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LUXEMBURG
MADAGASCAR
MOROCCO
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NORWAY
PALESTINE
RHODESIA
RUMANIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
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TUNISIA
UNITED STATES
YUGOSLAVIA

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CUBA
ECUADOR
EGYPT
MEXICO

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

A Unified Transport System for Europe

EUROPE between the two world wars was an economic absurdity. Nothing shows this more clearly than its profusion of transport systems working under a multitude of sovereignties, and even un-co-ordinated internally. The latest comer, the air lines, instead of developing new efficiency, in the absence of historically explainable maladjustments, bore all the marks of the system, or lack of system. A comparison with the achievements of the air lines in the United States is convincing. According to French sources the latter flew 79,000,000 kilometres in the year 1935 with 580 planes, while the European lines covered only 30,000,000 kilometres with 623 planes. In the U.S.A. operating costs, in the same year, were 4.85 French francs per kilometre, as compared with an average of 17.80 francs in Europe. The explanation is not far to seek. The extensive territory of the United States constitutes an economic unit. Europe, between the two world wars, though equally extensive and composed of economically dependent parts, was divided into as many as possible and increasingly conflicting economic units.

The war may provide Europe with an opportunity to emerge with a unified transport system from the seemingly hopeless conditions of the past. It is already quite evident that this war will have revolutionary consequences for transport conditions on the European continent, and one of these consequences might be the bringing about of such a unified system. In the first place technological development in means of transport has been of such a revolutionary character that substantial shiftings of traffic from one branch of transport to another are to be expected. Should this not be enough to upset the structure of the existing transport systems, then another revolutionary consequence of the war, i.e. the great and even fundamental changes in economic life, will make for this effect. Not only will the volume, kind, direction and distance of the traffic be affected to such an extent that, at the end of the war, the national transport systems will simply no longer exist as systems, but even their component parts, the different branches of transport, will be completely disorganized and brought out of their proper relationship.

It is by no means an imaginary danger that a post-war solution will be tried that simply will not work. If when the time comes no plan is available to found a unified European transport system on the necessity—rendered even more urgent by the war—of regarding Europe as an economic unit, property-minded governments and capitalists will promptly come forward with claims for the return of the rolling stock, vehicles, barges, etc., they formerly owned. It need hardly be said that such a procedure is not calculated to bring about a state of affairs by which the whole of devastated Europe will benefit.

On pain of getting farther away than ever from an integrated economic life for the whole of Europe it is necessary that a united transport system should arise from the state of emergency that will exist at the close of the war. The

necessity of re-provisioning no less than the whole of Europe—a necessity much greater and more urgent than that which arose at the end of the last world war—alone calls for the immediate operation under one direction of all available means of transport, despite any claims on property by government, company or individual.

The fulfilment of this requirement is decisive, not only for the future of transport, but also for the whole of the economic life of Europe. The need to organize transport on a European-wide scale at the close of the war may prove to be the means of placing that life on a new footing.

This brings us to a question of first-rate importance: who is to do this? This is, of course, a power problem, and depends on the power relationships existing at the end of the war. The Allied governments have not so far shown signs of any inclination to deal with the matter in a way that will open up the desired prospects. On the other hand in Nazi-dominated Europe all transport has been thrown into the melting pot, and after the war is over it will not be possible to draw from the pot the same number of trucks, locomotives, etc., in the same condition as they were before they were thrown in, and allot them to their former possessors to be used within the frontiers of the past. In other words, although the objective conditions for the unification of European transport have been provided by the war, there is still no recognized authority to compel the contesting powers to abandon their claims.

The question therefore boils down to another one:

IS "FREE ENTERPRISE" IMPERILLED?

If one may judge from the somewhat uneasy speeches of a number of business leaders at the recent Convention of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, they are deeply concerned as to the state of affairs which will follow the cessation of hostilities. They recognize that an all-out war-effort demands almost absolute control of industry by government, and that the waste of competition is much too expensive a luxury when the very existence of a nation is at stake, but they are trying to bolster up their courage by brave hopes of a world in which the good old principle of "free enterprise" will again hold sway.

Give some of them credit, however, for admitting that a good many people have little or no faith in an economic system of which the chief fruits are depressions and unemployment. That system isn't worth fighting for, much less dying for, and there is a growing feeling among all sections of the public that neither soldiers nor civilians will be satisfied to go back to the old conditions. They will not stand for the chaos and suffering which followed the last war, and they believe that the controls now in effect will have to be retained, at least until "free enterprise" shows that it can provide employment at decent wages for all who are able to work—a thing it has never been able to do in the past, except on a very limited scale and in a new and undeveloped country.

The test of "free enterprise" is whether or not it is able to provide social and economic security for the masses of the people; now, with hundreds of thousands

how will the opportunity be seized, at the end of the war, to organize transport on a European scale? The possibility of doing so will be there; its desirability is not only unquestionable, but compelling; all that is necessary is to make the peoples act.

It is all-important that this truth should be brought home to all the peoples of Europe. If this can be done the governments may be induced to set up during the war a Transport Council for Europe, a body of economists and transport experts (including representatives of the workers), to prepare a plan of transport organization based upon Europe as an economic unit. But if, as seems to be the case up to now, the governments consider themselves called upon to restore everything as nearly as possible to pre-war conditions, we shall witness the re-birth of power politics which, using as an instrument its control of re-provisioning, will shape transport policy and thus leave its mark on the post-war economic organization of Europe.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the re-entrenchment of power politics would restore conditions which would of necessity lead to another and still more devastating conflagration within an even shorter period than elapsed between the two world wars. But if we do not lose sight of the fact that the labour movement can be a factor in power relationships, and act accordingly, the post-war world can differ fundamentally from that of the inter-war period—but only if the fundamental difference lies in its socialistic character.

The call for a unified European transport system is a call for a Socialist Europe.

of workers in the armed forces or engaged in war-work, there is full employment, because people are working directly or indirectly for the Government, that is, for the people, and profits are supposed to be "out" for the duration. It is unlikely that the Government will give up control of economic enterprise; it will be necessary to plan and co-ordinate peace-time reconstruction of industry for civilian needs at a far greater speed and efficiency than the conversion for war-needs was made. Vast capital expenditures will be necessary, and anyone who has thought about the problems involved will scarcely assume that "free enterprise" will do the trick. It looks as if the war will have accomplished something really worth while if it gives the quietus to competitive capitalism, with its exploitation and its ruthlessness. Calling it "free enterprise" will not make it any less unpalatable. If it is not imperilled, it ought to be.

The Canadian Railway Employees' Monthly.

NOTICE

Owing to the death of Edo Fimmen on 14 December 1942, the Secretariat of the I.T.F. decided to dedicate the current November-December number of the Journal to his memory. On account of special restrictions arising out of the war it has been necessary to reduce the number of copies printed of this special number, and it has therefore been agreed with affiliated organizations that it shall not be distributed in the same manner as usual. Readers who particularly wish to have a copy are therefore requested to write to the Secretariat, and if at all possible one will be sent. If, after making the application, they do not receive a copy it will be because no more are available, and we ask their indulgence.

THE I.L.O.—PAST AND FUTURE

The war, by shaking the foundations of our social edifice, has raised in a comparatively short space of time problems which, in a more evolutionary period, would only have come to the fore in the comparatively distant future, and even then only gradually. One of these problems is that of the reconstruction of the International Labour Organization. Hardly an authoritative voice is heard discussing post-war social problems, but it foreshadows important functions for the I.L.O. A recent important speech of Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, is no exception to the rule. *The Times* reports him as declaring in Parliament on 2nd December that:

"The general object was the formation of a world system for ensuring the peaceful development of all people. . . . As to the machinery by which it was to be accomplished, there were certain international services which had gone on since the war and which could render great service after the war—for example, the international health services, the economic services, and the work done by the International Labour Organisation. That work would be needed more than ever after the war, for unless the evils of low standards of living, insecurity and unemployment could be cured no peace structure would be enduring. Clearly, therefore, the I.L.O. must be strengthened and developed, and he would like to see it become the main instrument for giving effect to Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter."*

Is the I.L.O. fully capable of accomplishing the task that everybody apparently thinks of entrusting to it?

Before replying to this question it is desirable to look into the past, and in doing so it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the International Labour Organization and the International Labour Office, the latter being the permanent secretariat of the former. The fact that both are commonly referred to by their initials, which are identical, has in the past often led to some confusion of thought.

The International Labour Organization and the International Labour Office are two of the most valuable results of the first world war, but of the two there is no doubt that the Office has been the more useful. It has developed into a considerable moral force, and its influence has always been benevolent. It has to its credit a substantial contribution to human knowledge and to the awakening of a world conscience. And if, in spite of its defects some of which are discussed below, the Organization has done a good deal of positive social work, and negative work in the way of preventing social regression, there is no doubt that this is largely due to the support the Office has always given to mankind's desire for a greater measure of justice.

The International Labour Organization is an instrument, and the results of its use in the past show—to our eyes at least—that without certain important modifica-

tions in its structure it will not be equal to the work that will have to be done after the war is over, or perhaps earlier.

Essentially the influence of the Organization has always been brought to bear on the world's law-givers. Its approach to social problems has always been to those aspects which lend themselves to a legislative solution. The method is undoubtedly a useful one, but it has very definite limitations, and in employing it the Organization has not accomplished all it might have done had it been really determined to force the pace of progress. There is no point in drawing up a list of conventions that might with advantage have been adopted in preference to certain others that have been favoured in practice, but it is well to draw attention to the fact that the conventions governing working conditions and employment that have been adopted so far mostly relate to the manufacturing industries and transport, and that the agricultural and colonial workers have been treated very much as poor relations. Nor can it be said, in most cases, that in drafting the conventions the last word has been said in so far as social justice is concerned—far from it. The main criticism of the method, however, is that the positive effect of the conventions, inadequate as they are, is extremely limited. This is due to the same obstacle that so often crops up in other fields of activity—national sovereignty. Each State is at liberty to refrain from ratifying a convention if it so wishes. Article 19, paragraph 8, of the Constitution of the I.L.O. stipulates that ". . . if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the national authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the Member." And only too often this is the case.

It is true that the State that has once ratified a convention is required to render account of what it has done to comply with the obligations it has accepted, and that in theory it is liable to be pilloried for failure to do so, or even subjected to more substantial penalties, but in practice these penalties are never applied, so that it is to all intents and purposes as free as if it had never ratified the convention. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are a good number of completely ineffective ratifications, and that the International Labour Organization is powerless to insist on their being taken seriously.

Even if national sovereignty is abolished, and a procedure is worked out for genuine international legislation, the method will need to be corrected with regard to one other point. The International Labour Conference adopts conventions that are, in principle, of world-wide application. A few of them contain special provisions for the Asiatic countries, but it has been claimed that this method of procedure has in no case been successful in advancing the solution of a single social problem peculiar to Asia. It has been realized, therefore, that it is necessary to change the procedure, and two regional conferences have been held for the Americas. They have not, however, adopted any regional conventions. That is not provided for in the Constitution. Nevertheless it is obviously impossible to

* Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter 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 advancement and social security."

DEPRESSION AFTER THE WAR?

Mr. H. I. Jensen has written a letter to "The Advocate," the journal of the Australian Railways Union (Queensland Branch). It deals with a post-war problem for the solution of which promise is apparently held out in a number of statements by prominent politicians. But it will still hang fire as long as no appropriate measures are taken already during the war. We reprint this letter because it reminds us of the lost opportunity to remedy social conditions during and at the close of the last war, and also because it may serve as a warning that unless pressure is brought to bear upon the powers that be, we may again be confronted after this war with an economic depression which will be the early grave of all hopes for social security.

To the Editor, Railway Advocate, Brisbane.
Sir,

The Department of Information in a broadcast has told us that after this war there will be an abundance of goods, but a shortage of money—in other words, a depression. People are wondering if this statement represents the views of the Government.

In 1917, I wrote a series of articles which appeared in *The Daily Standard* under the title of "Post-War Problems." I drew attention to the following facts:

(1) That the return of war workers and soldiers into civil life would cause overproduction, a fall in prices of commodities, and later wholesale dismissals of workers, resulting in unemployment.

(2) That unemployment would lead to underconsumption, which would further aggravate the evils resulting from overproduction.

(3) That owing to fall of prices of commodities, especially raw products (of which Australia was exporting most), the financial institutions, which were contributing most of the money subscribed in war loans, would be getting interest payments and repayments of capital, which would have probably twice the purchase value which the same money had during the war.

(4) That a depression would result for workers and producers.

(5) That prevention was better than cure, and the

solve the problems connected with working hours in road transport in exactly the same way in Brazil as in Great Britain, or in China in the same way as in Denmark or Canada; though that is what the I.L.O. has tried to do. And road transport is only one case among twenty or thirty others.

It would be a mistake to think, either, that to overcome the difficulties of to-morrow it will suffice to touch up the "legislative" method, as this method has been quite unequal to the lesser problems of yesterday. The method is hopelessly inadequate when faced with social reforms having economic repercussions. It has failed, for instance, to solve the problem of working hours in coal mines. A convention on the subject was adopted in 1931, but it was found necessary to revise it again in 1935, before a single ratification had been registered. And even the revised convention has only been ratified by one country, and that was Cuba. The fact of the matter is that the coal producing and exporting countries who were members of the I.L.O. did not feel able to ratify such a convention so long as Germany was free to exploit her coal miners as she pleased. When in 1938 a third attempt was made to reduce working hours in the coal mines, the employers' representatives

remedy was the alteration of our monetary system in such a way that the unit of money was a unit of value, always having the same purchasing power.

(6) That unemployment should be prevented and met by increased public works on water conservation, fodder conservation and railway construction, and kindred public utilities, and by shortening of hours; and that production of commodities should be regulated.

In 1918, Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., expressed the same views in England, and some years later Professor Irvine, Professor of Economics in Sydney, wrote a series of interesting articles in the *Sunday Mail* to the same effect.

All these warnings passed unheeded, except in Russia. The politicians took the trouble to grasp the approach of a catastrophe. T. J. Lang did embrace the views of Professor Irvine, and made them part of his policy, but the Labour Party "ratted" on him.

One can hardly believe that the present Federal Government is so fettered with Tory ideas of finance that they can see no alternative, but another depression after this war. If so they have not learnt much either from experience or from the science of economics.

However, the workers of this State hope and believe that the above referred to forecast of post-war conditions is not the official view of the Federal Labour Government

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) H. I. JENSEN.

declared that there was not the slightest chance of reaching agreement, and that "the most urgent step to be taken . . . was the formulation of international agreements, among the countries engaged in the world coal trade, with a view to regulating output and sales, organizing markets and assuring reasonable prices." In other words, to carry out a measure of social reform of any importance it is first of all necessary to overcome the economic difficulties that stand in the way of such progress. And that is precisely what the I.L.O. has never been able to do, for lack of the necessary powers.

An I.L.O. without the power and means to make its influence felt in the economic field, and bring about the condition which alone will make measures of social progress feasible, is condemned to do nothing but superficial work. Unless the I.L.O., to-morrow, is placed in a position to get below the surface, other forces will take the matter in hand. What those forces will be, and what changes in the foundations of social and economic life will result, are questions which only the future can answer. And the answers, rather than encouraging but circumspect speeches and declarations, will determine the part to be played in the future by the I.L.O.

P.T.

WHO WILL SHAPE THE POST-WAR ECONOMY?

It is to the credit of our opponents that they are at least as conscious as the Labour movement, and other real adversaries of capitalism, of the decisive significance of this war period for the future form of society. "The Railway Age," the organ of the American railroad interests, from which we borrow the article which we reproduce below, has always shown itself in the past to have a clear understanding of the prevailing situation, and to be able to exploit it, politically or economically, in the service of those interests. If its voice betrays some anxiety, it is all the more worth listening to. The only pity is that the fears to which it bears testimony have not been called into being by a Labour plan formulating new bases for the society of the future.

Believers in private enterprise should be studying, planning and discussing the post-war economy now for at least three reasons. First, they should prepare themselves to offer a definite programme to the public in competition with that which will be offered by promoters of a post-war government-planned economy. Second, they should be eliminating practices from private enterprise that weaken it internally, as well as resisting government policies intended ostensibly for other purposes, but intended actually to undermine private enterprise. Third, they should be propagandizing for private enterprise after the war, and should not meantime render their propaganda ineffective by practices which, when attacked, cannot be defended to the public, because demonstrably (a) contrary to the true principles of private enterprise, (b) contrary to the public interest, or (c) in violation of existing statutes.

There are opposite tendencies among the New Dealers. Those with Nazi or socialist inclinations encourage both government monopolies and private monopolies under government dictation, because they believe non-monopolistic private enterprise undesirable or virtually defunct. Those led by Thurman Arnold oppose all monopolies; and, believe it or not, with all his mistakes, aberrations and inconsistencies, Arnold is the best friend of private enterprise in the administration. For business in America *must* decide whether it prefers monopoly under absolute government dictation—as in Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan—or free *competitive* private enterprise; and apparently Arnold is fighting sincerely to help save the latter.

Much business still shows, as it has for years, that it wants to eat its cake and keep it—to practice monopoly when it believes it will gain thereby, but also to keep private enterprise, the essence and essential driving force of which is *competition within naturally competitive industries*. It resorts to "reciprocal buying," which tends to promote monopoly and hinder technological progress because giving to big companies a big advantage that is unrelated to the quality and value of their products or service. It resorts increasingly to private transportation by water and highway, and seeks and secures government subsidization of it, which tends towards monopoly because only companies already big can engage extensively in private transportation. It strives to restrict competition by concerted action of existing companies to exclude new companies; by agreements to restrict advertising; by agreements regarding prices; and so on ad infinitum.

When the Great Depression struck, business leadership had no programme or policies to offer excepting such as would deepen and protract it. We have been credibly

informed repeatedly that the original plan of N.R.A. (National Recovery Act, embodying the New Deal—Ed.) was taken to the White House by the then president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Being a programme for cartelizing industry, advancing wages and reducing working hours, N.R.A. was perfectly adapted to *protracting* the depression—which it did; and yet at first it was widely supported by business leaders who later as widely condemned it.

Will business leadership be caught equally unprepared after the war? It will be if it again (a) fails to inform itself regarding what is necessary to make private enterprise work, (b) fails to help reform abuses in private enterprise that hinder it from working, and (c) fails to educate public opinion on behalf of a reformed private enterprise that will work.

THE NIGERIAN WORKER AWAKES

In the economic revolution which has gripped Africa in the last four years, it is gratifying to note that the Nigerian wage-earner has recognised his right to a place in the sun. This recognition was won due to a fortuitous combination of circumstances which we need not probe.

The enacting of the Trade Unions Ordinance, 1938, the Trades Disputes (Arbitration and Inquiry) Ordinance, 1941, and the Workers' Compensation Ordinance, 1942, are important landmarks in the history of Nigerian labour. That the Nigerian worker has taken under serious advisement our "Manifesto of the Nigerian Wage Earner" (which has not reached us—Ed.) and has constitutionally employed the tool of collective bargaining are indicative of progress in contemporary Nigerian economics.

Howbeit, Nigerian Trade Unionism must be chary about its method of approach to its immediate goal, in order not to confuse its ultimate objective by a dissipation of energy in channels which are bound to create confusion and consequent remorse.

We do not, by this, advise the Trade Unions to accept the recent changes in the lot of the Nigerian wage earner as final. Rather, we wish to remind them that collective bargaining is a continuous process which must take initiative and resourcefulness on both sides of the fence to crystallize satisfactorily.

Consequently, any emotional approach, due to misleadership, is bound to be disastrous to the cause of Trade Unionism. Hotheads, agitators, spell-binders, demagogues, and windbags should be discouraged from leadership of Nigerian Trade Unions. The future is hopeful, provided the leadership of our Trade Unions is constructive.

The West African Pilot.

THE EXTERMINATION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

The fate of the Jews living on the European Continent, since the Nazis came into power in the year 1933, is one that has no parallel in all the long history of persecution. The systematic murder of the Polish Jews is only the prelude to the annihilation of the whole Polish people, and of the Jews in all the countries occupied by the Nazis. And the end of the war, which alone can hinder the carrying out of this avowed aim, is not yet in sight. It is true that on 17th December Mr. Eden, after consultation with the governments concerned, made a declaration promising that those responsible for these crimes will be punished, but as a preventive of their continuance this is of only limited value. There are surely other means that can be worked out, and if necessary applied, for this purpose. The governments of the United Nations must leave no stone unturned to help the threatened victims of the most hideous crime in the annals of humanity. Much of the harm has already been done, and tolerated: to do nothing now would be equivalent to complicity.

The following statement on the massacre of Jews in Poland has been issued by the underground organization of Roman Catholics in Nazi-occupied Poland.

Behind the walls of the Warsaw Ghetto, hundreds of thousands of doomed people are facing death. There is no hope of rescue for them—no help is coming to them. The murderers run through the streets shooting at all who dare to leave their houses or to show themselves at the windows. In the roads lie unburied dead bodies. The daily toll of victims reaches eight to ten thousand. Jewish policemen are forced to deliver the people into the hands of the German murderers. When they refuse to obey, they themselves are killed.

Children, unable to walk alone, are thrown into lorries and driven off to the stations. This is done in such a brutal manner that few of them arrive at the train platforms alive. Seeing this, mothers go insane. The number of those who become insane with despair equals the number of those shot. At the platform, trucks wait. The murderers drag their prisoners into these—150 into each. The floors of the trucks are covered with a thick layer of lime and chlorine sprinkled with water. The doors are then locked.

Sometimes the train leaves immediately after being loaded; sometimes it remains at a siding for a day, two days or longer. The people are packed so tightly together that those who die do not fall but remain side by side with those still living. Of those dying slowly from suffocation by lime and chlorine, deprived of air, water and food, not one will remain alive. Wherever and whenever these death trains arrive, they will only contain dead bodies.

In view of these sufferings, death alone would spell deliverance and release. The Nazi murderers have foreseen this: they have ordered all chemists' shops in the Ghetto to be closed in order that poisons cannot be purchased. There are no weapons. The only method left is to throw oneself from a window into the street. And so it happens. Many of the doomed escape the murderers in this way.

What has been happening in the Ghetto of Warsaw has been duplicated in a hundred large and small towns and villages of Poland. The total of murdered Jews already exceeds a million: and this figure increases daily. Rich and poor alike, old and young, men, women and small children—all are dying. Roman Catholics die with the words "Jesus and Mary" on their lips: in exactly the same way as Jews. All are guilty because they were born of the Jewish people doomed to annihilation by Hitler.

The world looks on at this crime which is more terrible than anything history has ever before witnessed—and remains silent. The slaughter of millions of helpless

people is being carried out amidst silence. *Even the Nazi murderers remain silent; they do not boast of their deeds.* This silence cannot be tolerated any longer. One cannot remain passive when faced with crime. He who remains silent at the scene of a murder becomes an accomplice of the murderer. He who does not condemn, approves.

This is the reason why we Catholic Poles are raising our voice. We do not want to be like Pontius Pilate. We have no possibility of actively counteracting the German murders. We cannot help in any way; we cannot save anyone, but we do protest most strongly in pity, indignation and resentment. God who does not permit killing, demands this protest from us; the Christian conscience demands it. Each and every human being has the duty of love of his neighbour—innocent blood calls to heaven for vengeance. He is not a Catholic who does not raise his voice in protest with us.

We also add our protest as Poles. We do not believe that Poland can reap any advantage from these German bestialities; on the contrary. He who does not understand this, he who would attempt to link the proud and free future of Poland with vile and unholy joy at a neighbour's misfortune, is thus neither a Catholic nor a Pole.

The Front for Poland's Resurrection.

TRADE UNION WORLD MONTHLY REVIEW

The monthly review of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which ceased publication after the collapse of France in 1940, has reappeared in a new form.

Since the war began most of the international trade union organizations have transferred their activities from the European continent to Great Britain. The need to co-ordinate their activities has been felt for a long time. It was, therefore, recently decided at an international trade union conference to set up an Emergency Council for the duration of the war and to publish, on behalf of this Emergency Council, a monthly trade union review. Publication actually started in January 1943. The new review is called *Trade Union World* and is published in English and Spanish. The chief editor is Walter Schevenels, general secretary of the I.F.T.U., and the associate editor Paul Tofahrn, secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation. Readers who are interested in this resumed international trade union publication may apply for a subscription (8s. 0d. per annum) to the I.F.T.U. headquarters, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1, or to the Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina, Calle Independencia 2860-80, Buenos Aires, Argentine.

AMERICAN RAILWAYS AND LABOUR'S CO-OPERATION

American railways are given a timely analysis in the latest Twentieth Century Fund Survey, entitled "How Collective Bargaining Works", the complete survey being published in a book of 1,014 pages. The survey analyses methods and procedures of collective bargaining in sixteen of the major industries, pointing out the lessons to be drawn from the years of experience in the effort to establish stable and peaceful relations between labour and management in American industry.

Railways as a whole have one of the best records for industrial peace of any of the major industries in the United States. The findings show that there has been no major railway strike since the shopmen's strike of 1922.

Upon some nineteen occasions since the passage of the Railway Labour Act in 1926, existing disputes were sufficiently serious to warrant the appointment of emergency boards of investigation. With two exceptions, the recommendations of the boards were accepted by both sides and the disputes ended, although acceptance is in no sense mandatory.

The strike record shows that in ten of the fifteen years since the enactment of the Railway Labour Act there have been no strikes at all. In each of three years, 1928, 1929 and 1936, there was one small strike. In 1937 there was one small strike, one that was somewhat more serious and two minor stoppages. The years 1938 and 1939 were entirely free from strikes and stoppages.

In these findings, Harry D. Wolf of the University of North Carolina, author of the research report on the railway industry, cites many reasons for the peaceful record. "Because all sections of the country depend on railway service, any interruption immediately comes to public attention. And since both the railways and the employees are almost continuously seeking legislative favours from Congress and from the states, they are particularly sensitive to public opinion. The maturity of the industry and that of the organizations also are factors. Like the railway industry itself, many of its labour organizations are among the oldest in the country. Collective bargaining for them has passed through its period of "growing pains."

On the railways a "suspension of operations ordinarily affects the public more directly and to a greater degree than do similar interruptions in most other industries." Because of this both management and labour are under great and constant public pressure to settle industrial disputes peaceably and maintain service. Another factor making for peace is, of course, that railways are public utilities engaged in interstate commerce and hence subject to regulations and legislation that affect all phases of operations, including methods and conditions of collective bargaining.

The peace record of the railways was made during a period of "drastic decline in the demand for rail transportation." The year 1938 was one of the worst in railway history. Operations improved substantially in 1939 and 1940, but revenue carloadings of 36 million last year were still far below the figure of 46 million in 1930. Revenue passenger miles reached their peak of 46.8 billion* in 1920, contrasting with the 1940 figure which was just short of 24 billion.

"The decline in the volume of railway business has been accompanied by an even greater decline in employ-

ment. Railway employment reached a peak of slightly over two million in 1920.

The number of employees fell sharply to about 1.6 million in 1921 and remained fairly constant until 1930, when it further declined to about 1.4 million. It fell below a million in 1933 and has fluctuated narrowly around that figure since. Thus the railways in 1940 had only half the employees of two decades ago."

In recent decades, the railway labour unions have been forced to go beyond their traditional concern with wages, hours and working conditions and give increasing attention to the problem of unemployment. "As jobs continued to decline, the unemployment situation forced itself into the foreground. The financial plight of many of the carriers, brought about by the same forces that were eliminating jobs, compelled the organizations to broaden both their objectives and their methods. Collective bargaining along traditional lines was not enough. To safeguard jobs, wages, hours and working conditions, something more had to be done. And any programme which failed to include measures to improve the position of the railways could scarcely hope to succeed."

An example of still unsolved problems in the railway industry, to which both management and labour must give consideration if the position of railways in general is to improve, is the question of uniform working rules on all railways. "Appropriate once, some of them are almost certainly obsolete now. There is little doubt that some of them are 'make work' devices. They fall in the same category with much of the train-length and full-crew legislation, and are not conducive to economy nor always necessary for efficient operation. A thorough-going revision and modernization of agreements, which would eliminate all uneconomical and obsolete rules, and bring others into line with technical developments in the industry, is a joint responsibility of both management and employees."

"Management and employees have repeatedly and consistently demonstrated their willingness and ability to work together. Joint negotiations have been successfully extended to many problems common to the whole industry. The legislation recently passed by Congress, embodying, in part, the findings and recommendations of the Committee of Six, a joint committee representing the carriers and the organizations, is an outstanding example of co-operative effort to rehabilitate the industry. But that will not be sufficient in itself. Maturity of the railway industry has brought with it problems which are absent or of less importance in young and expanding industries. If the railways are to be genuinely rehabilitated, both management and employees will have to make some readjustments and some sacrifices. Collective bargaining has accomplished a great deal on the railways. Much remains to be done."

From *Washington State Labour News*.

*An American billion is a thousand million.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT CRISIS

The Neue Zuercher Zeitung, a Swiss newspaper, published at the end of August, 1942, under the above title, two articles dealing with problems of transport organization arising out of the war. As an expression of neutral European opinion they will probably interest our readers, particularly as they also touch on general problems, so we reproduce them, only omitting a survey of conditions in Great Britain and the United States, about which the writer seems to be less well-informed as he is about those in Nazi Germany and the occupied territories.

I.

It has needed the war and its devastating consequences to bring out, in all clarity, in how real a sense of the term the means of transport are the backbone of our present economic order. The technological advance of transport, more especially from the point of view of speed, has been particularly rapid during the period between the two wars, as a result of the development of the aeroplane. Neither political nor economic organization seem to have been able to keep pace with this technological development, and they have even placed artificial obstructions of their own in the way: in proportion as the transport of passengers and goods has been improved and accelerated, so have there sprung up at the frontiers of most countries an ever-growing number of administrative brakes in the form of custom-houses, quotas, import and export restrictions, passports, visas, etc., to control, sift and delay the traffic.

The war has accomplished what the pre-war period fell short of doing: it has forced a way for the total application of modern transport science. The aeroplane and motor vehicle are celebrating veritable triumphs, even though it be in the service of the war-time work of destruction. They dominate the battle-field, and determine the way in which the war shall be waged. Even the spreading of the war over the whole of the terrestrial globe is essentially the result of the shrinkage of the world which the amazing speeding up of transport has brought about. Wars have often before been the patrons of technological progress, and if appearances are not deceitful the present war is also likely to prove a powerful stimulus, particularly in the field of transport. We can probably reckon that the advances made during the course of the war will benefit peace-time economy when hostilities cease, substantially reducing distances and making the world still smaller; and that as a result the whole course of economic development will be decisively affected and forced into channels of which we have as yet hardly a glimmer.

It may seem inappropriate to write of future progress in transport at a time when transport throughout the world, as a result of the war, is passing through an extraordinarily severe crisis. A clear idea of the bearing of such progress, however, can only be formed if one not only keeps in mind the position as it was before the war, but also keeps a sense of the inherent tendencies of the development of transport. Only then is it possible to appreciate fully how unusual is the situation caused by the war in this field of activity. The transport system suffers in a double sense from the tangle arising out of the war. On the one hand it constitutes an essential component part of the war machine, with the consequence that the enemy tries to cause it as much damage as possible. This is felt more particularly in the case of the

mercantile marine, whose losses from enemy action have reached enormous dimensions. But the railways also suffer from air bombardment and other acts of war, while motor transport has had to submit to more or less far-reaching restrictions in all countries, even the neutral ones, as a result of the inclusion of petrol among the articles covered by the blockade and counter-blockade. On the other hand the development of transport has been made increasingly difficult by various indirect consequences of the war. The ever greater extent to which industry is being turned to the satisfaction of army requirements—a feature which can be observed in all the belligerent countries—is also making itself felt in transport. Available means of transport are being increasingly requisitioned for military and other purposes connected with the war. As the war drags on the greater wear and tear of vehicles as a result of overloading becomes more noticeable, while the necessary repairs and replacements often cannot be carried out because raw materials and manpower are lacking, or must be applied to other more urgent purposes. And finally ever greater difficulty is experienced in supplying transport with fuel and oil.

The combination of these many factors, whose importance of course varies from one country to another, has reduced the capacity of the transport system throughout the world, while at the same time the means of transport still remaining are being more and more taken up for purposes connected with the war, so that only a fraction of the normal pre-war volume of transport is available for that part of industry which produces for civilian purposes. It is in the nature of the present economic system that this situation leads to an extensive paralysis of the whole industrial apparatus, to a decline in the productivity of labour, and finally to a reduction of the standard of living of the population. The longer the war lasts the more obvious do the reactions of the transport crisis become, and the greater are the efforts which the belligerents have to make to maintain that volume of traffic which is absolutely necessary for military purposes. In the present "transport war" these efforts become an essential part of the general war operations, so that everything that has to do with the state of the transport system is treated more or less as a military secret. This makes an objective account of the actual development of international transport crisis extraordinarily difficult.

If the United Nations are faced with a difficult problem of shipping tonnage, the Axis powers have a transport situation to overcome that is certainly no easier. Leading personalities in Germany have described the transport situation as a bottle-neck in wartime economy that surpasses in urgency even the problems of the supply of raw materials and manpower. This also involves the

problem of the railway traffic of Europe, which is at present largely in the service of the German war machine. The difficult position of the European, and particularly the German, railways is pre-eminently due to two factors, the unexpectedly large increase in the consumption of materials and the enormous spatial expansion of the present war. After the successful conclusion of the campaign in the west, Germany was able to fill the gaps in its own rolling stock with locomotives and wagons drawn from the occupied countries. But as the latest report of the German State Railways point out, the Balkan campaign, and above all the eastern campaign, brought the German railways face to face with "tasks of extraordinary difficulty." As the German troops advanced, the broad-gauge Russian railways were converted to the normal European gauge, so that the German rolling stock could also be used in Russia; since the Russians in their retreat either took their rolling stock with them or destroyed it. The extension of the German State Railway network thus increased by leaps and bounds, but the supply of rolling stock was unable to keep pace, particularly as the average period taken by the vehicles on their journeys grew at the same time. Further the German locomotives proved not to be equal to the severe cold of

Russian winters, so that there was increase in the quantity of rolling stock under repair. An endeavour was made to remedy this state of affairs by drawing heavily upon the occupied territories in the West for locomotives and wagons, but it proved impossible fully to meet at all times the emergency requirements. With a view to overcoming these difficulties an extensive locomotive and wagon building programme was undertaken, but the new vehicles only come into use gradually. In the meantime an endeavour has been made to speed up repairs by employing more foreign workers, but above all efforts are directed at assuring the maintenance of war transport by putting the throttle on all goods and passenger transport not absolutely required for war purposes. In the case of passenger traffic measures were taken to restrict holiday travel, suspend the use of dining cars and curtain sleeping car services, while since the beginning of June severe restrictions have also been in force for the goods traffic; a Central Traffic Control Office having been set up in Berlin whose task it is to see that transport space is reserved in the first place for goods regarded as "important for the war or for the maintenance of life."

(To be continued)

THE SWISS MERCHANT NAVY

Switzerland's efforts to provide against the disadvantageous consequences of the war are conditioned by its economic structure and geographical position. We are lacking in indispensable raw materials, and particularly in staple foodstuffs. International trade is therefore a necessity for us.

With an annual income of 8,000,000,000 francs, the product of labour and capital, our people imported and exported annually, during the last few years before the war, goods to the value of 3,000,000,000 francs. The average figures of our international trade in the two years 1937 and 1938 were 1,700,000,000 francs worth of imports and 1,300,000,000 of exports. Our imports consisted chiefly of the raw materials in which our subsoil is particularly poor—coal, iron, etc.—and further staple foodstuffs and fodder. In return we exported mainly the products of our industry—which has always been in the van of progress—and our excess agricultural produce, such as cheese, condensed milk, breeding stock and store cattle.

Switzerland could therefore not dream of ever following a policy of economic self-sufficiency, and that is why we have been carrying on negotiations with other countries since before the war, and continuing them since hostilities started, with a view to making sure of the importation of foodstuffs and other goods that are most necessary. Thanks to these negotiations, started in good time with all neighbouring countries, it has been possible for Switzerland to ensure that her lines of communication by sea and land were kept open, and even that her goods should be routed through belligerent countries.

In spite of this, however, our import possibilities were, when hostilities started in 1939, much more restricted than in 1914, while transport via the Mediterranean was faced from the beginning with considerable difficulties.

Up to June, 1940, however, it was still possible to import large quantities of merchandise, especially cereals, through the port of Genoa, thanks to facilities granted us by Italy. We have also been able to import products from Eastern Europe via the Danube, and by rail.

As soon as Italy came into the war, however, the blockade of the Continent was strengthened, and the difficulties of importation became much greater. From that moment the British authorities no longer allowed free passage to ships carrying goods bound for Switzerland. Ships formerly sailing to Genoa or Marseilles were obliged, between June, 1940 and January, 1941, to stop west of Gibraltar, their cargoes being partially discharged in Portuguese or Spanish ports on the Atlantic coast.

As far as Marseilles is concerned, the last steamer loaded with wheat for Switzerland entered on 9th June, 1940. Under the terms of the Franco-Italian armistice cargo vessels carrying staples destined to our country are no longer allowed access to the port.

To overcome these difficulties our Federal Department of War Transport chartered, for the duration of the war, fifteen Greek ships of a total of 114,000 tons. These ships continued to sail under the Greek flag, but they carried, painted on their sides, the white cross on a red field, and the word "Switzerland" in big white letters. The belligerents undertook to abstain from any act of war against this little fleet, so that it might have been expected that with its help, and that of a few other ships still regularly sailing the Atlantic Ocean, Switzerland would be able to import the overseas products most urgently required. Unfortunately these ships were no longer able to sail in the Mediterranean after war broke out between Italy and Greece in October, 1940. At present we have only nine of them left, the other six having been

taken over by the Greek Government in London.

In March, 1941, Switzerland succeeded in coming to an agreement with Spain, under which that country undertook to place cargo vessels at our disposal. It has only been possible to carry this agreement partially into effect, however, so that we are unable to count on these ships.

After overcoming a thousand difficulties, the Department of War Transport finally succeeded in organizing a regular two-way feeder service between Genoa and the ports of the Iberian Peninsula, for the purpose of bringing the goods left at these ports by ships unable to get into the Mediterranean. Up to now this service has worked more or less normally. On the inward journey these ships mainly bring wheat and fodder grain, and certain other badly needed articles, such as raw materials for oil and grease factories, colonial produce, metals, machines, coal and rails. On the return journey they take from Genoa Swiss export products, which are loaded at Lisbon into our Greek ships, or the few other vessels still sailing the Ocean. For this feeder traffic we make use chiefly of Spanish ships.

The difficulties still encountered in connection with shipping finally decided our Government to create a Swiss merchant navy. It consists at present of nine ships, which is far from sufficing for our needs. It is, however, practically impossible to increase it, as even those countries that recently owned large merchant fleets are now suffering from a shortage of ships, and are unable to relinquish any to meet our requirements. Of the nine ships of which the Swiss merchant navy is composed, three small ones are used for the feeder service, while the other six sail the ocean. We thus have a total of a little over 100,000 tons for the transatlantic trade, about 35 per cent representing the ships flying the Swiss flag and 65 per cent the foreign ships chartered by the Federal Department of War Transport.

It will be seen that with the tonnage we have at our

disposal it is quite impossible to keep our imports at a level compatible with requirements of our economic system, so that the country is forced to try to develop native production.

The volume of these imports in 1941 shows a decline of 132,677 railway wagon loads in comparison with 1940. This decline amounts to 21.7 per cent, and brings our total imports down to 478,674 wagon loads, the lowest level reached since the war started. On the other hand the value of the products imported has increased so greatly, in consequence of the general rise in prices, that it exceeds the 1940 figure by 170,700,000 francs, so that Switzerland has had to pay about 10 per cent more in money for about 20 per cent less goods than it received in 1940.

It is not our intention here to go into the general problem of our foreign trade relations. It may be mentioned, however, that in comparison with 1940 the deficit in our trade balance increased by 23,100,000 francs, reaching, on 31st December, 1941, a total of 561,000,000 francs. Our trade with overseas countries, in particular, has dropped from 20 to 25 per cent in value and 60 to 65 per cent in tonnage.

Imports of staple articles of consumption have fortunately been maintained, in 1941, at a figure comparable with that of 1940, but on the other hand there has been a considerable decline in those of raw materials required for industry.

These few figures throw into relief the magnitude of the effort required of Swiss agriculture for the purpose of compensating, at least in part, the shortage in our supplies. The circumstances further impose on every citizen the duty of practising the strictest economy in every direction, and of salvaging all waste for which a use can be found, as there is every reason to believe that our import possibilities will continue to decline.

Solidarité, Journal of the Swiss Transport Workers' Federation.

UNITED STATES POST-WAR TRANSPORT

At the beginning of November President Roosevelt sent to Congress a report of the Resources Planning Board, which recommends the complete modernization of the country's transport facilities after the war, the work to be under the direction of a new federal agency.

The report, which is the fifth in a series of post-war planning studies, was drawn up by a committee headed by Mr. Owen D. Young. It recommends the consolidation of all the present Government transport development agencies into one group which would be responsible for consolidating the railways and other transport systems, the construction of terminals, the co-ordinating of transport systems, and the encouragement of new forms of transport.

In placing this sweeping plan before the Legislature, the President remarked that the American people had always known that adequate communications were essential to national unity, and transport had been relied on as a key factor in the development of national resources. Transport systems and policies in the United States were playing a major role in winning the war and

they would play a similar role in winning the peace.

Accompanying the report was a letter from Mr. Owen Young, pointing out that with the end of the war millions of men would be released from war activities, and the need to find employment for them would coincide with huge demands for labour if the modernization of transport was undertaken with vision, courage, and practical judgment. He said that no better time could be found for undertaking a major modernization of transport facilities.

Recommendations in great detail include: *Air Transport*: Government planning to establish air travel as a major, integral part of transport policy. *Railways*: The federal financing of railway modernization and improvement as a public works programme. *Highways*: The restoration of motor transport on a modern, efficient basis with emphasis on express highways. *Consolidation*: Government planning for the economic consolidation of operating railways into a limited number of systems arranged on regional lines but avoiding systems of excessive size.

From *The Times*.

CHINA BUILDS NEW RAILROADS

Total railroad mileage in Free China is expected to be far greater than that in pre-war China, as a result of the ambitious programme of reconstruction and development which China has launched in her vast west.

Five years of war have caused extensive destruction in China, but ironically the war has served to start development of natural resources and construction of new industries on a scale far greater than would normally have taken place. China's railroads are benefiting greatly from this new era of progress, which is expected to produce in new China an industrialization equal to that in American and European countries.

To-day, parts of China which had never known transportation by anything but donkeys and camel trains are witnessing the coming of railroads, and scenes of pioneer railroading, similar to those enacted in the United States in '49, are taking place in China's own "Wild West"—a primitive country of high mountains and wide deserts not unlike the American Rocky Mountain region.

Large deposits of mineral resources are found throughout China's west, and it is to exploit this untouched natural wealth, and to create in China's west a strong base for national resistance and post-war reconstruction, that China is forging her ambitious communications network.

Two-thirds of China's pre-war railway mileage was seized by Japan within six months after the start of the Sino-Japanese war, but to-day the mileage inside Free China exceeds that of pre-war China.

A phenomenon of China's present railroad construction is that much of the railroad stock, rails and ties have been stolen from occupied China. The economic reason for this has been shortage of steel, which was needed in China's armament industries. Railroad construction labourers, disguised as farmers, have been smuggled by night through Chinese lines to co-operate with Chinese guerrillas in special destruction jobs. The guerrillas, moving systematically from one part of occupied China to another, have dynamited long stretches of track, derailing troop trains and confiscating supplies. Before the Japanese military could be organized to take charge of the wreckage, Chinese road workers removed all railroad stock to hiding places. By night, they have removed this stock into Free China.

A recent example of this rail-snatching is seen in eastern Kiangsi province, where the Japanese are desperately fighting, with seizure of the Chekiang-Kiangsi railroad their objective. Even if the Japanese succeed in reaching their objective, they will not find much railroad left, as Chinese guerrillas have destroyed thoroughly all lost sections of the 400-mile railroad. Rails have been carried away, roadbeds torn up and bridges destroyed.

One of China's most famous "guerrilla" railroads is a line branching off from the Canton-Hankow railroad at Hengyang, in Hunan province. When fighting in the region of Hengyang, the Chinese directed the new railroad south to Kweilin in Kwangsi province, then laid it north-west to Kweijang, China's famed medical centre. The road to-day is being pushed to Burma. Construction of

the southern link was stopped when Burma was occupied by Japan, but after the war the Yunnan-Burma link will constitute an important transportation link opening China's interior to foreign trade, and make possible railroad traffic from Shanghai to Rangoon.

Light rails made from native steel for these one-meter (39.37in.) gauge roads were turned out by the new Chinese plants recently established throughout China's west.

In the northwest a spur is being built from Sian, in Shensi province, northward to the rich coal-mining district. From Paochi the former western terminus of this railroad, the track has been extended westward 186 miles to Tienhui, in south-western Kansu.

Mountainous regions formerly held back building of any sizeable railroad mileage in China's western provinces. One of the few western roads in existence at the start of the war was a short line in Yunnan province, constructed over twenty-four years ago. Lumber, tin, iron and medicines have been shipped over this small railroad, and to-day giant-sized locomotives have replaced the former donkey engines. Small though it is, this railway will be linked with the Yunnan-Burma railway. Two new railroads have been completed in this province since the war began.

Many years ago plans were tentatively made for a railroad between Hankow, now in Japanese hands, and Chungking, now capital of Free China. In typical Chinese style, the first thing built was the railroad station at the prospective terminus, Chungking. Then it was found that the station was built at such a grade in this mountain-fast capital that the engines could not negotiate the rise. Then the line was abandoned.

At the present time, motor highways are bearing the brunt of China's transportation, and to get around problems caused by the petrol and rubber shortage, China has returned to the horse-and-buggy era.

Cross-country trails which first served China hundreds of years ago are being used as major transportation routes. To date, thirty-three national animal transportation lines have been set up, connecting Chungking, Free China's capital, with cities in fourteen provinces along approximately 15,000 miles of improved old imperial roads, dirt trails and modern highways. By the latest count, 65,000 pack animals, including ponies, burros and camels, are being used in this novel transport system, along with 60,000 carts and 20,000 junks.

From *The Railway Conductor*, U.S.A..

The world was not created for the aggrandisement of abstractions known as states, but for the greater realization of the potentialities of the individual. Since our present organization with so-called sovereign states has got in the way of the individual's development, then obviously that method of organization must give way to a better one.

Professor George W. Keeton

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS IN WARTIME

Information on the largest trade-union movement in the world—that of the Soviet Union with over 25 million members—has been given by the U.S. government to labour papers in the United States. This marks a departure from the policy of suspicion and misinformation formerly followed by governmental departments in referring to Russian unions.

Labour Press Service of the labour division of the War Production Board gives interesting facts on the Russian trade unions. It says they "are working hard for increased war production," and points out that "important factors towards increased production are competition, the popularization of the experience gained by the best workers, and conferences on production."

It might have added that production conferences are old features of Soviet trade unions, having been in operation in Soviet plants for nearly 25 years.

"Special union committees are insuring, through

regular and systematic control, that all suggestions for improving war production are given immediate attention and rapidly put into effect." This also is no wartime innovation, having been the established trade-union practice in the Soviet Union for over two decades.

"Specific wartime tasks of the Russian unions," says the release, "include the training of nurses and ambulance workers, collection of subscriptions to the Defense Fund, care for the wounded, improvement of hospital equipment and organization, assistance in military training of the population, and the assumption of patronage over and adoption of war orphans."

All this is on top of the previous regular peacetime function of the unions, which includes control and operation of the whole social insurance and labour protection system, and the carrying on of extensive educational and cultural work. The Russian unions have also always been in the forefront of the war against industrial accidents and occupation diseases.

Read, Reflect and Write to Us

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

Readers are invited to write to us, briefly and clearly, their views on the matter we publish. From an article in "The Standard" of the New Zealand Labour Movement, entitled "Past--Present--Future," we reproduce the latter part, dealing with the future. The writer is Arthur Cook, General Secretary of the New Zealand Workers' Union.

What the future holds for us is difficult to visualise, but I, as an individual, have no fear of the future, provided we in the Movement stick to the ideals for which our great Labour Movement stands. That we are going to be confronted with many difficulties during the next few years must be plain to everyone, but no matter how unsurmountable these difficulties may appear as they arise, they can be overcome. We are at present in the midst of a brutal war that must come to an end sooner or later. If we only had a properly organised International Labour Movement hostilities would cease at short notice. However, end they must sometime, and instead of our Movement remaining in the doldrums as it is to-day it should be more active than ever before in the world's history in planning the future for our people and our country. We appear to have lost vision.

The Labour Movement not only in New Zealand, but in other parts of the world, too, should be engaged at present in looking into the future and planning for a world-wide International Movement that must be brought about in order to secure peace in our time and in our children's time. We should be planning for the overthrow of a system (the system of capitalism) that for generations has involved the world in wars, misery, famine, starvation and want and replace it with a system that will improve the conditions and replace hatred with love. A system of that kind can, and must, be built.

The human race is much the same the world over. We have no hatred for the German workers, the Italian workers or the Japanese workers. They, I believe, have no hatred for the workers in any other country and why should we fly at each other's throats, murder innocent women and children of different nationalities from our own? The thing is too absurd to be even given a moment's thought.

I state again that we must have placed in administrative positions men with vision. Men who are not afraid to go forward. The mark-time policy is of no use to us to-day. I further believe that countries like Australia and New Zealand in order to secure future peace must be populated with many more millions of people from overseas, either from America or Great Britain. New Zealand in order to live in future security and peace must have a population of ten million people, and Australia not less than fifty million people. That there is plenty of room for a population of that number no one with commonsense will deny.

This subject is one worthy of the greatest consideration.

We take our next quotation from "Federation News" of the Chicago Federation of Labour. It is part of an article entitled "War Disclosures forecast Future," by Thos L. Slater.

The thought compelling influence of all our war effort of the United States of America, forces conclusions, that may seem radical in character, but, nevertheless, are incontrovertible in essence.

1. That the Earth is one indivisible unit and one hungry man in Liberia or anywhere else on this Earth is a threat to the well-fed of Chicago.

2. That man now possesses the ability to produce in enormous abundance the necessities of daily life so man's problem is not one of production but of distribution.

Individual profit, the motive force of the world, has failed us, so we must and will find something to take its place besides war, but what?

It has been proposed that food be made free—free as education, or that clothing, or shelter, or fuel, or medicine, or all these and more be made free as education, university education included.

The idea seems fantastic and dangerous to many (the number is getting less) who fear change, but some day we may have to face this or perhaps perpetual war. If such a proposal is put to a vote in the United States, the vote will almost certainly be for it. At least free food would probably not seem to most Americans, a threat to any liberties they hold dearer.

ERRATUM

In the make-up of the August-October number of our Journal José Domenech's article "Argentine Workers Hate Hitlerism" (page 49) unfortunately got mixed up with the article "What we are fighting for in Asia," on the next page. The former article should end with the words "which alone make life worth while," in the third line from the end of page 50. The two lines which follow-- "We of the United Nations . . . World Charter for" belong to the second article, and should be inserted after the words "without benefit of clergy", in the middle of the second column on page 51, in the place of the separating line and the words "Argentine Workers Hate Hitlerism--continued." Then read straight on.