade union federations) existing in southern Italy. At the same time the Confederations of Bari and Naples were dissolved.

At the head of the General Confederation of Italian Workers are three men who played a prominent part in the pre-Fascist labour movement and were in the forefront in the organization of resistance against the Fascists and the Nazis. They are Lizzardi, who was leader of the Socialist Party in southern Italy, under the assumed name of Oreste Longobardi; Di Vittorio, a former Communist M.P. and political commissar in Spain during the Civil War, and Grandi, a former Catholic M.P. who enjoys the confidence of large masses of Italian small-holders.

The General Confederation is faced with many and urgent tasks of the utmost importance. It must see that in the newly liberated territories the work of organization is carried out with expedition and that unity is maintained within the labour movement as a whole. Further, it must obtain an immediate improvement in the deplorable economic conditions of the workers.

To promote the rapid organization of the workers, labour councils are set up, under the auspices of the Confederation, in every Italian town immediately after its liberation. The importance of the work of these councils cannot be over-estimated. They supply information, provide meeting places, issue model rules and generally do everything necessary to facilitate the creation of new unions. In appointing the people who run the labour councils in the newly liberated areas the Confederation is always careful to select persons with a good anti-Nazi record and representative of the main trends of thought of the local workers.

Trade unionists may object to this system of appointments from above. It should be borne in mind, however, that a trade union organization can only hold democratic elections after the first nucleus of members has been formed and this nucleus has agreed on the fundamental principles on which the organization shall be based and has issued invitations to the rest of the workers to join the ranks. The spade-work which is being done by the Confederation and the Labour Councils in the present phase may be correctly described as the re-establishment of democracy from above.

In July, 1944, the General Confederation submitted to the Italian Government a detailed memorandum containing concrete proposals for a substantial all-round increase in wages. This was a measure for which all the

unions had been pressing from the beginning. The situation of Italian wage earners was indeed desperate, as has been reported in the Anglo-American press and stressed more recently by the Anglo-American Trade Union Delegation.

Italian wages, which were frozen at the beginning of the war, have on the average only been permitted to rise 100 per cent, whereas the cost of living has increased ten-fold compared with pre-war days. In this situation no working-class family could live on its bare wages and people had to resort to various expedients in order to ward off starvation. Some sold their belongings, others succumbed to less honest ways of making money. Few, however, had enough to eat to maintain their health and capacity for work.

The tremendous increase in prices, due to the reduced productivity of the country laid waste by the war and to the general phenomenon of inflation, has been aggravated by the complete breakdown of the transport and communication services. In their retreat to the north, the German columns removed from the liberated territory every motor vehicle, railway truck and locomotive they could lay hands on and wrecked hundreds of miles of railway line with a special machine called the railway plough. What is left at present of the Italian railway system is operated almost exclusively for military traffic, and as to road transport, those motor vehicles which the Italians have managed to save from the Germans have been requisitioned by the Allies. Consequently food cannot be transported in sufficient quantities from dis-

tricts producing a surplus to districts where there is a shortage; instead racketeers bring in limited quantities to be sold in the black market at enormous prices.

Moreover, owing to the lack of means of communication and transport, the State is not in a position to exercise sufficient authority in the provinces or to enforce the compulsory delivery of crops which the law at present prescribes. But even if the peasants could be persuaded to deliver their products, the difficulty remains that unless the transport situation can be tackled this year's crops must remain on the farms and the big towns will this winter be faced with famine to an unprecedented degree. The representations made by the General Confederation of Labour with a view to improving the conditions of the workers have met with strong resistance from the Allied Control Commission, which fears the inflationary effect of a wholesale increase in wages while the scarcity of goods available on the market persists.

It is clear that one measure which would bring immediate relief to the wage-earners would be to supply Italy with, say, two thousand lorries to be used for distributing the food produced and held in the country. On the other hand, the long-term policy of the Italian working class must aim at a substantial increase in the productivity of the country, coupled with a larger participation of the workers in the distribution of the national income.

The new Italian trade unions are well aware of these facts and are determined to take an active part in the planning of the economic reconstruction of Italy and to press for profound reforms in the social system.

RAILWAYMEN'S DAY IN THE SOVIET UNION

By S. SMUGLY'

On July 30th of each year, or on the Sunday following, the railway workers of the Soviet Union celebrate "Railwaymen's Day." This traditional holiday has an interesting history.

By 1935, as a result of the Stalin Five Year Plans, the Soviet Union had been converted from a backward agrarian country into one with a highly developed industry and agriculture. Railway transport also grew considerably during the same period. New lines were built to connect the regions of the North, the Urals, Siberia and Middle Asia. Thousands of new and powerful locomotives, the relaying of the tracks, new equipment and thousands of kilometres of lines with the automatic block system brought tremendous changes to the Soviet railways.

On July 30th, 1935, the railway workers gathered at a conference in Moscow, and were received by Joseph Stalin. In his speech, Stalin outlined his plan for the further development of railways, on the basis of which the service improved from year to year, successfully coping with the needs of a rapidly developing country.

Since then, this day has been celebrated yearly by the railwaymen. Meetings are held throughout the country

with representatives of various enterprises and organisations, where they review the results of the past year, their achievements and shortcomings, and also name the best in their midst.

Ten years have elapsed since Railwaymen's Day was instituted. They have been years of struggle and victory, and a particularly heavy task confronted the railwaymen at the beginning of the war.

This year they are celebrating their day with greater pride and satisfaction than ever before. The Red Army is clearing Soviet soil of the enemy, and the railwaymen know that they have done their bit toward the remarkable victories won during the past year.

Thousands upon thousands of railwaymen performed acts of great heroism in eventful battles at the approaches to Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk, and during the great days of the Ukrainian offensive, near Leningrad, in the Crimea and in White Russia. Neither fierce artillery and trench mortar fire nor aerial bombardment prevented the front from receiving a regular supply of reinforcements, tanks, guns, ammunition and food. No wonder that the Soviet Government conferred on 127 railway workers the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. This title was also

granted to pointswoman Alexandrova, who stuck to her post during the most terrific bombardment of Leningrad, and to engine driver Artamonov who, mid a hurricane of bullets and bombs, delivered his train-loads of ammunition to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad. The war complicated matters for the railwaymen, but stubbornly they overcame all difficulties.

Hundreds of engine drivers nurse their locomotives in order to avoid delays for repairs. Aseyev, senior engine driver, ran his locomotive for a million kilometres without overhaul.

Ospov, a dispatcher, now a Hero of Socialist Labour, devised a method of dispatching troop trains which saves considerable time during the passage of trains through the junctions. Kazadayev and a number of other Siberian engine drivers run their engines without stops at the depots or water pumps. Other workers are also doing their utmost to avoid delays, and the results of their efforts can be seen from the fact that in the month of June this year every railway wagon covered the distance between one loading place and the other in nearly a day less than during the same month of the previous year. This increased the monthly carrying

capacity of the same number of wagons by $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of goods.

The railwaymen strive not only to speed up the return of wagons, and thus increase their carrying capacity, but also to cut down the cost of transportation. Their efforts have already saved 638 million roubles in the last nine months.

Railwaymen have also done much good work for the liberated regions. During its offensive, the Red Army freed thousands of miles of railway lines. At the stations the railwaymen found heaps of broken bricks, and the tracks were a mass of twisted metal. To-day, nearly all the lines cleared of the invaders are functioning.

This year Railwaymen's Day will be celebrated by a huge army of railway workers, the majority of whom are young people who started work since the war. This family includes nearly a million women engine drivers, pointswomen, guards, mechanics and the like. They were trained by older workers with years of experience to their credit.

This year, old and young, railway workers will pledge themselves to do even more to help the Red Army drive the enemy from the whole of the Soviet soil.

WHAT WE DO FOR THE SOVIET RAILWAYMEN

By **VASILY KARYAGIN,**

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Soviet Railway

It has become a tradition, on the festive occasion of Railwaymen's Day, July 30th, to summarize the achievements of railway workers during the previous year.

A few days ago the Union discussed some of the results obtained by our local Trade Union branches and how to better the standard of living of our members.

The results of the solicitude of the Soviet Government and the Railway Workers' Union were shown first of all in a fairly good increase in wages for transport workers, particularly for those connected with railway traffic.

In 1941 freight train drivers earned on an average 1,005 roubles a month. Three years later they were earning 1,700 roubles. During the war the monthly wage of train conductors rose from 543 to 886, of firemen from 519 to 968 roubles, rolling stock foremen from 650 to 1,103 roubles, locomotive repairmen from 451 to 734 roubles.

The general welfare of the Soviet railwaymen is greatly furthered by social insurance. The Social Insurance budget has steadily increased during the war years and has reached a total of 754,000,000 roubles for the central railways alone. Hundreds of millions of roubles were spent on dietetic food and medical aid for railwaymen and their families, and for the care of their children.

The health and prophylactic institutions on the twenty-six railways which were not occupied by the Nazi invaders continued to develop during the war. The number of their polyclinics has increased from 754 to 796 in the past three years. The number of hospitals and

medical aid stations expanded from 225 and 429 to 256 and 497 respectively, and the number of beds in the hospitals from 20,148 to 28,713. Childrens' sanatoria showed an increase from 33 with 2,260 beds to 43 with 3,040 beds; and nurseries from 420 with 20,000 cots to 509 with 32,000 cots.

By 1st July, 1944, 518 polyclinics and dispensaries, 278 first aid stations, 208 medical aid stations, 105 hospitals, and 48 nurseries had been opened on nineteen railways liberated from the German occupation. During the three war years some 46,000 railwaymen rested and received treatment in rest homes and sanatoria. In 1944 18,000 railway workers will be sent to rest homes and health resorts.

Our Union has set up three special rest homes for the railwaymen of Leningrad who lived there through the blockade. More than 5,000 railway employees in that city have had their health considerably improved.

We opened a new sanatorium in Sernovodsk on 1st May of this year, and our rest homes and sanatoria in the Crimea and the Caucasus, which were damaged by the German invaders, are now being speedily rehabilitated.

The Union devotes a lot of attention to housing construction. Some 228,000 square metres of housing floor-space have been newly built and 870,000 square metres repaired during the war. This does not include construction carried out on liberated railways, where, in 1943, 628 dormitories, 849 line booths and 342,500 square metres of housing floor-space were either repaired or built anew. Nearly 95,000 families of railwaymen have moved into new apartment houses and dormitories.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "SEAMEN'S ACT" OF THE U.S.A.

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Last year a very instructive book dedicated to the memory of the American seamen's leader, Andrew Furuseth, was published in New York. It is entitled "Merchant Seamen's Law," and was written by Silas Blake Axtell, proctor in Admiralty. From this book we reproduce a few pages which give a clear picture of the significance and history of the American Seamen's Act.

No one to-day underestimates the value of the services being rendered by seamen to the United Nations, and to the freedom-loving peoples of the world, in this titanic struggle against the misled and enslaved millions of the totalitarian powers. But gratitude that the people will give the seamen has no direct political influence in a democracy where the franchise, exercised by the majority, is the determining factor. When we have voting machines on ships and seamen are permitted to vote for lawmakers to represent men of their calling, the seamen will have progressed from the state of "representation by lobby" to the status of direct political representation enjoyed by other citizens.

Although the rights and duties of seamen, officers, and owners of merchant vessels to-day are largely determined by statutes or codes emanating from the seats of government of the vessel's flag, yet most of them can be traced back to the time of the Phoenicians, 400 B.C. These ancient laws and codes were statements of the rights and duties of ship owners and of the restrictions placed upon the liberties of seamen from the earliest beginnings of commercial shipping. They are commonly known as the laws of Oleron (French and English); the laws of Wisby (Scandinavian); and the laws of Hanse Towns (German). All of them are from five to seven centuries old, but derived from the customs and practices of the Phoenicians. For America, the ancient maritime law was stated by the great Chief Justice Joseph Storey when he was a U.S. Circuit Judge sitting in the Second Circuit (Massachusetts) in a famous case of *Harden v. Gordon*. He must have studied diligently from the sources then available, for his opinion consumed some thirty pages of closely printed matter from which he quoted:

Building loans free of interest, issued in 1943 by the State to individuals, amounted to 18,014,000 roubles. Badayev, a stoker employed on the Mozhaik junction, for instance, received a loan of ten thousand roubles repayable in seven years, and part of the building materials for a house.

The number of public steam baths, laundries, barber shops and clothing and shoe repair shops for railway workers has been considerably increased since the outbreak of war. More than three thousand shoe and clothing repair shops were opened during the war. Besides taking individual orders, these shops offered advice and rendered aid to housewives in cutting and sewing.

Our trade union branches are doing everything in their power to lighten the difficulties of the war-time tasks of the railway workers, and to prepare for their work to be done under the best conditions after the war.

"The next inquiry is, whether the maritime law does provide, that the expenses of sick seamen shall be borne by the ship. . . . In the adminicular researches (not inconsiderable), to which my duty has led me, I have not been able to detect a single instance in which the maritime laws of any foreign country throw upon the seamen disabled or taken sick in the service of the ship without their own fault, the expenses of their cure. On the contrary, the positive ordinances of the principal maritime nations expressly make these expenses a charge upon the ship. This is certainly the law of France, Denmark, Sweden, the Hanse Towns, Prussia, Holland and probably of the Italian states. . . . There is perhaps upon this subject a greater extent and uniformity of maritime authority, than can probably be found in support of most of these principles of commercial law, which have been so successfully ingrafted into our jurisprudence within the last century." (*Harden v. Gordon*, Circuit Court, District of Maine, October, 1823, reported in Vol. II, Federal Cases, 6047 at page 482.)

A study of the modern sea codes of Spain, South American and Central American Republics, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Sweden, Great Britain and the United States, convinces one that the duties of merchant seamen toward their ship are similar under the flags of all nations, and the benefits afforded to seamen by the laws of all nations are the same substantially except in the case of the United States. The La Follette Seamen's Act, its giving to seamen freedom from arrest for desertion and the right to demand half the wages that they have earned, is the first great departure. English and other European shipowners, during this turmoil, are still worried lest this contagion spread. In vain they have suggested that the seamen might abandon their ships to "rot in their neglected brine," as Malloy puts it, if the desertion penalties were all nullified.

Most workmen in shore industries live in their homes. They travel back and forth to their place of employment. Not until they enter the place where they perform the duties for which they are paid, do they come under the control of the employer, and then they are at liberty to leave their employment at any time they choose. Not so the seaman. His place of employment and his residence for the agreed period of serving is the vessel. It is this physical circumstance more than anything else that requires a different code defining the rights and duties of seamen under the laws of all nations. Illustrative of that is the language of that learned judge (Charles M. Hough, New York) who, referring to a seaman on a New York tugboat observed: "Jones behaved like a landman.

Indeed, he had worked as one, but not long before his employment on the tug. . . . It is not easy to adjust the rights of a seaman as between parties, none of whom seem to think in terms of the sea."

The seaman, for wages earned, regardless of whether or not he is under articles, has a prior lien against the vessel for his wages even to her last plank. Pre-existent before any statutory rights, was the duty of the shipowner by common practice and in all undertakings to furnish and warrant the seaworthiness of the vessel. To the seamen, this amounted to what is called at common law "the right to a safe place in which to work." Whether it be a local harbour craft or a trans-Atlantic liner, the shipowner owes the seaman a duty to care for him when sick or injured when the illness has arisen in the service of the ship or when ashore if not due to his own culpable fault.

Because of the nature of the seamen's calling, Congress has enacted numerous statutes to protect the seamen as well as to determine his duty to the ship during the voyage. With the exception of the La Follette Seamen's Act in its particular application to foreign vessels that enter harbours of the United States for purposes of trade, the rights and duties of seamen are determined entirely by the laws of the nation whose flag the ship flies. But our courts have held that all employers in the United States are governed by the Jones Act, even though the offense or injury occurred on a vessel that had been placed under the registry and flag of a foreign government. Under our Constitution the power to make laws relating to seamen employed on vessels engaged in interstate or international navigation is vested entirely in the Congress of the United States and the President.

To protect the seamen (following the English practice) we have provided that the seamen shall be signed on and paid their wages before United States Shipping Commissioners. In England an official of the "Board of Trade" performs that function. The duties ordinarily performed by the United States Shipping Commissioner in home ports are performed by the American Consuls in foreign ports. Similar regulations and methods exist in all other maritime countries, such as Norway, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Italy and France.

Since the attack at Pearl Harbour (December 7th, 1941), the powers of the Shipping Commissioners have been turned over by Congress to the United States Coast Guard. The seamen of Germany, Italy and Japan, since all labour unions have been wiped out in these countries, are probably in a complete state of bondage and subservience to autocratic power.

Prior to the passage in the United States of the La Follette Seamen's Act, March 4th, 1915, foreign consuls representing maritime nations whose vessels visited the United States for purposes of trade, enjoyed exclusive jurisdiction as final arbiters of all disputes arising between the masters and crews of their vessels. They had the right to call on the police of the Ports of United States to apprehend seamen who deserted their ships and to lodge them in local jails. The proponents of the Seamen's Act, following the dauntless leadership of

Andrew Furuseth, contended that once in a safe harbour, the seaman ought to have the right to leave his vessel if he desired, regardless of the terms of the agreement, and that he should not be subject to arrest for desertion or for breach of the civil contract of hire. Congress finally accepted that principle, though the first Seamen's Act of 1912 died because of a pocket veto by President Taft.

In 1915, Congress went the whole way, and in spite of international opposition and shipowners' lobbying, the Seamen's Act was passed, containing the provisions now known as Sec. 596-7, U.S.C.A., Title 46, that give all seamen on foreign and American vessels alike, the right to demand half the wages they have earned that remain unpaid in any loading or discharging port, provided the demands are not made oftener than once in five days or more than once in a port of entry. Congress further provided that courts of the United States should be open to seamen without the prepayment of costs or fees of any kind. The effect of this statute, which was finally enforced after the abrogation of treaties in 1916, can hardly be exaggerated. Taking the world's tonnage as approximately fifty million tons at that time, only five million of which was under the American flag, it would appear that the increase in wages from 1915 to 1919 paid on foreign flag vessels alone, amounted in round numbers to three billion dollars (\$3,000,000,000) a year. No wonder that international shipping interests represented to the people of this country—to our Chambers of Commerce—that the men who conceived and fought to enforce the Seamen's Act were malefactors whose activities were inimical to World Shipping and that the Seamen's Act ought to be repealed.

I doubt if any student of economic history would say that the passage of the Seamen's Act was a cause of a coming revolution, but certainly when even Chinese seamen left, as they did in some instances, British vessels paying a wage of \$5.00 per month and regained employment on other ones at \$90.00 per month, within a few days, it is apparent that the law had a profound effect on World Markets and the World Labour Supply.

THE DANGERS OF PRODUCER GAS

Stockholm's Transport Workers' Union has been going into the question of producer gas, chiefly from the point of view of the dangers of this fuel, and its Annual Meeting has made the following statement on the subject:

Stockholm's Transport Workers' Union, of whose 4,500 members 75 per cent work in connection with producer gas vehicles and are exposed to the dangers they involve, has from time to time since the introduction of producer gas given attention to the unsatisfactory position with regard to the poisoning connected with this work.

It is natural that the question of compensation has been most to the fore, seeing that the compensation paid in connection with producer gas poisoning has been and still is most unsatisfactory.

In the beginning only those suffering from acute poisoning received compensation under the Industrial

Insurance Act, as acute poisoning ranked as an industrial accident. Those suffering from chronic poisoning received no compensation and were left to fend for themselves during the period of incapacitation.

At the initiative of the "Trade Union Producer Gas Committee," an amendment to the Act was passed in 1942 to the effect that chronic producer gas poisoning should be recognized as an "occupational disease." It was thought that this would settle the question of compensation, but it failed to do so.

The following is a typical example: a man suffering from producer gas poisoning was put on the sick list and accordingly received compensation from the State Health Insurance Fund, but was declared fit to resume work after a fortnight. He was ordered, however, to avoid contact with producer gas, which meant that he was unable to return to his job. Consequently he became unemployed and the State Health Insurance Compensation ceased.

It is easy to understand what this means, especially to a man with a family to support. There are too many who have fallen victim to poisoning by producer gas in the course of their work, and who have become a prey to misery and want, together with their families, through no fault of their own. There are even cases in which it is uncertain whether the victim will ever recover his health.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some of those who found themselves in this position should, in sheer desperation, have started drivers' work again. It only proves that the question of compensation is a very important factor in the fight against the dangers of producer gas. The possibilities of a man who has been poisoned recovering are very small under such conditions, and the danger he constitutes to traffic is so obvious that all comments are superfluous. The following is another example of compensation in strict accordance with the law: a man suffering from gas poisoning has his compensation reduced to one-half during part of the time because the Industrial Accidents Act lays it down that compensation is payable according to the degree of incapacitation. If we assume that he starts with the highest rate of compensation payable, seven crowns a day, he will later be reduced to 3.50 crowns a day. To

live on this amount under present conditions is very difficult, let alone to support a family on it.

These unsatisfactory arrangements have another very dangerous aspect, namely, that the poisoned man waits as long as he possibly can before seeing a doctor, as he knows what his fate will be if he is declared to be suffering from chronic poisoning. In addition he is, as we have pointed out, a danger to traffic, and he further runs the risk of contracting more serious complications than would have been the case had he seen a doctor at once.

Against the background of these unsatisfactory conditions, we view with deep satisfaction the motions and questions regarding this problem which have been put forward or asked in Parliament. They not only aim to settle the question of compensation, but also call for the provision of clinics to treat cases of gas poisoning, and for the training of the requisite number of doctors and other personnel.

The magnitude of the problem is shown by the fact that 250,000 persons in this country are more or less exposed to contact with producer gas in the course of their daily work. The latest statistics show that in 1941 there were 901 acute and 1,304 chronic cases of producer gas poisoning. In 1942 the corresponding figures were 1,266 and 2,578 respectively and in 1943 704 and 2,014. The increase from 1941 to 1942 was enormous. The reason for the lower figures for 1943 is that they do not cover Goteborg, Orebro and other places. It is likely that the figures for 1943 were in reality no lower than those for 1942; they may even be higher.

The figures speak for themselves and they show that although producer gas poisoning is the youngest, it is the most widespread occupational disease in our country at present. They also stress the necessity of these questions being given the fullest consideration in Parliament.

On the basis of the above, we give our fullest support to those who are seeking an effective solution of these problems and demand:

1. That full maintenance be provided, for those who suffer from producer gas poisoning, until they can return to their previous occupation or enter a new one.
2. That the use of producer gas be discontinued as soon as other fuels are available.

POST-WAR PROSPECTS FOR U.S.A. RAILROADS

What is the outlook for the railroad industry after the war? Is traffic likely to stay at its present record levels or drop sharply? Will other means of transportation cut into the railroad's share?

Are railroad companies still going to receive the high profits of 1942 and 1943? Will the 1,400,000 workers now employed on the roads hold their jobs after the war? Or will employment fall again to its pre-war level of around 988,000?

Such questions as these are being discussed in all the financial and business journals, with experts giving their estimates and predictions. All agree on one point: the future of the railroad industry will depend largely on general business conditions and the post-war volume of national income.

For more than ten years, the gross operating revenues of Class I railroads have averaged about 6 per cent of "national income." This term, as used here, means the sum of the amounts received as income by all people in the United States, as estimated by the Department of Commerce and called "income paid out" or "total national income payments." Railroad gross operating revenues during the past ten years ranged only from 5.52 per cent to 6.62 per cent of national income payments, which fluctuated between \$56 billion*(1934) and \$142 billion (1943). "Barron's" national business and financial weekly (1st May, 1944), points out this stability of the ratio in the following figures:

* A United States "billion" is one thousand million.

Year	RR gross operating revenues Class I railroads (in millions of dollars)	Per cent of national income payments
1934	3,272	6.62
1935	3,452	6.20
1936	4,053	6.24
1937	4,166	5.83
1938	3,565	5.55
1939	3,995	5.64
1940	4,297	5.52
1941	5,347	5.59
1942	7,466	6.23
1943	9,075	6.44

It is probable that the stability of this ratio will be maintained after the war. It is thus possible to project roughly the railroads' gross operating revenues as a percentage of national income in the post-war period.

Estimates vary. In order to achieve full production and employment after the war, many observers maintain that a gross national product of \$200 billion will be necessary. This would result in national income payments of around \$150 billion—about the same as the amount expected for 1944.

However, most of the forecasters who predict the railroads' future assume considerable unemployment after demobilization of the armed forces. They see a temporary decline in national income payments to \$120 billion or even to \$100 billion. Railroad gross operating revenues, judging by past experience, would be at the rate of about 6 per cent of this national income. Here are two such estimates:

"If the predictions of a national income around the \$120 billion level are fulfilled, the railroad industry should have gross revenues of \$7 billion or more. However, if the national income falls to \$100 billion and railroad operating revenues to \$6 billion, that total would be larger than the gross intake of any of the years from 1930 to 1941, inclusive." (*Financial World*, 19th April, 1944).

"Making assumptions of \$100 and \$120 billion for early post-war national income payments, and applying to both the lowest ratio to national income payments—that of 1940—actually obtaining for Class I gross operating revenues in the last twelve 'peace' years, we arrive at \$5,520 million and \$6,624 million, respectively, for Class I gross operating revenues." (*Barron's*, 1st May, 1944).

But these estimates of gross operating revenues in the post-war period would be greatly increased if other higher estimates of national income are assumed. With national income of at least \$150 billion, the roads' gross would be around \$9 billion.

Competition expected. In 1943 the railroads had about two-thirds (66 per cent) of the total traffic volume, compared with 56 per cent in 1938 and 70 per cent in 1929. It is expected by most forecasters that they should maintain about 60 per cent of the total.

Competitors are expected to do their best to obtain a larger share of the available traffic. The railroads in 1943

opened a monopoly drive to convert themselves into transportation corporations—operating in the air, on the highways and along waterways, in an effort to forestall this competition.

Airlines might gain a sizeable portion of first class passenger traffic. But carriers on the highways will offer the most formidable competition for both passenger and freight traffic. Freight is by far the most important revenue producer for the railroads, so that any major change in methods of transporting freight will be reflected in the roads' operating returns.

Railroads will probably maintain their relative position in carrying at least the heavier commodities, such as coal, iron ore and steel. As the National Planning Association pointed out in *The Outlook for the Railroad Industry*, the railway "is particularly adapted to the regular movement of large quantities of heavy freight at low cost."

But oil now shipped by rail from Texas to eastern states will probably go by tanker in post-war years. Much of the freight on the Atlantic seaboard will again be shipped by coastwise steamers. Maine potatoes will be transported over-the-road in trucks. These are some of the expected changes in freight transportation which are likely to affect railway operating revenues.

The *Financial World* concludes that "Some individual carriers may be hit relatively hard by the renewal and intensification of non-rail competition, but the industry as a whole should be able to show satisfactory results."

Profit Outlook. Most railroad companies will end the war in a strong financial position, it is generally agreed. Like other corporations in the United States, they are assured of large tax refunds in case their net profits in the first two post-war years fall below the excess profits tax exemption base. Under the Revenue Act of 1942 the corporations are allowed a two-year carry-back of net operating losses.

In a year of relatively low traffic those roads which were subject to large excess profits taxes in the 1942-45 period could get back substantial refunds from the government. If there is a net operating loss for a taxable year the company can carry forward that net loss for the two succeeding years.

At the end of the war, the railroads' reserve funds for plant investment, improvements and rehabilitation are likely to total over \$2 billion. Improvements then introduced would almost certainly effect reduction in costs and greater efficiency in operation. Railroad companies which have used some of their swollen war profits for reduction of long-term debts will be in an especially favourable position after the war. All these factors will, of course, affect the amount of the railroad companies' net profits in the coming years.

Employment and Productivity. The number of employees in Class I roads averaged about 1,400,000 in 1943. Compared with the peak of 1,800,000 in the first World War year 1918, this shows a drop of about 22 per cent. Yet with 22 per cent fewer men the roads handled about 77 per cent more revenue freight traffic (in ton-miles) last year than in 1918 and 97 per cent more in passenger traffic. The load per worker is much heavier. In the four

war years from 1939 through 1943 productivity per man-hour went up by approximately 50 per cent, the Department of Commerce shows in its *Survey of Current Business* (February, 1944). This means that two railroad workers in 1943 were handling as much as three did in the pre-war year 1939.

Productivity per man-hour on the railroads appears to have reached a peak for the present, the Commerce Department estimates. It is not expected to increase at a corresponding rate in the immediate post-war period. Indeed, output per employee may be less in the early post-war years, since the war-time strain on railroad workers has admittedly been excessive.

Man-power shortages have meant that the worker has been handling a heavier load than he could carry over any long period of time. As the Office of Defence Transportation admitted, 10th March, 1944, with a shrinking labour supply, there is "increasing strain upon our railroad workers. Present man-power is being stretched very close to the limit of its endurance."

From 100,000 to 200,000 additional men and women are urgently needed now to fill railroad jobs. If they could be added to the working force this would bring the total up to some 1,500,000 or 1,600,000.

In the post-war period, therefore, at least 1,500,000 railroad workers would be needed to handle a traffic volume at the 1943 level.

But the hours worked per employee on the roads averaged nearly nine a day (8.8) in August, 1943. (See *Railway Traffic Expansion and Use of Resources in World War II*, of the National Bureau of Economic Research). Shortening the hours to eight a day in the post-war period would mean an addition of about 11 per cent in the number of railroad workers to handle the same traffic volume.

A further reduction to seven working hours a day would correspondingly increase the number of workers to be employed on the roads.

From *Labor Research Association, N.Y.*

AUSTRALIAN RAILWAYMEN'S POST-WAR PROBLEMS

The Council of the Australian Railways Union met in Sydney on 17th April, 1944, to lay down the broad lines of political and industrial policy for pursuing improvements in the working conditions and standards of living of the Union's members. President T. Moroney opened the proceedings with an address in which he expounded the political character of the war and the task of Australian Trade Unions, with particular reference to transport workers' unions. We reproduce here the second part of his address.

The vast majority of the people of Australia are hoping for something in the form of economic security and great social progress after the war. But in what form they want it, they cannot say; and most of them expect it to come to them through some form of Government activity or benevolence, rather than by any action on their own part. What we have to guard against is that the people, in their likely disappointment, do not become the unconscious tools of Fascist interests and allow themselves to be used to destroy those institutions that are most likely to assist them in realizing their hopes and aspirations.

I know—and you know—that Socialism is the only means through which the hopes of the people can be fully realized. There are thousands of workers who agree with us, but who really believe that Socialism can be ushered in by the Commonwealth Government; and that now that a Labour majority is in office in the Commonwealth Parliament, Socialism in some form is likely to eventuate. Socialism will not arrive that way.

While we proclaim our faith in Socialism and retain our belief that future economic, political and social developments eventually will justify that faith, we should face the realization that this war will end probably, with the system of Capitalism still intact (but badly shaken) in Australia, and with a legacy of economic and social problems that cannot be left unattended until the establishment of Socialism is possible.

The chief problems that will confront Australia at the termination of war will be:

1. To maintain in employment the workers now engaged in production of military equipment and munitions of war and in auxiliary industries; and to

find employment for men demobilized from military, naval and air forces who have no employment to which they can return.

2. To sustain purchasing power among the people.

3. To re-direct war production activities to the needs of peace.

4. To plan economic and social development out of war into peace.

As an important section of the Australian economy, we must take an active part in the planning and direction of policies to meet those immediate post-war problems. It is not sufficient that we leave the drafting of plans and policies in those matters to Government Departments, such as the Post-war Reconstruction Department. The Trade Union Movement should have its policies and plans in respect of the conduct of post-war affairs in this country, and should be preparing to gather strength and influence to enable it to see that those affairs are directed in a manner compatible with Trade Union policy.

We have had a number of controls and restrictions imposed on us during the war, and we have accepted them as being necessary for the proper organization of the nation's war effort. It is obvious that in certain quarters the intention is to carry those controls over into the post-war period as a necessary part of the nation's organization for the meeting of post-war problems. Planned economy under Capitalism, with a continuance of controls and restrictions now imposed on us, would be a form of Fascism that the Trade Union Movement could not accept. Yet in its present condition, and in the absence of any plan or approach of its own, to post-war problems, the Trade Union Movement would not be in

a position to resist a Fascist plan of approach to the solution of post-war affairs.

To give the required strength and influence to the Trade Union Movement in post-war affairs, a reorganization of it is necessary, as well as the development of a broader understanding of its responsibilities in the economic affairs of this country. It is pleasing to note that some moves are being made towards amalgamation of existing unions, but much more requires to be done in that direction.

The new problems that will confront us in the post-war period require a new type of unionism for their proper handling, and a new outlook as to the purpose of unionism in economic affairs. The present forms of unionism breed disunity where unity should prevail; they destroy strength of working-class effort; they make it impossible for the working-class to exert its political and industrial influence in the broad affairs of industry.

The belief that unionism's sole purpose is only to protect the wages and working conditions of workers must be abandoned. The acceptance of that limitation of function makes it impossible for unionism to deal effectively with the major problems of the workers, such as unemployment. Trade Union policy must be directed towards exercising greater influence in the control and conduct of industry, not only as a counter to any attempt to impose a fascist policy on unionism but also as a preparation for the period when it will have to assume the responsibility of controlling and directing industry in the interest of the nation.

The retention of the present forms of unionism, the absence of any indication among trade union leaders and members of an awakening realization of the need for changing the existing forms of unionism, the impotency of trade unionism generally to impose its policies on Governments or industries, the restricted conception of the functions of trade unions that prevail among the leaders of unionism, all tend to make me fearful of the immediate future, and doubtful of unionism's ability to influence affairs in the immediate post-war period.

However, all we can do is to attempt to put our own affairs in order. A move is being made by this Union to link up with other transport unions. I would have preferred that the link-up was with other railway unions. But since other unions are not prepared to consider any proposal for amalgamation, there is no reason for us withholding action towards a consolidation of transport worker strength and power.

The interests of all transport workers are identical. In the post-war period there will be great need to make transport workers realise that fact. Private interests control the transport industry, excepting the railway section. If there is nothing done towards co-ordinating control of transport in Australia—and there is no sign of any move in that direction—there will be severe competition between transport services after the war. The interests controlling each section of transport will endeavour to induce their own workers to believe that their particular interests lie in achieving supremacy of their form of transport in competition with others.

There will be not only industry competition, but worker competition, resulting in a holding down of wages and conditions of the workers in all sections of the transport industry.

We can eliminate transport workers' competition by achieving amalgamation of transport unions on as wide a plane as possible by substituting industry unionism for transport section unionism. We should not be content with the present proposals of amalgamation. We should endeavour to induce other sections of transport workers to join in the proposal.

Coincident with our efforts to effect amalgamation of transport unions, we must take active steps immediately to have something done by the Government in the way of co-ordinating transport services after the war, so as to prevent wasteful economic competition between them. That is particularly necessary from a railwayman's point of view.

The war has greatly improved all forms of transport and facilities for their operation, excepting railways; and consequently, air, road and sea transport have become more formidable competitors of railways than they were before the war. The capital investment in air and road transport services is an increasing investment; that in railways is a declining investment. Sea transport interests have recognized that they cannot survive against air transport. So they have taken the course of controlling it by securing dominant financial interest in its operation. Against such combination railways cannot survive.

Australia cannot afford transport competition. The railways are regarded as a national asset—they have proved themselves so, in this war—and there is no reason why that asset should be allowed to be destroyed by privately owned forms of transport, which cannot operate without national assistance in the form of provision of roads, aerodromes, etc.

At the same time, we must not adopt the attitude that railways should be protected by the exclusion of other forms of transport. All the transport facilities that can be provided are necessary for the proper development of this country and to assist in the proper spread of its population. And the Australian people are entitled to enjoy the most modern conveniences in transport.

What we have to strive to do is to have a proper use made of all forms of transport, and to ensure that such as are provided shall provide good service. That means, not only co-ordinated control of transport operation, but also the introduction of great improvement in rail services, as for instance, the air conditioning in Western and Northern areas. Railways cannot service the public properly if capital investment in them is not increased above the present rate of it.

I regret that certain proposals made by the Commonwealth Government do not seek to transfer complete legislative control of railway and other transport to the Commonwealth Parliament. The numerous controls of rail and road transport is going to be the great obstacle in the way of securing proper co-ordination of transport as a whole. We should give some assistance in amount of having the promise recalled to assist in getting

Read, Reflect and Write to Us

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

Our quotation is part of an article published in "The Progressive" (U.S.A.) containing a portion of the autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, an American reporter who attended the Versailles Peace Conference:

It was the afternoon of the third day of the secret meetings of Messrs. Clemenceau, Wilson, and Lloyd George when two French newspaper men came to the American press room at the Hotel Crillon. They came to share a piece of news with their American colleagues and to get verification if possible. "Had the Americans heard of a dramatic scene at the meeting of the President and the Premiers?" the Frenchmen asked. But let Steffens continue with his story:

"No," I said. "Tell us about it," I urged.

"Then one of them told how, when the President and the Premiers sat down at the table that morning and were about to proceed to business, M. Clemenceau, who was fiddling with his gray silk gloves, said, 'One moment, gentlemen. I desire before we go any further to make clear one *very essential* point.'

"The President and the Premier halted and looked up expectantly at M. Clemenceau, who said: 'I have heard something about a permanent peace. There has been a great deal of talk about a peace to end war forever and I am interested in that. But I would like to know—all the French would like to know—whether you mean it, the permanent peace.'

"He looked at his colleagues and they nodded.

"So," Clemenceau said, 'you really mean it! Well it is possible. We can do it; we can make the permanent peace. . . . But we French cannot quite believe that you, our friends, neighbours, allies—that you really mean what you say. Do you, Mr. President?'

"Mr. Wilson did.

"And you, Mr. Premier?'

"Mr. Lloyd George did.

"Very important," M. Clemenceau muttered, as if convinced, as if the whole prospect were changing, and his whole policy. 'Very important. We can make this permanent peace; we can remove all the causes of war and set up no new causes of war.'

"Clemenceau clucked in his throat, he pressed tight down the fingers of his gloves. 'And you have counted the cost of such a peace?' he asked.

"There was some hesitation at that. 'What costs? they asked.

"Well," said the French intelligence, 'if we give up all future wars—if we are to prevent war, we must give up our empires and all hopes of empire. You, Mr. Lloyd George, you English will have to come out of India, for example; we French shall have to come out of North Africa; and you Americans, Mr. President, you must get out of the Philippines and Puerto Rico and leave Cuba alone—and Mexico.

Railwaymen have played an important—and great—part in the war effort of Australia. It is pleasing to know that their work has not passed unnoticed by the public and the authorities. They have suffered many hardships and inconveniences uncomplainingly, knowing that they were inseparable from a proper and needed contribution to the nation's war effort.

They are hoping that their contribution of effort and toil will receive proper recognition in the post-war period, in the form of improvements in working conditions and standards of living.

The Advocate, 15th May, 1944.

"Oh, we can all go to these and other countries, but as tourists, traders, travellers; we cannot any more govern them or exploit them or have the inside track in them. We cannot possess the keys to trade routes and spheres of influence. And yes, we shall have to tear down our tariff walls and open the whole world to free trade and traffic. These are some of the costs of permanent peace; there are other sacrifices we, the dominant powers, would have to make. It is very expensive, peace. We French are willing, but are you willing to pay the price, all those costs of no more war in the world?'

". . . The President and the Premiers protested that they did not mean all that, that that was not necessary, not all at once. No, no, they did not mean exactly that.

"Then," said Clemenceau, sitting up straight and fisting the table sharply once, 'then you don't mean peace. *You mean war.*'"

Steffens assured us that this was a true story in the sense that "it flashed out the difference between Wilson and Clemenceau and it explained Wilson's typical failure. Wilson did not want peace, not literally; nor do we Americans, nor do the British, mean peace. We do not want war; nobody in the world wants war; but some of us do want the things we can't have without war."

The great reporter noted, in conclusion, that we cannot have permanent peace because "we will not give up the things that cause wars." Clemenceau, Steffens pointed out, had seen things as a radical once. "As a young man he learned that there are causes of war and that the way to end war is to prevent war: by dealing with the causes thereof.

"No treaties, no scraps of paper, no partial and no complete disarmament can hold off very long a war that we have planted in our maladjustment of conflicting economic interests."

How differently the affairs of the world would go—with a little more decency, a little more honesty, a little more thought! Thinking, above all—to see a few moves ahead, and realize the dangers of condoning evil. We try to play the old diplomatic game, yet cannot hope to play it successfully—because we have acquired scruples from which the old-style exponent of Realpolitik is free, not yet having grown up as far.

We learn from history that expediency has rarely proved expedient. Yet to-day perhaps more than ever the statesmen of all countries talk the language of expediency—almost as if they are afraid to label themselves "unpractical" by referring to principles. They are especially fond of emphasizing the need for "realism". This attitude would be sound if it implied a sense of the lessons really taught by history. It is unrealistic, for example, to underrate the force of idealism. It is unrealistic, also, to ignore military principles and conditions in taking political steps or making promises.

B. H. LIDDELL HART.

We shall be surprised to see how many allies the German industrial magnates, junkers and militarists will find in Europe when their positions are assailed from within.

WENZEL JAKSCH.