



ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

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CHINA
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DUTCH GUIANA
ESTONIA
FINLAND
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
HUNGARY
IRELAND
ICELAND
INDIA
INDO-CHINA
IRELAND
KENYA
LUXEMBURG
MADAGASCAR
MOROCCO
NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
PALESTINE
RHODESIA
RUMANIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TRINIDAD
TUNISIA
UNITED STATES
YUGOSLAVIA

Relations with unions in :

CHILE
CUBA
ECUADOR
EGYPT
MEXICO

Other relations in :

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

Freedom of the Air

AMONG the many freedoms proclaimed in the slogans that now fill the air, and that like smoke-screens obscure the outlook on the post-war scene, the freedom of the air holds a prominent place. In no respect does the term give the slightest indication of the conditions that will rule for air transport in the post-war world. Unlike the freedom of the seas, the term freedom of the air has no established meaning, and it is not mentioned in the Atlantic Charter. In practice the only freedom of the air recognized so far has been that confined to the space above the high seas. This circumstance makes it the more urgent to define more clearly the meaning and scope of the term.

What stands formally in the way of the freedom of the air is the sovereignty of states, which extends to the whole of the air above their territories. Do those who raise the slogan "Freedom of the Air" intend to put an end to this sovereign right? It is very much to be desired that the conditions should thus be created that would lead to better economic, political and cultural relations and understanding in the world, but for this it would be necessary that an international system of laws, resting on another basis than that hitherto ruling in international relations, should take the place of a number of the sovereign rights—including that to the sky—of the several states. Up to the present, however, no sign of any such intention is to be detected, so that the freedom of the air as a world-renewing principle of organization is still very much in the air—more so, perhaps, than any other of the advertised freedoms.

It would show a lack of critical social insight, however, to conclude from what has been said that the slogan "Freedom of the Air" is being used without there being any positive meaning behind it. If the slogan is regarded as the flag that protects the cargoes of the groups that hold power, and who know very well indeed where they want to go with their having and holding, then the "spheric freedom" which is proclaimed takes on a somewhat less lofty aspect. It immediately becomes clear that the aim is to keep air transport—however international its character may be *qua* transport—politically national. But in that case there is no question of freedom of the air, but of ownership of the skies by the different states, both great and small, and no foreign aircraft will be allowed to fly over the territory of a state other than on condition of reciprocity. In other words the position will be exactly as it was in 1939: air transport will be just as much a national weapon—with all the dangers of political conflict, and disadvantages of uneconomic organization—as it was before the present world war, instead of an instrument, with vast possibilities, for the promotion of world community.

Behind the slogan "Freedom of the Air" a political and economic swindle is being worked out, which apparently only recognizes real freedom in one respect—freedom to twist a term into the exact opposite of its proper meaning. The most recent example is afforded by a British Committee consisting of men

in close touch with civil aviation, which issued in May a report that called in one breath for "Freedom of the Air" and "reciprocity in rights of operation, on the widest basis possible which is compatible with proper safeguards of sovereign rights and against uncommercial competition." This view of the future of world air transport comes suspiciously near to "the 'closed air' system of the pre-war years or even to the unregulated 'freedom of the air' " of which the British Air Minister spoke on 11th March in the House of Commons, when considering the different possible ways of organizing civil air transport. How far such unregulated freedom of the air might go appears from a suggestion which has been made—to which was added the further suggestion that young men in the Air Force might with advantage act upon it—that a little group owning even one aeroplane could operate independently. Does not this bring to mind the chaotic conditions which arose in the road transport industry immediately after the last war, and the consequences of which have not yet been overcome? This is one aspect of freedom of the air which has a clear bearing on the economic and even the social security which we are promised for after the war.

The British shipowners are also hoping to sail to the conquest of a part of aerial space under the "Freedom of the Air" flag. Apparently they regard the struggle for their interests in the shipping world as so far decided in their favour that they are trying to increase what they no doubt regard as their "social security" by also taking upon their shoulders a job in the air. A writer in *Fairplay*, the British shipping journal, recently wrote in all seriousness:

"The shipping industry has been showing a lively interest in the possibilities of air transport, as a future outlet for some of its overflowing energies."

But to the tune of the "Freedom of the Air" slogan there are second parties at work who have no less superabundant energy, and who seem anxious lest there should be too much scope for the energies of others. Important groups in the U.S.A. are busy educating the nation in an "air mindedness" that is to be the popular basis for air imperialism without bounds. American Air Lines, Incorporated, has started an advertising campaign sponsoring the idea of "mastery of the air" for the United States. This is no more in conflict with the slogan of "Freedom of the Air" than that of "Freedom of the Seas" was in conflict with conditions under which a single maritime power ruled the waves. And just as this latter "freedom" was no obstacle to the bringing into subjection of great overseas territories by maritime powers, nor will the "freedom of the air" hinder the development of a new imperialism by virtue of air power. And while we need

not necessarily take everything at its face value, there is certainly good reason to give serious attention to statements pointing in this direction, such as those contained in an article, published significantly enough in *American Aviation*, entitled "United States Imperialism in the Pacific."

We have in these columns repeatedly defended the view that what will happen when this war ends will be determined by what happens now. Those groups who in our present-day society—and they are the same as yesterday—have what they want for the asking, are certainly as well aware of this as we are. They have already taken up the struggle, and are laying the foundations for their social security of to-morrow. In the air, where the young men of the United Nations are joining their forces in brotherly co-operation, and risking their lives manfully in the fight, conflicting interests are carrying on their own struggle behind the smoke screen of the "Freedom of the Air" slogan. It is of this latter struggle—also decisive for the

future of the world—that the President of American Airlines is thinking when he writes in *Aviation*: "I firmly believe that the major victor in the peace will be he who goes into these (peace) conferences with the strongest position in air transportation." In speaking of the "major victor" the writer is not, of course, thinking of the United States or the United Nations dictating their conditions of peace to the totalitarian powers. What he has in mind is the position of his own country as against its comrades-in-arms in the struggle against those who are threatening civilization. Indeed, he says so expressly: "Especially let us face immediately the need for

the United States already to be dominant in the air when our Allies shall sit round the peace table with us."

Now that view is gaining ground that in many cases the demand for nationalization is being left behind by the way things are developing in the world, voices are being heard in the labour movement in favour of the setting up of world authorities. Certainly the suggestion of a World Authority for Civil Aviation can hardly be regarded as utopian nowadays; indeed, technological advance in aviation and the development of social relations elevate it to the rank of a prime necessity, for if during this greatest of world wars no guarantee can be given that the air will be made safe for democracy, then we shall certainly not have after the war a world made safe for democracy. What we shall have will be World War number three, still greater and more violent than its predecessors.

The future of mankind hangs in the air.

The aeroplane has so conquered time and space that the setting up of a world authority assuring freedom of the skies and exercising responsibility on behalf of the United Nations on all issues of the organization of international air transport, ceases to be utopian. It has, indeed, become inevitable; for unless the victorious nations are determined to plan together for the future, and to maintain their co-operation on this vital matter, the whole framework of a new ordering of the world by the United Nations is likely to prove fragile.

The Times, March 11th, 1943.

REHABILITATION OF EUROPEAN TRANSPORT WORKERS

What will be the state of Europe when hostilities cease? Though it is no doubt true that nobody can say with any certainty, one is at least free to try to estimate some of the probable effects of certain generally known causes of economic and social disorder.

The shifting of populations is probably the most formidable of the problems set by the nazis. It is an established fact that in the whole of the territory occupied by the nazi armies there is hardly an able-bodied man who has not been sundered either from his family circle, his trade or his country. The number of men who are no longer in their own trade or country can be counted by millions, and the number of women who have suffered the same injuries certainly runs to hundreds of thousands. Vast regions have been all but emptied of their native populations, either for the purpose of Germanising their territories or for military reasons. Large numbers of children have been evacuated from areas subject to bombardment, less for the purpose of putting the children themselves in a place of safety than to facilitate the forced industrial mobilization of their parents. There is no doubt that tens of thousands of families have been completely dispersed.

In some of the occupied territories there has been an influx of evacuated Germans. In Germany itself hundreds of thousands of men and women are now working in places far removed from their homes. Thousands of families from towns that have suffered heavy bombardment have been billeted as best they could be in other more or less distant localities.

This gigantic mixing up of the European population carries with it very great dangers. The greater part of these deported human masses do not live in hygienic surroundings, but in camps, huts and all sorts of buildings originally destined for anything but dwelling places for men and women in the mass. It is very difficult, and often impossible to maintain adequately sanitary conditions at these collecting places. The people have been weakened by constant under-feeding and over-work. They lack soap and other things necessary to keep themselves clean and healthy. But, above all, demoralization has destroyed their energy. The death rate in these centres of concentration and forced labour is very high, and the danger of serious epidemics is constantly present. They are breeding places of typhus and they are situated in the very heart of densely populated industrial regions. What will happen when the nazi civil administration breaks down as a result of the defeat of the German armies? Everything will get worse. The German populations installed in the occupied territories will have to flee, or will want to at any rate. The millions of men and women deported to Germany and elsewhere will break their chains and set out on the way back to their own countries. The populations of regions infested with typhus will be seized with panic, and will invade and infest neighbouring regions. The supply services, short in any case of adequate quantities of food, will be quite unequal to the complicated task of feeding the large masses of human beings engaged in spontaneous migra-

tion. Is it exaggerated to picture immense herds of people pouring over the roads, pillaging town and country-side in their passage? Is it exaggerated to imagine the armed forces obliged to try and stop this flood and compel people to stay where they are, so as to make possible the organization of food supplies, medical assistance and transport? This is one probable aspect of the social surroundings in which the transport workers of Europe will have to perform their task during the first few weeks, or months, following the cessation of hostilities.

The means of transport will be, in many areas, in an extremely dilapidated condition. The ports are already the targets of periodical bombardments, and before they become accessible to the armies of the United Nations they will suffer many more bombardments, to say nothing of destruction at the orders of the general staffs of the nazi-fascist armies in retreat. Since the early days of the occupation, further, the nazi authorities have been systematically depriving the ports of all machinery and installations which they could put to good use elsewhere. The railways are in the same case. Railway establishments have also been subjected to bombardments and dismantling. Rails, switches, signals and the equipment necessary for laying and installing them have been removed—when the enemy did not need them on the spot for his war machine—and carried off to Russia. The railway shops, in the occupied countries, that are not destroyed by bombs or in the course of military operations will be emptied of their machinery and tools. The locomotives, wagons and carriages were the first spoils, and the total now remaining in the occupied territories is probably less than half of what it was. And all over Europe this material is being rapidly used up in consequence of the shortage of lubricating oil, over-loading, damage by bombing and sabotage, losses in the theatre of operations, insufficient and retarded repairs, increased frequency of accidents under war conditions, etc. Of civil road transport there is hardly anything left. What was not good enough to be requisitioned for military purposes has been abandoned to rust. Workshops, garages and petrol stations only exist where the army needs them. And when their present users go they will have good reasons to destroy what they cannot carry with them. The lorries and buses still in working condition that will be left in the occupied territories will probably not be very many. And with inland and coastal navigation it will be much the same: installations destroyed or damaged, and vessels carried off or useless. To complete the picture it may be mentioned that for years now there has been a shortage of coal in the ports and on the railways, and that there is no petrol for civil road transport and no diesel oil for inland navigation. When the occupied territories of Europe are freed no stocks of fuel will be found.

It is true that the military and civil authorities of the United Nations are constantly collecting such information on the subject as their extensive intelligence services obtain, and are making preliminary arrangements

accordingly. Most of the difficulties they will have to overcome will already have been foreseen. The khaki-clad transport workers who have succeeded in solving so rapidly the difficult problems set them by the campaign in North Africa, from Egypt to Tunisia, are capable of tackling still more difficult ones. But the task of rebuilding the transport system of a great part of the European continent, and of providing at the same time for immediate military and civil requirements—which will both be enormous—is so great that from the very beginning, or at the very least after the first few weeks, it will be necessary to count on the assistance of the European workers whose trade it is to run the ports, water transports along the coast and on the canals and rivers, the railways and road transport. As far as air transport is concerned, we believe that for some considerable time to come they will have to be run, even for civil purpose, solely by the transport command of the armed air forces.

And the transport workers, where are they? They are sharing the fate of the working population in general, that is to say that a very large number of them are no longer at home, nor employed in their own trade and country. It is probable that very few of the dockers are still in their own ports. Very many Dutch, Belgian and French dockers have been deported, and are now working in Hamburg or the Baltic Sea ports. Others have been torn from their homes and trade to provide man-power for the Todt organization that is fortifying the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Europe. Still others are toiling in the forced labour camps in Germany, Poland and Russia. The road transport workers have nearly all been taken out of their trades, and many of them are no longer at home, or even in their own countries. In so far as the railways are still running, many of their employees are still with them, and in their own country, but others are employed as railwaymen elsewhere—in Germany, Poland or Russia. It is probable, also, that a considerable proportion of the railwaymen have suffered the common fate of being carried off for forced labour, at other trades than their own, far away from home and native land. Of the great teams of workers who formed in the past the personnel of the great railway systems, it is probable that only fragments exist; small ones in Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia, but still fairly large ones in Western Europe. Even in Germany and Italy there must be serious gaps in the ranks of the railwaymen, owing to the fact that considerable detachments have been sent to man the railways in the occupied countries. As far as possible the gaps have been filled with women and foreign railwaymen. The inland waterway men have been forced to stay at their trade, but as the number of barges diminishes they are transferred to other branches of the Nazi war economy. A large number—perhaps most of them—of the seamen formerly engaged in the coasting trade are probably still in it, though often far away from their home port, and even outside their own country.

Information about the real situation is too fragmentary to enable us to paint a complete picture. During the present war the imagination has often been unable to keep pace with the terrible reality, and it is quite possible

that the sketch we have endeavoured to make will convey an impression that will fall a good deal short of the realities with which we shall be confronted. It is clear, however, that the forces of liberation will have very complex transport problems to solve. When the occupied territories are freed, and particularly at the moment when the great Nazi colossus falls in ruins, special measures will have to be taken to make possible the running of all transport services in the midst of a population maddened by hunger, epidemics and the excitement of deliverance. It will be necessary to organize the speedy shipment to the Continent of a very large quantity of vehicles, fuel, fixed equipment and tools. Military engineers will have to be sent in large number to set transport running on a large scale, and to keep it running, both for civil and military purposes, until such time as it is possible to bring the civil transport workers together again to take it over.

This re-mobilization of the civil transport workers will raise a whole series of material and other problems in which the European and world transport workers' trade union movements are keenly interested. These problems will be the subject of a later article.

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of industries in general, and the distribution of raw materials; these in particular are the essential conditions for a sound new economic régime which will put an end to the supremacy of the great private interests.

We declare, however, that it is not possible to reform economic affairs without taking into account social aspects: the improvement of their material conditions only will not satisfy the working class. It will be necessary to bring about at the same time the collective association of the working class in the management of economic affairs; and for the benefit of those who tend to forget it we draw attention to the fact that the tangible, rational and positive expression of the working-class community is the trade union movement. By the intervention of the trade unions in the internal organization of different occupations and professions, and its active participation in the management, control and direction of the different branches of industry and of the civil service, the working class will be able to give full play to its capacity for management. The capacity for management of the working class is expressed through its trade unions.

The economic organization of to-morrow, far from being hampered by the worn-out formulas of paternalism and corporatism, should aim at real industrial democracy. But the principles of autarky and competition between nations also appear to be on the verge of foundering amid the general commotion which has been caused by the war. A strong current of opinion is pushing the peoples of all nations, large and small, in the direction of fraternal co-operation to promote the general welfare.

The labour movements of the several nations could render a useful service by comparing their views on these somewhat delicate questions, and by endeavouring to harmonize them in the interests of all men and the cause of universal peace.

REBUILDING EUROPE

By GEORGES BUISSON

The author of this article has been one of the leading figures in the French trade union movement for over twenty years. He was Leon Jouhaux' chief assistant in the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour), and when the French trade unions were forced underground, and Jouhaux was arrested, Buisson took his place as a matter of course. With the change of France's position as a result of the occupation of French North Africa, the French trade unions felt imperatively the need of having somebody with authority to represent them in their relations with the French National Committee led by General de Gaulle, and Buisson was therefore instructed to proceed to London, where he arrived on 19th April last after a perilous journey.

Refusing to submit to the criminal orders of one who, though coming out of their own ranks, became a minister in the treasonable Vichy Government, dissolved the General Confederation of Labour, and took steps to bring the working class into line with the nazi system, the French workers were not long in reconstituting their organization under ground. Like the leaders of the international trade union movement, they have kept faith with the ideals of freedom and emancipation. In spite of the immense difficulties and terrible dangers, they are carrying on the struggle below ground, co-operating, with such means as they have at their disposal, with the Allied effort, by hampering the enemy's war organization and destroying it as opportunity offers.

Resistance is for the time being their chief care, but at heart they are looking further, and higher. In the black night with which they are surrounded, most of the time without news from the outside world—for what does reach them is perverted by a press that takes its orders from Hitler—they look forward to the day when France will be once more mistress of her own destiny; when the hour will strike for her liberation from all the forces of slavery, selfishness and corruption. They fully understand the impossibility of a return to the old régime, and the necessity of doing away, once and for all, with the capitalist parasites.

By the end of the war those nations that have experienced the horrors of occupation will be bloodless and poverty-stricken. Ravaged by military operations, their territories will harbour a population that has felt for many a long month the pangs of hunger and, in even worse straits, the great mass of political and war prisoners, and the workers who have been deported by Hitler's orders. Privation and lack of hygiene will have created a dangerous and disquieting sanitary situation. Industry will have to carry on with workers weakened by hunger and sickness, and with machinery used to destruction by the enemy, where it has not been simply stolen and taken away. There will be little left in the way of means of transport. The currency will have collapsed, and agriculture will be unequal to the immediate provisioning of the population. But however great the difficulties of rehabilitation may be, they will not be insurmountable. If they are tackled by measures carefully thought out beforehand, and with the friendly assistance of the great nations, a resolute effort of the working population will be able to overcome them.

But in this immediate effort at rehabilitation it should not be forgotten that the future will only be assured if some rational organization of economic affairs promises the community what it has a right to expect, that is to say,

equitable distribution of a national income earned in a manner that serves the common interest, a guarantee that the democratic government will not be subject to constant pressure inspired by the imperialism of particular economic groups, and finally, that labour shall no longer be considered as a commodity, but that the personality of the worker shall be respected, responsible and free.

The classic thesis of liberal economics can no longer find more than an occasional belated defender. Even the legislation by decree adopted in France in 1938, as a final safeguard, no longer paid the least attention to the "free play of economic forces" so dear to the liberal creed, and since then the totalitarian legislation of the self-styled "National Revolution" has wiped out even such appearances as might still have remained.

In spite of their regard for the freedom of the individual, the workers have no desire to return to the liberal régime, behind which they could always perceive the shadow of the great feudal financial and industrial interests. They feel that the time has come to bring to their senses those whose sole aim has hitherto been to squeeze what profits they might out of the mass of the people, to evade their duty to the nation by defrauding the Treasury, and who, though holding capital which might be set to work for the benefit of the community, held it back in the hope of greater gains, or in a partisan spirit. The workers have seen the great trusts use their tremendous power to hold the consumers to ransom, dissipate the savings of the people, and dispense or withhold credit at their own sweet will; they have seen them corrupt the institutions of government and frustrate the popular will; and they are resolved at all costs that it shall not happen again.

In France some ten years or so ago, faced by an economic depression which later became worse, the "States General of Labour," summoned by the General Confederation of Labour, submitted to the country a plan of economic reconstruction which aimed to overcome the slump, and allow of steady social development, the maximum utilization of the country's economic potential, and the equitable sharing of the burdens and profits of production. The ruling ideas of this plan have to-day lost none of their force. Without the great structural reforms it recommended, the country will be unable to recover its equilibrium.

The rational organization of production and consumption under the direction of a general economic body, the nationalization of the great monopoly industries, banks and insurance companies, the organization and control

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BIG BUSINESS, THE WORKERS AND THE WAR EFFORT

Nowadays everybody is harnessed to the war effort. There are loop-holes, not very many nor big ones for the workers, but quite a number and important ones for the privileged groups. A great deal of talk and exaggeration about "absenteeism" of the workers serves a double purpose. First of all, it diverts the attention from the privileged classes, and secondly, it may be helpful in attacking the far from easily earned war wages. Thus the paper of the American railway interests (Railway Age) bluntly states that "The more spare money the men have in their pockets, the less concerned they are about working every day," and tentatively suggests that "if unduly generous wages are handicapping the war programme, that fact should be known both to the authorities and to the public."

Labor, the paper of the railwaymen's organizations of the U.S.A., has something to say about Big Business devotion to the war effort. Its indictment starts as follows: "Every reader of Labor will recall the frightful 'blitz' which was launched against labour months ago, and which continues to this day. Spokesmen for organized labour have insisted that the main object of this campaign was to cover up the crimes of some elements in Big Business. That this claim was justified was overwhelmingly indicated by the disclosure during the second half of March of two particularly flagrant instances of skullduggery." And the case is then stated as follows:

Evidence before the Truman committee revealed the startling fact that the United States Steel Corporation had palmed off defective plates for merchant ships by falsifying records and tests. Officials of the corporation admitted that at least 28,000 tons of defective material had been supplied the government.

Part of the steel went into the construction of a tanker at the Portland (Oregon) yards of Henry J. Kaiser. The vessel broke in two and sank at its mooring dock.

Immediately officials of the Maritime Commission—dominated by reactionary Admiral Emory Land—blamed the disasters on poor workmanship, contending that the Kaiser yard had pursued bad welding methods.

Kaiser showed that the ship did not split at the welded seams, but between them. The House Committee on Merchant Marine confirmed Kaiser's statement.

Then the Truman committee took a hand, brought before it officials of Big Steel and learned from their own lips of the astounding story of "plain cheating of the government," as Senator Harry S. Truman (Dem., Mo.), described what had taken place.

J. Lester Perry, president of Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, admitted that company inspectors had been instructed by superiors to falsify tests, so that defective plates could be passed on to the government.

President Benjamin F. Fairless professed to be shocked at the disclosures and said he would clean house "letting the chips fall where they may."

Significantly, this is not the first time the Carnegie-Illinois company has been caught red-handed in defrauding the government. Back in the 80's a Congressional committee disclosed that the concern, then operated by Andrew Carnegie and Charles M. Schwab, had falsified tests to unload defective armourplate on to the Navy.

Of a different kind, but equally flagrant, was the revelation this week that owners of merchant ships carrying munitions and supplies to the Red Sea had exacted fantastic profits, apparently with the connivance of the Maritime Commission.

Many ships, on a single trip, realized enough profits to pay off, many times over, the total book value of the vessels, the House Merchant Marine Committee disclosed.

These ships are under charter by the Maritime Commission and were assigned to carry war supplies for the British government under lend-lease. Uncle Sam, of

course, pays the bills, hence the shipping lines were robbing their own government.

Members of the House Merchant Marine Committee asked why the Maritime Commission did not prevent the gouge by buying the ships outright. No answer has yet been made to that question.

The above is for the greater part a story concerning devotion to the war effort in the field of ship construction, as told by Labor. Let us now see how the story is continued in the running of the ships. This activity is so well planned by the ship-owners that they need not risk losing their own lives, but cash in on risks entailing loss of life amongst the seamen harnessed to the war effort. The following story is taken from The New Leader (N.Y.).

On the heels of the fake-steel-plate scandal involving the U.S. Steel Corporation, comes the news that John J. Burns, spokesman for nineteen shipping firms charged with taking excessive profits on charter voyages to the Red Sea with British army supplies, has said that these companies have no intentions of acceding to demands that some of these profits be returned. The testimony was given before the House Merchant Marine Subcommittee.

The shipping firms have already earned some \$27,000,000 net profit of a revenue of \$31,364,880.

Burns said that there was not a single operator involved in the Red Sea deal who could not have more money at that time on less hazardous charters. The seamen who float for weeks on the open sea, or try to swim from torpedoed ships through burning oil, appeared not to enter into Burn's calculations.

Inquiry is now under way to determine why the Navy or the War Shipping Administration has not taken over management of these and other lines making millions out of carrying arms and men to the United Nations' forces everywhere. And Labour is now beginning to stir and ask that the white heat of publicity be turned on these scandals instead of creating fake labour issues.

Absenteeism, and other happenings, which have the effect of either slowing down or holding up production are always bound to occur where the workers concerned are denied the necessary self-governing rights or facilities in the various branches of industry. They have always occurred for the same reason, and those of nowadays represent the price the Nation is paying for its failure in the past to have industries organised more effectively on a self-governing basis.

Senator Don Cameron.

LABOUR'S POST-WAR AIMS

The visit of Mr. John Marchbank to the U.S.A. finds an echo in a number of articles in the American Labour Press. The one we reprint below from The Railroad Telegrapher may serve as a statement of Marchbank's views expressed on that occasion.

Describing the American war effort as a miracle of production and accomplishments "which hardly anyone overseas less than a year ago believed possible," Mr. John Marchbank, vice-president and chairman of the management committee of the International Transportworkers' Federation, called upon organized labour in the United States to assist actively in formulating labour's peace aims and an international programme of post-war reconstruction. Mr. Marchbank, former general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, came to the United States as member of a British trade union delegation to confer with the leaders of the American trade union movement on matters of closer relations between the labour movements of the United Nations.

Mr. Marchbank's visit also served to draw the transport workers' organizations of the United States closer to those of Great Britain and the other United Nations, which, united in the I.T.F., represent the most powerful link of the international trade union movement.

He called attention to the steadily growing power of the I.T.F. which, notwithstanding the inroads made by dictatorship and the destruction of free trade unions in many countries of Europe, embraces at present nearly three million transport workers on land, at sea and in the air. "Much, if not all of the world of to-morrow depends on the co-operation of organized labour and the influence it will be able to exercise around the peace conference table in the interest of all peoples and all nations," Mr. Marchbank stated.

Mr. Marchbank was guest of honour at an I.T.F. dinner on 20th February, at the Hotel St. Moritz, New York City. Many labour representatives from twelve nations and public leaders attended. Among those present were: President William Green and Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; Professor Carter Goodrich, chairman of the governing body of the International Labour Office; Frank S. Columbus, chairman of the legislative board of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and other railway brotherhoods' representatives; and Mr. Maitland S. Pennington, chief of the manning division, U.S. War Shipping Administration.

Mr. Marchbank's statement on post-war conditions and labour's post-war aims follows:

"We are agreed that our first and foremost job is to win the war, and to win it decisively and quickly. But while we reaffirm our faith, we must be prepared to face the future and to approach the problems of to-morrow in the same spirit of determination and comprehensive understanding that stands us in such good stead in these crucial war days.

"The minds of the working people everywhere are turned to the problem of what the world shall be like

after this dreadful conflict is over. Many of us have been thinking and planning how to use our victory so that the coming peace will be just, lasting and beneficial to all. The problems of the post-war world are of vital concern to the workers of all countries, a concern that becomes more and more evident and justified with each day that brings victory nearer.

"What does labour want of this post-war world?"

"It will and must be a world where power and responsibility are shared equally by all the people, instead of being concentrated in the hands of a few. It will and must be a world in which all, regardless of race, colour and creed, shall share its material resources and unbounded opportunities. It will and must be a world where conflicts between nations are settled by civilized means and at the conference table, not on the battlefield.

"Not only do we of labour see eye to eye on these objectives. We must co-operate and join in our efforts to bring them about. Labour to-day, in the democratic countries, possesses a great and decisive influence. This influence will surely grow larger in days to come.

"It is, therefore, only just that we ask for and must secure full and responsible representation for our trade union movement in the peace conference which will write an end to the present bloody chapter and chart a post-war programme of humanity. We ask this because labour by its tears, blood and sacrifices is entitled to it. We ask it not because we fear that the leaders and statesmen of our countries will neglect labour's interests, but because we want to make sure that matters which are of vital and particular concern to labour are given full and favourable conditions.

"What, then, are these claims?"

"First: We shall insist that the rights of workers to associate in free and independent trade unions of their own choosing be restored in the Axis countries, as well as in those nations which have been overrun and oppressed by dictatorship. The restoration of these rights is regarded by us as the first and foremost step towards the rehabilitation of these countries. Common sense and experience tell that these re-born trade union forces will strengthen the hands and policies of the future democratic governments of these nations and be instrumental in keeping their governments and public agencies responsive to the will of the people.

"Second: We shall advance specific plans for the establishment and widening of social security measures. We shall be intent upon banishing for ever from our midst the fear of economic want. We shall insist that something more be done about it than just talking and dreaming.

"We of labour believe that it is incumbent upon democratic government and democratic institutions everywhere to see to it that the people are provided with satisfactory homes; that they are given medical care when ill; that they are safeguarded against the hazards

RAILWAYS NEED A POST-WAR PLAN

"If there is any class of worker whom peace is likely to involve in problems of great magnitude affecting his economic future, it is the railway worker. While he is a very important cog in the nation's war machine at the present, and while at present the railway industry is of front-line importance in the nation's war effort, that front rank position may not be continued to be held by railwaymen and their industry after the war. Much will depend on the economic system that will arise out of the peace. For that reason, railwaymen should be among the most active participants in the movements that centre around post-war planning."

The Advocate of the Australian Railways Union brings, with the above quoted introduction, a timely article from which we reproduce, below, some parts.

Anyone who examines the war-time developments in transport must be struck by the fact that the demands of military campaigns, the urgent needs of all warring nations for quicker and improved means of transport, the requirements of huge quantities of ships, aircraft, and motor vehicles, the call of ingenuity imposed by shortages of customary construction materials, have all tended to develop forms of transport, other than railways, to an extent that will make them much more formidable competitors than they were in the past. Only railways are standing still in the matter of development.

And what are our railway managers doing about that position? Nothing! If they ever think of it, they do not show any outward signs of concern about it. Probably they would tell us that they are too busy on their own war-time transport problems to be able to devote any time to consideration of the future of rail transport. Or it may be that they are suffering from the delusion that they can look to the Governments of the future to protect them from the inroads of their more advanced competitors.

The post-war position of the railways, as a national transport system, will depend largely on the economic system that will prevail in the post-war world. If capitalism is to continue to prevail, with its recognition of the right of private enterprise to invest its accumulated wealth in the undertaking that will provide the quickest and greatest return, then we may expect to be the victims of severe competition from other forms of transport.

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of unemployment and economic fluctuations; and that the aged and infirm are provided and cared for, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of right.

"The eternal critics of organized labour will say that this is a large order. That the world has to be made over before these aims can be achieved. In our opinion, the world does not need to be made over in order to do justice to those who deserve it.

"Much, if not all of this programme can be accomplished by the collaboration of all interested public and economic elements and by enlisting the active support of the trade union movement. If we are determined to put only a fraction of the effort we now exert for war, into producing for peace and progress, we shall surely succeed. If we do not, history will repeat itself. Surely we shall not succeed, and shall be instrumental only in creating new enmities and new dangers unless we conquer the shadows of the past and evolve an economic and social system that is in keeping with our modern technical and mechanical progress."

And we will start under a severe handicap. The laws of competition will be loaded against us. Burdened as we are with the dead hand of a huge interest bill, we will be unable to reduce our costs to a lower price than our competitors, or to provide a service that would induce prospective customers to accept our transport at a higher price than that of our competitors. They have the advantage of being more modern, more easy of establishment, and of already having a greater total capital investment for development than our railway systems. They have the advantage over railways of being able to provide faster or more comfortable travel; and by the assistance of Governments, the risks that were likely to be encountered by their patrons have been largely eliminated.

If, on the other hand, Socialism is to be the post-war economic system, we need not fear the effects of the competition of other transport systems on our railways. All forms of transport could be properly co-ordinated and transport facilities could be planned according to the needs of the population and the requirements of the country. Under a properly planned transport system, each form of transport could be allotted its proper sphere in the plan, not as a competitor, but as a supplementary service. That is the sane way of handling post-war transport problems, of co-ordinating transport development with other plans of post-war reconstruction, of saving our railways from unfair competition and thus preserving them for the nation-building work they will be required to assist. So Socialism becomes the hope of the railwayman, and of the railway industry—as it is of workers in other transport sections, because they cannot hope to benefit from transport competition any more than can the railwaymen. All transport workers have an identity of interests in preventing competition between the different transport systems.

It would seem that the ground is being prepared here for post-war transport competition. Some time ago an announcement was made of a merger between the two main airline services of Australia—Airlines of Australia and Australian National Airways. The A.N.A. represents a fusion of shipping interests and it gives us a demonstration of the shrewdness of the capital investors in shipping. Sensing the formidable rivalry and the challenge to their interests that the youngest and more advanced form of transport represented, the shipping capitalists stepped in and obtained control of the youngster. They thus controlled its development, and saw that it did no injury to its parent. In that action of the shipping capitalists there is a lesson for the people of Australia who regard themselves as the owners of the

SILENT WAR OF POLISH RAILWAY WORKERS

Transport difficulties revealed. "The rolling stock of the railways needs thorough repairs. We must do our utmost to restore the usefulness of the considerable rolling stock (both coaches and trucks), which has been standing idle because of damages and deficiencies." These words, reported by the Nazi paper, *Litzmanstaedter Zeitung*, were spoken by the general manager of railways in the General Government at a conference on economic affairs held in Cracow several months ago.

"Under present conditions," he continued, "we are unable to rebuild the railway system so that it may fully perform its regular tasks. The number of cars and coaches is diminishing and additional trouble is caused by such difficulties as lack of trained personnel in the railway yards and continuous restrictions of coal supplies."

Difficulties must be concealed. In connection with the Eastern front and the defeats that the German Army is suffering there, the importance to the Germans of the Polish railway system and of Poland's communications generally is constantly increasing, as the Nazis openly admit. But they try carefully to conceal all difficulties while stressing in every possible way their alleged success in the development and reorganization of the railway system.

According to the Nazi-controlled Paris radio station, "Poland to-day is a huge bridge between the West and the East." "That is why," the Nazi broadcast continued,

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railways. It points to the advisability of a merger of all transport systems—not to protect the capital investment of any class of transport investor, but as a matter of national welfare and interest of our people.

It is foolish to allow private profit-making transport enterprises complete freedom to compete with a state enterprise like the railways. It is equally foolish to allow air, road and sea transport free competition rights with railways.

But whether railways are to continue as competitive enterprises or as part of a properly planned all-embracing transport system, we have still to accept the responsibility of improving them. Protection from rapacious competition, no matter in what form it may come to railways, does not remove from us the responsibility of planning their improvement. To provide proper service to their users, they must be brought more up-to-date. The rail transport system in this State has to be modernised. Speedier, safer and more comfortable travel must be ensured our customers. That involves the provision of better locomotives, of improved passenger accommodation, better freight-carrying capacities and greater facilities for the handling of traffic. All that requires planning. It is the sort of planning that should be under way now between railway managements and the staff. But it is not likely to be undertaken until the rank and file of the service compel it to be undertaken. And since their future economic interests are so much involved, railwaymen should insist on an early start of post-war railway planning.

"the development of the means of transportation is of paramount importance, particularly since communications were insufficiently developed in pre-war Poland. The German railway administration, with main offices in Warsaw, is now stressing the importance of West-East communication lines, and also of lines across the Carpathians, from North to South."

Nazi lies about Polish railway workers. The broadcast concluded its description of the various Nazi plans to develop and reorganize transport facilities in occupied Poland with a number of lies about Polish railway workers. These products of Dr. Goebbels' factory were undoubtedly intended to confuse the minds of the French workers regarding the situation of their fellow-workers in Poland.

Hundreds of thousands of Polish railwaymen were dismissed from their jobs at the beginning of the German occupation of Poland, and Poles were removed from all responsible positions in the railway system. Despite these facts, the Nazi-controlled Paris radio asserts: "It should be noted that more than a million persons are fed by the Eastern Railroad (the official German name for the Polish railway system). The railway workers have been retained in their jobs with but a few exceptions. More than 100,000 Poles are employed in managerial and clerical positions with the railway administration."

Dr. Goebbels versus Dr. Frank. The ordinance issued by the Governor-General, Dr. Frank, on 31st October, 1939, concerning conditions of work and protective labour legislation in occupied Poland, forbids any increase of wages and salaries above the pre-war standard. This decree of Herr Frank does not seem to disturb the author of the propaganda lies concerning the present situation of the railwaymen in Poland.

The Paris broadcast goes on:

"Railway workers are better paid to-day than they were in 1939. . . . The German administration has introduced a new system of incentive-remuneration and, as a result, the railwaymen receive good wages. They also have excellent medical care, as well as their own sanitariums, clinics and vacation homes." The broadcast does not mention that these facilities, if at all available, are reserved for Germans only.

Strategic importance of Polish railways. The Germans assert that the Polish railway lines before the war provided communication between big cities only, and that their reorganisation scheme was based on the need to extend the lines. To-day, according to information issued by Nazi-controlled French paper, *Paris-Soir*, the so-called Eastern Railroad has three trunk lines, crossing occupied Poland from West to East.

The southern line connects Krakow, Przemysl, and Lwow (Poland), and continues through Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk, Nikolayev, and Kharkov (U.S.S.R.). Two lines branch off at Lwow: one goes through Tarnopol (Poland) to Odessa, the other through Stanislawow (Poland) and Czerniowce to the Rumanian oil centres in Ploesti and Bucharest. This latter line provides the most rapid communication between Berlin and Bucharest.

The central line goes through Czestochowa and Rabsztyn (Poland), passes through Radom-Deblin-Lublin to Dorohusk and Kowel (Poland), and thence to Kursk and Voronezh (U.S.S.R.) and the industrial region of the Upper Don in the U.S.S.R.

The northern line connects Poznan with Koluszki and Lowicz (Poland); another branch of it enters Poland in Upper Silesia. Both branches meet in Warsaw, and continue eastward through Malkinia, Platerowo, Brzesc (Poland), and on toward Leningrad.

All these lines were built before 1900, some of them being almost a hundred years old, such as the line between Krakow and Lwow, or that connecting Upper Silesia and Warsaw. The Nazis did not build a single mile of track on any of these railroads.

Polish railwaymen fight the invader. Polish workers, and especially Polish railwaymen, understand as well as the Nazis the great importance and the strategic significance of the railroads that cut across occupied Poland. They also know that any blow at the railroad system is a vital blow against the invader.

Considerable lengths of railway track, including all the switches, have recently been destroyed at four of the most important railway junctions in Poland by "unknown hands." The culprits were never discovered. Several days later the Germans executed fifty-five persons chosen at random from the great number of Poles imprisoned as hostages. Three women were

among them. Some days later, in further reprisals, fifty other persons were hanged on gallows especially erected for their execution, facing the railway tracks that led through Warsaw and suburban railway stations.

In another recent act of sabotage a serious railway accident occurred on the line between Lodz and Pabianice. Two trains were completely smashed. The German press never disclosed the causes of this accident.

In clearing the areas of Central Poland that were to be settled by German colonists, the Nazis mercilessly uprooted Polish peasants from their farms. The Poles retaliated for these Nazi activities when, early this year, "unknown hands" blew up a railway bridge. At about the same time two trains carrying military supplies and soldiers, and a third train carrying German colonists, were derailed and seriously damaged.

The Nazi authorities have arrested a great number of persons throughout Poland suspected of sabotage and wilful destruction of railway materials. According to the latest underground reports, the executions of these recently arrested persons have already begun on a large scale: twenty-nine victims were hanged in Ostrowiec, sixteen in Miechow, seventeen in Grojec, sixteen in Wierzbnik, and ten in Skierniewice.

In order to protect the East-West trunk lines against attack by Poles, the Germans have been forced to assign to them, in addition to the regular guards, detachments of police armed with machine-guns and hand-grenades.

THE NEGRO AND UNITED STATES DEMOCRACY

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *President of the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters*

We reprint parts of an article (published in the "New Leader," N.Y.) by a leading spokesman of the 13,000,000 negroes—the largest single minority in the U.S.A.

The problem of the Negro is a problem of discrimination, segregation and jim-crow in the economic, political and social life of America. It has its roots in a world movement, namely, the slave trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the exploitation of slave labour in the production of sugar, rice, tobacco and cotton in the New World.

The Civil War—America's Second Revolution—was uncompleted, and hence, unlike the revolutions of nineteenth-century Europe, failed to transform the black slaves into free workers and independent farm proprietors. Vestiges and remnants of a pre-capitalist era hedge in, circumscribe and encumber the freed-men, giving them the status of second class citizens.

The historic mission of the old, classic nineteenth-century revolution is to achieve a metamorphosis of the social, economic and political status of the serf or slave. But this can only be effected when the following changes occur: (1) Overthrow of the slave or feudal power. (2) Set-up of a republican or democratic form of government. (3) Grant to the former slave or serf of the right of suffrage. (4) Provision for the participation of the freed-men in the new government. (5) Establishment of a free public school system. (6) Bestowment upon the former slave of an economic basis for his adventure into the new social order.

In truth, however, none of these conditions requisite to

the completion of the traditional capitalist-democratic revolution was realized for the Negro. Hence, the status of the Negro people to-day is that of second class citizens, the victims of dual standards of justice, freedom and democracy.

When the industrial and financial capitalist economy gained ascendancy over the agrarian, feudal, slave pattern of production, following the triumph of the Union army over the Confederate forces, the orderly and progressive march of the second political revolution was halted, and the attention of the American national community was turned from the social idealism of consummating the liberation of the former slave to the matter-of-fact Yankee business of consolidating the Union as a political agency to subserve the interests of an incipient and nascent monopoly capitalism.

Thus, the freedom of the Negro slaves was sacrificed upon the altar of an expanding capitalistic economy. The church, in negation of its basic tenets, reflected the dominant economic forces in the American scene and blessed this tragic political opportunism. The church of the South served as a psychological weapon to whip public sentiment into accepting the second class civil status of the Negro people, and the church of the North winked and connived at this bit of religious expediency. Nor has Protestantism or Catholicism or the Republican or Democratic Party of America, from Abraham Lincoln

to Roosevelt's New Dealism, ever seriously challenged this socio-economic and political racial arrangement of the South.

Having practically re-enslaved the Negro freed-men through forms of political and economic disfranchisement, the old South sought a moral and ideological justification for its act, and hence to-day one still preaches the doctrine of Negro inferiority, of Negro domination and white supremacy to make American public opinion subscribe to the process of dehumanization of the Negro. The violent and ceaseless struggle of the white South to keep the Negro down has caused the South to become the nation's Number One Problem, and virtually an arid desert where the hot winds of hate and mob violence hold sway at the expense of culture and art, philosophy and science, and the higher reaches of religious idealism. To-day it is apparent that the South has practically conquered the spirit of America and compelled it to accept its ideology of racism.

Flagrant instances of these anti-social behaviour and un-Christian practices may be seen in the position the Negro found himself in when the present World War began. When he went to defense industries for jobs, he was either flatly told that he was not wanted or given the run-around. Defense training courses were closed to him, government departments discriminated against him as did private industry; trade unions refused Negroes membership; the armed forces, including the Army, Navy, Merchant Marine and Coast Guard, while giving first class status to our foreign brothers such as Filipinos and Chinese, put Negroes into segregated and jim-crow divisions. The Navy, although making some concessions to the clamour of the Negro people for consideration, still refuses to make Negroes commissioned officers. The Red Cross relents and accepts Negro blood, but jim-crows it; and Negro women, although accepted in the WAACS (Women's Army Auxiliary Corps), are trained and maintained as segregated units. Doctors of colour can only practise on soldiers of colour. The great mass of Negroes recruited for the Army are placed in labour battalions; a jim-crow school for Negro air pilots is set up at Tuskegee, and the policy of segregation is so sharply fixed in the Army that Negro and white soldiers hardly realize that they are fighting for the same things, and hence, instead of waiting for combat on the foreign fronts, they go to war with each other on the home front. Negro soldiers are mobbed, shot and killed in various sections of the country.

The government sends its Negro expeditionary forces to England with its jim-crow pattern. A leaflet is prepared by the War Department and given to white soldiers sent to England informing them what not to do or say lest they insult their white English comrades, but white officers in the South freely insult Negro soldiers by calling them "Niggers," and nothing is done about it.

Because of this outrageous violation of democratic practice and principles, and the failure of Negroes to secure jobs in the defense industries, the Negro leaders planned a march on Washington, 1st July, 1941, in protest of this condition. The March on Washington movement was supported by the Negro churches of

various denominations as well as the Negro workers and professional groups. It demanded an executive order to put a stop to discriminations in defense industries and the government. Because the executive order was granted, the March on Washington was called off but not abandoned. Negroes may yet be compelled to march on Washington, not only to stop the poignant insult of jim-crow to their souls, but also to save the soul of America and help make the country morally and spiritually worthy of the leadership of the democratic forces of the world.

As a result of the activity of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which investigates charges of discrimination on account of race, colour, religion or national origin, a good number of defense industries have employed Negro workers and some of the trade unions have relented in their rigid application of the closed shop contract and permitted Negro workers to secure employment.

Although some headway has been made in the Negro receiving employment in defense industries, discriminations are still rife against them when they apply for skilled jobs. Moreover, the South makes no pretense of providing training opportunities for Negroes in defense industries, although federal moneys are available.

But the question may be raised as to the advisability of Negroes fighting at this time for their democratic rights, in view of the war. It is my position and the general feeling of practically all the Negro leaders throughout the nation that the Negro must fight against discriminations wherever they appear at this time and insist upon the status of a first class citizen. We believe that the fight for democracy on the home front is a part of the fight for democracy on the foreign front.

We stand for all-out support for the war by the Negro. This he is giving with his life, blood and treasure. We also stand for a fight not only against Hitler in Europe but Hitlerism in the U.S.A. The strength of the underpinnings of democracy will make for a stronger national unity in America which will give force and power to our armed forces.

The Negro to-day constitutes the supreme test of American democracy. The President of the United States does not seem to possess the moral courage to challenge certain elements in the benighted South, and while democracy was being trampled upon in the Senate by Southern demagogues, he remained silent in the White House. Although the South is but one-fourth of the United States House of Representatives, they have achieved this under a Democratic administration. Because of a rotten borough system made possible by the poll tax and the white primaries, Southern Senators and Representatives are able to build up seniority and capture the chairmanships of committees. The control of the South over the Senate to-day is a witness to this.

In the House of Representatives the control of committees by Southern race-hating politicians is distressing.

If this war does not achieve racial, economic, political and social equality for the Negro and all of the darker races, it will have been fought in vain and will be only a prelude to a more terrible war between the coloured and white races of the world.

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.

Our first quotation this time is composed of parts of a book review in which a number of very important observations are made on the prospects of social development in the U.S.A. in particular, and in other important countries in general. The reviewer is a Maryland professor of sociology, C. Wright Mills, and the book is by Robert A. Brady on "Business as a System of Power."

There are structural trends in the political economy of the United States which parallel those of Germany. They are more important than fifth-column small-fry, and perhaps as important as Nazi armies, for they have an objective chance to shape the societies we are going to live in. "Nothing fundamental in history, programme, structure of organization or social outlook divides clearly the policies of the Spitzenverbaende (peak trade associations) within the totalitarian countries from those of the liberal-capitalist states." In Germany, Italy and France it was "these bodies who made the critical decisions without which the final destruction of democracy could not have taken place." The unmistakable economic foundations of a corporate system are being formed in the United States by monopoly capitalism. The powers and requirements of the existing economic structure are such that no halfway economic measure could long retain the political conditions of its being.

The opposition can no longer hide behind the ambiguous formality of "government control of business," for this mode of attack does not specify who or what government is. The fact is that a major medium of "control" of business, outside and within the state, is the peak trade association. "Self-government in business" has replaced laissez-faire; ceasing to be an umpire, the state can carry the ball. Wars underline this fact. Recent reports of "post-war planning" by business make it clear. It is not only a question of who can "pressure" the government more strongly; it is a question of who is the operative government. Therefore, rather than depend so much upon "government," the opposition must confront that which gives economic royalists their power, within and without government: private ownership of the apparatus of production.

The chief social power upon which a genuine democracy can rest to-day is labour. The political power of business indicates clearly that it is not enough for labour to struggle economically with business. Unless trade unions unify into an independent political movement and take intelligent action on all important political issues, there is danger that they will be incorporated within a government over which they have little control.

The history of organized business everywhere indicates clearly that it knows its chief enemy to be an independent and political labour movement fructified by pro-labour intellectuals. The history of European labour during the inter-war period shows that its destruction was due, in no small part, to a failure to accept the responsibility and power commensurate with its exercise of economic and political pressure. In the face of the highly organized and politically powerful *status quo*, which Brady has ably portrayed, labour must not merely play at pressure politics and seek a governmental protection which would deprive it of its traditional weapons. Somehow it must become a militant political movement.

We take our next quotation from The Advocate, one of the journals of the Australian Railways' Union. It raises the question of the social foundations upon which economic security has to be based.

The air is full of post-war social plans that are being prepared by Governments, ostensibly to redeem the promises made the people, that out of this war there shall emerge a "new order" under which they shall be assured the economic security that was denied them in the past. But all the "economic plans" that are in the making or are contemplated, seem to possess a common basic weakness—they are based on the assumption that the economic system of Capitalism must continue to prevail after the war in all countries in which it operated previously; and that the Capitalist system—and the Capitalist class—will be better able and more willing in the future to provide a measure of economic security to all people than it was able or willing to provide in the past.

Because the "Beveridge Plan" that has been proposed in

Great Britain is the most precise proposal of post-war social reform that has been put forward, it serves well for discussion of the questions of whether such proposals fulfil the pledges of a "New Order" in the full sense of laying the foundation for an entirely different social, economic and political system in the post-war world, or whether they are simply an attempt to replace time-worn patches on the superstructure of the "Old World" without disturbing its foundations.

On paper, the "Beveridge Plan" is a large step forward in the sphere of social reform. It would provide a minimum subsistence standard to all the people of Britain—a standard that might eventually become a uniform standard, but which, in any case, would ensure some economic security, to thousands who have had no such security in the past. But, transferring the plan from paper to actual practice is the thing that matters most in the final results. And we believe that it is in the course of that transfer—if it is attempted—that the weaknesses of this plan and of others of a similar nature will be discovered.

Sir William Beveridge himself seems to think that his plan will prop up the foundations of Capitalism. That thought is implied in a remark he made in an interview with a representative of the London *Daily Telegraph* respecting his plan, when he said:

"We must go half way to Moscow or we shall have to go the whole way."

As an exception to our self-imposed rule we pass, for once, a comment on the last quotation by providing two more quotations. Here they are:

THE THOUGHT.

A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching.

Sir William Beveridge.

ITS INTERPRETATION.

Captain Somerset de Chair, M.P., described Sir William Beveridge as "that unconscious Tory" and called his Report "this alternative to nationalization."

At the Annual Conference of the British Conservative Party on May 20th, 1943.

COMPETITION IN TRANSPORT OUT—AND IN AGAIN?

The war has suspended the harmful competition between "the railroads, the buses, air lines, trucks and inter-coastal shipping," Rubber Director W. M. Jeffers told Western Pennsylvania's Engineers Society at the annual meeting in Pittsburgh.

"The war has welded them in mutual determination to render the maximum of service to the country. And while, of course, the spirit of competition will again prevail after the war is over, there nevertheless will have been established a better understanding by each of the whole problem of transport.

"This will be true not only of the transportation agencies themselves, but also on the part of the general public—the travellers and the shippers.

"The interdependence of all forms of transportation in the nation has been vividly illustrated by our war emergencies," Mr. Jeffers said.