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ITALY
JAPAN
LATVIA
POLAND
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
and other countries

TAKING STOCK

The future has several names : the faint-hearted call it the impossible ; the timid the unknown ; but for the thinkers and the valiant it is the ideal.—VICTOR HUGO.

THE present world-war is entering upon its fifth year, and if all appearances do not deceive it is already certain that it will exceed in duration the first world war. In its consequences the present world war will leave the last one far behind. The reasons are clear. It is bigger, and it is being waged with greater intensity. The immediate consequences for the peoples concerned are, therefore, incomparably more far-reaching, and so this war throws up problems of an importance and magnitude that stagger the imagination that attempts to find a solution for them. And the longer the war lasts the more unsolvable, on the basis of the old forms and ideas, become the problems it raises.

Historical events of extraordinary importance, such as those we are now witnessing, are apt to take unexpected turns. We contemporaries accept the succession of events as part of a process of continuity with which we are more or less familiar. It is true that we take note of departures from pre-existing conditions, but on account of the continuity which has been our experience, the cumulative nature of what is happening fails to make sufficient impression upon us, and finally, to our great surprise, we find that stupefying events have taken place. They come forward, so to speak, to prove to us that a world war like the present one is not simply a continuous process, but in the end provides for discontinuity. That is the moment at which history is made which will cause the world of to-morrow to be poles apart from that of yesterday. What seemed impossible becomes possible : the unknown, the likelihood of which was denied, forces itself irresistibly upon those who refused to believe. Humanity gets the rare opportunity to achieve its ideals.

But while one anticipates this development, it has to be admitted that it is difficult at the present moment to point to indications calculated to convert the unbeliever. The war itself has, to be sure, entered upon a stage at which one imagines it is possible to discern more or less the shape of things to come, i.e. a progressive undermining of the war potential of the Axis powers coupled with a more or less gradual occupation of the territories at present under their lordship. This "liberation" will be accompanied by the restoration of tolerable political systems, together with relief and re provisioning as a prelude to reconstruction. In the international political sphere the creation is foreseen of certain guarantees that will make impossible any repetition of aggression by the former Axis powers. As to the fate of the Axis powers themselves as a result of a peace following victory, no positive intentions, in the form of peace aims, have yet been made public.

All there is is a so-called "Atlantic Charter," now two years old, which is almost universally regarded as an inadequate basis for the post-war world. And there are further innumerable commissions and individuals at work nationally and internationally, in the service of group or general interests, trying to outline specific structures for the future state of affairs. They all have one thing in common, and that is that however concrete their tasks may be, each hangs separately in the air, as the prior conditions for the realization of their purposes are still undetermined. In the plans already drafted, therefore, particular questions, often almost inseparably bound up with the plans themselves, are intentionally left out of consideration, not because the experts cannot find a solution, but because the holders of power do not want to find one. They fear to anticipate the future, because it promises to leave in being so little of the old forms and ideas. And in the field of social power relations the attitude which Victor Hugo attributes, in the quotation that heads this article, to the faint-hearted and timid, should really be applied to the privileged, who are anxious to save what they can of their position.

The so-called "currency plans" are a recent example of the last-mentioned variety of planning. The experts do indeed recognize the necessity of associating the regulation, contained in these plans, of the relations between currencies which is determined by the economic relations between countries, with the regulation of other spheres of activity which have a decisive influence upon those relations, e.g. international investments. But no attention is paid to the views of the experts, and a great deal, instead, to the regulation of the voting power of the participants in the policy to be followed, which is clearly framed to strengthen the power of the proposers. In other cases these selfsame realists in world policy, who are always out to put the dampers on too highly set hopes of the future with their famous war-cry of "first things first," allow this rule of conduct to be dropped as a matter of course. We have a recent example in the hastily improvised Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture. The Russians, who are not always prepared to keep in step, caused some embarrassment by reminding the government delegates present of this rule of conduct, when they demanded immediate relief for the sorely tried Soviet Russian population. But the Hot Springs Conference had to confine itself to proclaiming a number of beautiful ideals as a basis for a food policy for the post-war world, without, however, seizing the opportunity to state

what changes would have to be made in the economic basis and structure of our society if this food policy were to have a practical chance of succeeding. Those who called the Conference together were obviously so anxious to avoid this that they even omitted to invite the International Labour Office to participate in the Conference, to say nothing of the workers directly concerned, who might have been represented, for instance, by the Food Workers and Agricultural Workers' Internationals.

The holders of power of this world of ours, who are obviously anything but faint-hearted or timid—are hard at work, wherever the war situation affords them an opportunity, forging the future in the image of the world of yesterday. We need only think of the victory in North Africa, and call to mind the names of de Gaulle, Darlan and Giraud. At the moment at which this article is being written (4th August), the curtain is being rung up for the last act of the battle for Sicily, and Mussolini has been gone for nearly two weeks. On the island AMGOT (Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory) is operating, an institution that, contrary to what the name would seem to imply, is purely Anglo-American, and is perhaps destined to spread like an oil-stain over territories still to be occupied. The personnel of AMGOT is at the top "well sprinkled with City bankers," as the *Economist* puts it. All contact between Sicilians and Italian refugee political organizations is barred. It is obvious that no shadow of a risk is being taken of the possible development of relations that might be disagreeable to the established authorities.

To begin with, therefore, AMGOT is no creation of democracy. Its origin and feeding-ground lie in so-called "military requirements." There will undoubtedly be good reasons to advance

for this, but this makes it none the less a useful instrument in the hands of those who do not yet feel too faint-hearted or timid to put the world once more into the old harness.

At the same time the constitutional resignation of Mussolini and the acceptance of office by Badoglio is hailed as the end of Italian Fascism, while official circles are hard at work on what looks like an attempt to restore the prestige of the House of Savoy. But even the London *Economist* acknowledges that "the Badoglio régime marks no particular ideological advance on the Duce's." This statement might have some practical political value if the Allied Governments should, for instance, lend force to their expressed intentions of punishing war criminals by announcing that Badoglio, who used poison gas, by orders of Mussolini, against

THE GREAT HOUR

Moscow's decision to dissolve the Third International presents labour with a unique opportunity to strengthen its ranks, to unite and prepare itself for leadership in the world of to-morrow. Since the inauguration of expediency in North Africa, we know what kind of democratic order is to be expected from the diplomacy of the United Nations if it is left to its own devices. Only a mobilization of the popular forces—for the support of the war, yes, but also for the establishment of a people's peace—can save mankind from the certainty of World War III. Liberals cannot do it. Isolated statesmen like Benes cannot do it. Labour alone can take the matter into its own hands, become the rallying point for all progressive forces, and smash the conspiracy of big business, Munich diplomacy, and Vatican intrigue which aims to sell out the people and to establish reaction everywhere. It can be done. But only under one condition—that in this decisive hour Labour and Socialist leaders—American, British, European—show themselves capable of rising to the heights of a Debs, a Keir Hardie, a Jaurès; that they show themselves generous and farsighted; that they do not permit their personal resentments, their lack of imagination, their almost pathological fear of action to ruin the immense opportunity now open to them.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO.

the Abyssinians, would not constitute an exception. This would at least provide a sufficient guarantee against even temporary arrangements being made with a man who embodies the danger—as *The Economist*, once again, points out—of an Allied analogy with Hitler's handling of Petain.

The political moulds which are now being fashioned are not those of the United Nations as a whole. Quite apart from the Soviet Union and China—to mention only the greatest countries next to the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom—it is probable that the emigré governments and the governments formed by refugees were also not consulted. The development of the war in Europe itself may lead to similar difficulties with the local authorities as we have already seen in the case of North Africa. And compared with Europe what may happen in the Asiatic theatre of war is still enveloped in a completely impenetrable fog. The interests that are there at stake are pregnant with conflicts for the old imperialist powers and the U.S.A., on the one hand, and the Asiatic countries themselves, including the U.S.S.R., on the other, that are likely to have vastly more significance for

the future of the world than even those of old Europe. The stagnation out of which the British-Indian problem seems unable to extricate itself cannot be regarded as typical of what threatens to happen when the whole of the Asiatic continent sets itself in motion.

Against the background of this imposing and threatening scene of a global war, international socialism, as an organized and purposeful movement, cuts a sorry figure. Those who identify hope for the future of humanity with the coming of international socialism would have every reason for despair were they not convinced that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, the movement is in motion. Beneath the crust of the old world, full to bursting with explosive matter, new forces are gathering which will entirely change its topography. Socialism will have to give new features to the face of the earth, on pain of seeing another and still more terrible war. Not to perceive this, and to remain inactive in the face of the struggle of the old forces, in expectation of what it may bring us, would be to take upon its shoulders the guilt of complicity on the self-destruction of mankind. May the labour movement come to its senses before it is too late.

REHABILITATION OF EUROPEAN TRANSPORT WORKERS

II.

Getting transport running again as soon as possible after the several European territories come under the control of the United Nations, will be an all-important preliminary to the organization of relief for the distressed populations. It may be assumed that the United Nations will be in a position to send considerable regular supplies of food and materials to the sea and air ports of the Continent, but the problem of routing these supplies to their places of destination will in many cases present serious initial difficulties. In sea ports which have been partially or wholly destroyed, even the relatively simple operation of discharging will be carried on under difficulties which will call for a great deal of ingenuity, and heavy physical effort, on the part of the men who will have to do this work. It may even be necessary to discharge cargoes on the beaches with the help of invasion barges. And after the dockers have solved this difficulty, the inadequacy or total absence of equipment will often make the work very hard for the workers who will have to carry the goods further by road or rail. Even where transport equipment is in fairly good condition, the state of the railway lines and roads will still make their task an exacting one.

Where the territories freed pass directly from the hands of the enemy to those of the military authorities of the United Nations, the transport workers will presum-

ably be employed by the corps of Army Engineers. In the beginning there will be no supply service capable of fully meeting the requirements of the whole population, and the proper functioning of transport will be one of the factors determining the time within which it will be possible to establish reasonably adequate supply conditions. It will not function at maximum efficiency with personnel weakened by long privation and incapable of normal physical effort. The question will, therefore, arise whether it will not be possible to hasten matters by taking special measures to supply those workers who will be called upon to assist the corps of military engineers in reconditioning the means of transport, and in getting transport running again.

Against such a proposal it is possible to advance the argument that a worker furnished with a priority card entitling him to a ration superior in quantity and quality to that of less favoured persons will share his rations with other members of his family. If he did so he would frustrate the object aimed at in giving him priority rights, and there is good reason to believe that a majority of the workers would act in this way. It would, therefore, be necessary to consider other measures, and it would seem feasible to feed these men at their place of work, as is done with soldiers in the field. It is even probable that in many places it would not be possible to do otherwise, especially during the first few weeks, or even months. Such would be the case, for instance, with workers employed in repairing port installations or railways in towns that have been half destroyed or evacuated, or with road builders, lorry drivers or railwaymen whose work takes them to the devastated areas. And since in any case it will be necessary to feed a large number of the transport workers on military lines, it would seem oppor-

If the sacrifice of blood and strength again brings a concentration of riches in the hands of a few—great fortunes for the privileged and misery and poverty for the people in general—then democracy will have failed and this sacrifice will have been in vain.—Henry A. Wallace.

tune to consider the application of this method to practically all the transport workers employed by the military authorities.

Another important problem will be that of clothing these workers. Reports from the occupied countries agree in suggesting that the shortage of textiles is well on the way to reducing everybody's reserves of clothing to the irreducible minimum, and that this minimum is of inferior quality. The shortage of footwear is particularly severe. In this respect it will also be necessary to lay down an order of priority, and it would seem reasonable to place the transport workers high up on the list. Perhaps the simplest solution of the difficulty would be to adopt the method employed in the United Kingdom for soldiers and civil defence personnel, and provide them with clothing on engagement.

The housing problem will also present many difficult aspects, particularly in devastated towns and areas, where transport will be an indispensable preliminary to all other activities. The solution, however, can only be found on the spot, and with the means available there. It is hardly possible to take any measures in advance, except to make it clear to the military authorities concerned that in certain places they will have to provide for the transport workers who enter their service accommodation similar to that they provide for soldiers.

It will be the same with the medical services. The civil medical services still operating in the occupied countries when the moment of liberation comes will have plenty to do, and the transport workers will be likely to strain them to the utmost. Many of these transport workers, particularly those who will have to do by hand, or with improvised tools, work commonly done by *machine—the dockers, for instance—will be exposed to risks of accident that will be all the greater in proportion to the deficiencies of their physical condition. Inevitable contacts in infected places and districts will add to these dangers. And since it is probable that the civil medical services will be overwhelmed with work, or unable for other reasons to give adequate attention with the necessary promptitude, it would be wise to provide that, for some time at any rate, the medical services of the armies of liberation should take under their wing such transport workers as may fall ill or suffer accidents in the course of their employment.*

In view of the primary importance of transport for all relief work among distressed populations, it is obvious that the question will arise of priority for transport workers in the matter of repatriation of persons deported. It is estimated that the number of foreign workers at present in Germany amounts to something like twelve million, and to these must be added those deported from one occupied country to another. Aircraft may be the only means of repatriation available immediately, that is to say from the moment at which access to the places of concentration becomes possible. Immediate repatriation of transport workers would be one of the most practical means for accelerating the repatriation of all persons deported. Repatriation will not mean for the transport workers what it will for the vast majority of the other

deportees. It is true that a transport worker given priority for repatriation will return to his own country and to his own trade, but not always to his own home. He will have to go wherever his services are most needed, and in the immense majority of cases it will be to a devastated town or region where his family does not live. This circumstance is likely to soften any resentment that might otherwise be likely to arise in prisoner of war or labour camps when it is announced or discovered that the transport workers are to have priority for repatriation.

These proposals to give special treatment to the transport workers who will have to be remobilized are not made with the intention of securing privileges for these workers: they are inspired by the desire to enable them to make the greatest possible contribution to the early relief of masses of human beings in distress; and the greatest possible contribution means the maximum physical effort throughout the period of preliminary relief measures, which may last for several months; and this in turn means making the transport workers as mobile as possible during the time required to get transport working again, which may also last months. It should be remembered that some of them will have been forcibly separated for years from their families, to meet the needs of the enemy; and many of these men will have to be asked to continue voluntarily to make the same sacrifice, in the interests of the liberated peoples, by working in the ports and on the roads and railways, because there will be a shortage of men and women capable of running the transport services. The greatest possible contribution also means working hard to accelerate the reunion of dispersed families, without claiming any favours for their own. It means running risks at the very moment when they expected, with the end of the war, an end to all danger.

These efforts and sacrifices will be necessary to save the population of Europe, and the transport workers will make them all the more willingly, and with greater effect, if they are put physically into fit state to perform their task.

P. T.

The idea of nationality which, with that of democracy, dominated the political pattern of men's lives throughout the nineteenth century has—despite its temporary revival in the war of 1914-18 which gave birth to so many small nation states—no revolutionary place in the twentieth century. That is not to say that national patriotism will not survive this war and that it has not still, in some of its manifestations, an important and valuable part to play in the history of mankind. But it is to say that the idea, which so much typified nineteenth-century democracy, that freedom meant national freedom, that independence meant sovereign independence of national groups however small, and that the nation state was the sole vessel within which the great conception of democracy could be contained has ceased to be a revolutionary idea. . . . It has, instead, become a reactionary idea. . . . The political idea of nationality has come into head-on collision with the economic need for organization on a world, or at the very least a continental, scale if the whole system of international exchange by which we live is not to be completely wrecked. The medley of national states which once contained within themselves many men's idea of freedom have become a hindrance to man's progress; their frontiers are chains which trip him up whenever he seeks to step out boldly towards the future.

Francis Williams: *War by Revolution.*

AIR RAID THAT MADE US FRIENDS

By JOHN MARCHBANK

Vice-President of the I.T.F. and ex-General Secretary of the British National Union of Railwaymen.

At the present moment the trade-unionists of the world have their eyes fixed on two countries—Italy, where the Fascist regime is showing the first serious signs of collapse, and Soviet Russia, whose magnificent soldiers and workers are putting up a successful fight against Nazi Germany, and calling upon the soldiers and workers of the western world to increase their exertions and help to hasten victory. Both these countries figure prominently in the history of the International Transportworkers' Federation. The Vice-President of the I.T.F. has recalled this in a timely article printed in "Reynold's News" (London), of 8 August, 1943, which we reprint below with the kind permission of the Editor.

Italy was raided from the air as long ago as 1930—but the raid was of a very different character from those of 1943.

The transport workers of the democratic world, organized in the International Transportworkers' Federation, planned and carried out this "attack" as part of the struggle to help Italy's workers resist Mussolini.

Leaflets bearing a manifesto from the Federation were dropped by plane to the Italian workers. Significantly, one copy of the manifesto came back to the I.T.F. headquarters with a note written on the margin: "We have to look to you. It is impossible for us to move."

The airman, Giovanni Bassanesi, himself an Italian, who made the daring "confetti raid" on Milan in 1930, wrote to the I.T.F.: "By the magnanimous and effective help it has extended to the Italian people, struggling under and to free itself from the yoke of Fascism, the I.T.F. has earned the highest honour, the proudest title which can fall to an international organization."

That help—and the above is but a tiny part of it—has not been forgotten by the Italian workers. These bonds of solidarity cannot be broken. In them lies the basis for confidence that, in the near future, strong and free Trade Unions will again be established in Italy.

Not only has the International Transportworkers' Federation aided the Italian workers. It has given what help it could to the Spanish, German, Polish and all other victims of Fascism. Justly can it claim to be the pioneer trade-union organization in the fight against Fascism.

That is why it was an historic step when, at the beginning of this war, the I.T.F. established its headquarters in Britain. Removal of the headquarters from the Continent not only testified to the foresight of the Federation's leaders, but was characteristic of the militancy and deep understanding of the issues involved in this world struggle that distinguished the organization during the whole period between the two wars.

Much that the I.T.F. has done during this war cannot yet be told. It has maintained underground connections with militant groups of workers in all the occupied countries, and in the enemy States. But for obvious reasons neither its methods of work underground, nor its connections with the brave and resolute comrades who are carrying on the fight for freedom in Nazi-ruled Europe can be revealed just yet.

After the last war the I.T.F. was the first trade-union organization to break with the pre-1914 idea that the International Trade Union Movement must keep aloof from what were regarded as purely political questions. So far from accepting this view, the I.T.F. deliberately took the lead in the struggle against war, militarism and dictatorship. It saw clearly what dictatorship involved for the working class.

That its view was right has been confirmed by working-class experience in the Fascist countries and in the countries overrun by the Fascist warmongers. The Trade Union Movement was among the first victims of these new régimes of terror and violence.

By virtue of its genuine international character and profound Socialist convictions, the I.T.F. was armed against the disastrous shortsightedness that made people say: "It can't happen here."

When Mussolini undertook his march on Rome in October, 1922, the prevailing view in the International Labour Movement was that this event was a purely Italian affair, about which the workers' organizations in other countries need not be deeply worried. History has avenged this deplorable shortsightedness, in teaching to the workers of all countries the lesson that for the Labour Movement isolation spells suicide.

Space prevents me detailing the way the I.T.F. bore the brunt of a series of actions in the struggle that swept over Europe after the last war. But none should forget the boycott organized by the Transport Workers against Hungary in the period of the White Terror, and the stoppage of the shipment of munitions to Poland for use against Russia in 1920. Again, in 1923, when preparatory steps had been taken to stop the transport of ammunition in case of a new attack upon Soviet Russia, the first measure of co-operation was taken between the I.T.F. and the All-Russian Unions of Transport Workers, Railwaymen and Seamen in the setting up of a Joint Committee against War and Fascism.

It is significant that the first step taken by the International Trade Union Movement towards co-operation with the Soviet Union in the fight against Fascism was taken by leaders of the I.T.F. twenty years ago.

At the same time—mark the date, May, 1923—a second joint manifesto entitled "Against Fascism" emphasized a need which has lost nothing of its urgency. It appealed "to the Transport Workers, and also to the whole working class of all countries, to put an end to all petty strife, to establish the unity of the Trade Union Movement and thus take the first step in a systematic and ruthless struggle against Fascism and World Reaction."

These steps were taken on the personal initiative of the late Edo Fimmen, whose lamented death in December last was an irreparable loss to the I.T.F., whose general secretary he had been for the whole of the inter-war period. We owe it to Fimmen's great qualities of leadership that the I.T.F. took and held its foremost place in the struggle against Fascism.

It is the people's sweat that is to earn all the expense of war, and their blood which is to flow in expiation of the causes of it.

Thomas Jefferson.

THE RE-BIRTH OF SINKIANG

A home of primitive desert oases and a myriad of nomadic, little-known peoples, Sinkiang is, at one and the same time, the northwestern-most province of China and a part of Central Asia. The province is for the most part Mohammedan in religion, and, due to its geographical location, has been economically more dependent on Soviet Russia than on other parts of China. These and other factors have combined to bring about considerable Soviet influence in Sinkiang and to make it—though formally a part of China—practically a semi-autonomous area.

The name Sinkiang is a corrupted transliteration of "Hsin Chiang," a Chinese term meaning "The New Dominion." To-day Chinese know it as "Hsin Hsin Chiang," "The New New Dominion." Through the province run famous old caravan trails from adjacent Siberia, Russian Turkestan, and the North-west Frontier Province of India.

Modern communications have made the province aware of the stirring events in the outside world. The Sino-Soviet commercial air service between Chungking and Alma Ata, and touching Hami and Ti-hua, has established regular aviation contacts throughout Eurasia. Fourteen new wireless and eight new radio stations have brought the province within easy communications range of the most distant points on the continent. There were 1,075 kilometers of telegraph wire set up, 2,206 kilometers of old lines repaired, and 2,160 kilometers of telephone lines constructed during the first three-year plan. Through these facilities, the Chinese and Russian official news services "Central News" and "Tass" have been funnelled and bring up-to-date information to the provincial capital for public dissemination.

The most significant advances have been those in the field of road transportation. Century old caravan routes between China and Russia through Sinkiang have been

readapted to modern truck travel. The only truck highway in Sinkiang before 1933 is said to have run but a short distance from the provincial capital, and there were only some twenty military trucks in the whole area. But Chinese reports stated that by 1938 the following truck roads had been completed and had been put into use in North Sinkiang:

Main Roads	Branch Lines	Termini	Distance (in km)
Ti-J		Ti-hua and I-Ji	720
Ti-Hsing		Ti-hua and Hsing-hsing-hsia	750
Ti-T'a		Ti-hua and T'a-ch'eng	690
	Ti-Tu	Ti-hua and Turfan	1,840
	Tu-Ch'i	Turfan and Ch'i-chioching-tzu	
	T'a-Ch'eng	T'a-ch'eng and Ch'eng-hua	
TOTAL			4,000 km.

In addition repairs and reconstruction were undertaken over more than 3,000 kilometers of what is called "dry line" between Ti-hua and Khotan (running via Ti-hua, Yen-ch'i, K'u-ch'e, Aksu, and K'o-shih to Khotan). A transport control office of the provincial government, which had over 400 trucks of its own in 1938, maintains control and repair stations on every line; by the latter date, the equivalent of well over \$500,000 U.S. currency had been expended on such work. By 1941 it was reported that there were altogether 3,000 trucks engaged in Sinkiang transport, figures on additional road improvements or construction undertaken since have not yet been obtained. Truck transport that now connects Ti-hua with Soviet Russia and other parts of China runs principally from T'a-ch'eng (on the Russian border) through Ti-hua to Hsing-hsing-hsia (on the border of Chinese Kansu). In South Sinkiang there is also important Soviet contact with Kashgar from Andijan and the Terek Pass in Russian Turkestan.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

A great deal is being heard nowadays about Democracy and the necessity of preserving it, and naturally the first question that occurs to one is, "What is Democracy?" For lack of a better definition we will take the old one made famous by Abraham Lincoln, and say that Democracy is "government of the people, by the people, for the people." But the greater part of the life of a people is spent at work, and unless the principle enunciated by Lincoln runs in the fields, the factories, the offices and the workshops, it is useless to expect it to exist elsewhere, for the whole of a man's life depends ultimately upon the sort of existence he leads whilst at work.

No one will maintain by any stretch of the imagination that modern industry can be called "democratic": it is sheer autocracy, tempered by the power of trade union-

ism. There is no pretence made of "government of the workers, by the workers, for the workers," and any "captain of industry" will tell you that the whole idea is preposterous. All capitalist industry depends upon the existence of a class that sells its labour power, and by that sale signs away, theoretically—and despite trade unionism very often practically—any rights it may possess outside the office or workshop. Once the factory buzzer has sounded, all pretence of democracy goes.

What has really happened is that in response to the growing economic pressure of the workers, expressed through trade unionism in its various forms, the class that controls politics, because of its control of the instruments of production, distribution and exchange, has in its own interests given to the workers the shadow of freedom without the substance. Political democracy is founded to-day, not upon the fact of economic equality and industrial self-government, but upon the old principle that in a struggle the dominant party often finds it politic

I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering the power they possess and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to fix new burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost.

Abraham Lincoln.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RAILROAD RELIEF

By **E. M. MOSIER**

Grand Secretary and Treasurer of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers in the U.S.A.

The Railway Labour Executives' Association has launched a movement called the American-European Railroad Relief. I am satisfied that I could not better outline the reasons for launching this movement, nor set them out to you more concisely than has been done by President Robertson of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in a communication he has sent to his members on this subject, and I am therefore quoting that letter:

"Railroad workers in Europe, including Germany, have been the backbone of Hitler's opposition. Many have been shot or consigned to concentration camps for sabotage. But in spite of Hitler's brutality these brave men and women carry on.

"These deserving people are now in dire need of assistance. The organizations represented in the Railway Labour Executives' Association have agreed to co-operate in the setting up of an American-European Railroad Relief in order that the railroad employees in the the United States and Canada may have the opportunity through their own organizations to make contributions which would go direct to those in need.

"This effort on our part will cheer the courageous people in every subjugated country and encourage them to hold fast to their hopes for a world of peace and harmony. By this stimulation of hope and courage they, and we, will contribute to the shortening of the war's duration. By helping them we relieve their suffering, and by strengthening them we weaken Hitler and the other Axis aggressors.

"Thus far, and despite their persecution, the conquered people have succeeded in maintaining a spirited resistance. Our purpose is to further inspire them. We

can succeed. But we need the active financial and moral support of the officers and members of the affiliated railway labour organizations in order to accomplish the objective.

"It is, therefore, suggested that each member who can see his way clear to do so, make a contribution of 25 cents, which will be placed in the American-European Railroad Relief Fund to be used only for the purpose herein described. All such contributions should be mailed to the Grand Secretary-Treasurer, and the sender should give his name and indicate that the contribution is for the American European Railroad Relief.

"This relief programme for European railroad employees is to be handled by the Railway Labour Executives' Association with the sympathetic and close co-operation of the United States Government. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the R.L.E.A. will be custodian of the fund, but the distribution will be made under the supervision of a sub-committee of the R.L.E.A.

"I desire to assure our members that this matter has been a subject of extended and detailed investigation by a sub-committee of the R.L.E.A., of which the International President is a member. It is an undertaking filled with opportunities to assist in many ways in the prosecution of the war by providing relief for the employees in the service of the railroads still operating in Europe.

"Although this is an appeal to the individual officers and members of our Brotherhood to make a direct contribution to the American-European Railroad Relief, there is nothing to prevent a group of members of a lodge or the entire lodge from getting together and making

(Continued on page 44, at the foot of first column)

to surrender something of little value as a security for the retention of something fundamental.

In a sense it is true that any extension of the franchise represents an advance by the workers in their struggle for freedom, for such an extension does mark the fact that the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange have been compelled to meet their enemy in their gate. The fly in the ointment, however, is that they hold the gate. Outside are the workers, possessed of sufficient economic power to win a formal recognition of equality on the political plane; holding the gate are the few who, through their possession of a dominating economic power, dictate how far that formal political equality shall have play. It is the gate that matters, and the struggle for its possession must be waged on the economic field.

There can be no real "government of the people, by the people, for the people," in what is called politics unless the government finds full expression in the economic life of a community. The road to freedom lies

not through the polling-booth, but through the workshop gates. Until this simple fact is appreciated by the workers they will be forced to fight on a terrain that is favourable to their opponents. An appreciation of it will at once lead to an alteration both of the issues and of the methods employed. To gain economic freedom involves the workers in the task of securing economic power, and, having once secured it, of employing it on the economic field. Just in so far as the workers rely on the vote as the primary weapon, they recognise that the value of the vote is in proportion to their industrial and economic strength, they will succeed.

From The New Zealand Railway Officer's Advocate.

The boundaries of democracy have to be widened now so as to include economic equality also. This is the great revolution through which we are all passing. The revolution to ensure economic equality and thus to give democracy its full meaning, and to bring ourselves in line with the advance of science and technology.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

NORWEGIAN RAILWAYMEN DON'T YIELD

By KURT D. SINGER

Norway to-day, after more than three years of occupation by German troops, is the country above all others in Nazi-dominated Europe that is carrying on effective resistance. Almost daily the press of the outside world carries reports of sabotage on the Oslo-Bergen railway, of the cutting of the radio power lines and cables, of murders of Quisling supporters; and of Norwegian girls who, found keeping company with Germans, have their hair cut off.

To-day Quisling's Nazis sit in the gorgeous building of the railway union in Oslo, and the struggle of the Norwegian railway workers for their rights and their union is being conducted under the leadership of an underground organization.

Finn Bratli, representative of the Oslo Railwaymen's Union was arrested in June, 1941, for opposing the Nazis. With him were arrested for "sabotage at the Oslo Central station" 150 members of his organization and 20 members of the Engineering Workers' Union.

Ludwik Buland, the courageous president of the Norwegian Railwaymen's Union, was arrested together with the president of the Engineering Workers' Union, Josef Larson. Both were sentenced to death but, probably out of fear of revolt among the railway workers, the sentence was changed to life imprisonment.

Nazi Governor Joseph Terboven, an intimate friend of Hermann Goering, ordered the bank accounts of the railwaymen's unions to be confiscated. As the next step, the new Nazi commissioner for all railwaymen's unions required that all railway employees be forbidden to leave their jobs.

Despite the danger of employing Norwegian railway workers, the critical shortage of manpower forces the Nazis increasingly to depend on their avowed foes.

Average wages for railway workers are thirty cents an

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hour, but there are so many deductions for taxes of one kind or another, compulsory savings, health and unemployment insurance, etc., that the final weekly stipend never exceeds eight or ten dollars. Working clothes and other gear are almost unobtainable?

* * *

Shortage of lubricants it is reported results in journals running hot and trains often have to stop between stations to give them attention. Firemen are allotted a closely calculated allowance of coal for each run. The shortage of basic building materials, metals, lubricants, and fuel has caused a catastrophic situation in the Norwegian railway system. Damaged and worn tracks are repaired with old materials secured by tearing up other lines considered for the moment less essential by the occupation authorities and the commander of the German railway engineering corps.

The shortage of rails and switches presents the most acute problem. The ties used are old, broken and often partly rotted. The shortage of engines is equally serious, many of them having been sent to Nazi-Germany. Only 50 per cent of the total number of Norwegian locomotives are still in Norway, and they are in bad condition.

The poor condition of the locomotives is due largely to the lack of good lubricants, which has resulted in rapid deterioration of railway machinery. The frequent shortage of coal during the past winter, electricity restrictions, sabotage, and the lasting severe frosts, caused repeated cancellations of train schedules, curtailment in the number of cars used, and complete irregularity and disorganization of traffic.

When railway workers threatened to strike, participation in strikes was made punishable by imprisonment. The men announced then that they had no intention of supporting nazified railway unions, and started a strike on payment of dues.

One day Quisling announced that 10,000 Norwegian railway workers could have employment in Germany. The unions printed and distributed thousands of leaflets warning members against the offer. Instead of 10,000, Quisling was able to send only 175 railway workers to Germany, and then only by resorting to strict compulsion. His answer to this tactic on the part of the workers was a demand that in the future all railway union leaders must be members of his "Nasjonal Samling" (Norwegian Nazi Party). The railway unions replied that they would prefer dissolving their organizations rather than submit to such requirement.

German military power has not been able to break the spirit of Norwegian labour. In spite of the Nazi-controlled press and radio, and in spite of spying and jail and death sentences, the men and women and children of Norway stand firm in their opposition to the tyrants and their henchmen.

The lines on the Norwegian home front are holding—the railwaymen stand in the front line.

From *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineer's Magazine*.

SHIPS COME FIRST

By HELEN FULLER

In February, the Maritime Unions of the U.S.A., affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) submitted a detailed plan for increasing shipping efficiency. In a fat document, the unions forcefully presented their ideas as to how every single ton of American ship capacity could be made to count most effectively against the Axis. The points they made were well known to everyone concerned with shipping. But most of the specific proposals either had not been thought of or had not been seriously considered before. Although a Truman Committee report on ship-building and shipping has been issued since the Maritime Union's report, the latter remains the most constructive shipping plan yet offered.

The shipping plan estimates that a 25 per cent increase in cargo delivery could be effected by putting their recommendations into action. Such a suggestion deserves the most serious consideration. The unions say that although the War Shipping Administration accepted delivery of their plan, acknowledged it, and even put some of the recommendations into effect on paper, there is practically no tangible evidence that the major faults have been corrected.

The plan called for improvements in :

Allocation of Space and Cargo Assembly. Every recommendation is predicated upon full control of merchant shipping by a single civilian agency, the War Shipping Administration, and the return to the W.S.A. of ships now run by the army, the navy and other agencies. The plan also calls for full W.S.A. control, contrary to present practice, of assembly of cargo, including docks, terminals and warehouses. The theoretical goal of maximum use of shipping space calls for assembling a full cargo for a specific vessel at one point, together with sufficient labour and equipment to load it on departure and unload it on arrival. The fact that the army, the navy and Lend-Lease have their own cargo assembly depots, as well as the W.S.A., means that ships often have to move from pier to pier in a given port to load, each move wasting from twelve to twenty-four hours, with five or six separate stop-overs, a not unusual feature in certain Eastern ports.

As regards space allocation, the War Shipping Administration has full authority on paper, but in reality the army, the navy, Lend-Lease and some other agencies fight for jurisdiction over ship allocation. The union cite this example: "A vessel under direction of the army completed its outbound voyage, docking at a port in Nigeria. In the same port where the vessel was discharged, the docks were stacked with crude rubber awaiting shipment to the United States. Because the vessel was under the direction of the army, and no instructions were issued to pick up return cargo, the ship left without the rubber, sailed down the Gold Coast, took on ballast and returned to the United States."

Longshore Operations and Labour Supply. The "shape-up" system in New York Harbour still stands in the way

of full use of available longshoremen at any given time. Co-ordination of transportation, warehousing and loading is still lacking to the degree required for bringing cargo into the best possible position for straight-away loading.

Manning and Operation. The W.A.S.'s biggest manning job lies in recruiting experienced former seamen for the scores of skilled jobs now vacant and requiring immediate filling. In the next three months we are going to need 20 per cent more men than we now have in the merchant marine, mostly engineers, mates or other licensed seamen. Current training programmes can supply perhaps three-fourths of the required number, mostly in the unlicensed ranks. To fill this gap successfully we should get older men back into the service, and should institute a vigorous upgrading programme with full co-operation from the unions. Such mistakes as the advertising campaign of last September, which called for experienced seamen and netted several thousand replies, only to reject them all after it became clear that training-school graduates could fill the vacancies, cannot be allowed to recur if the W.S.A.'s appeals are to be taken seriously by old salts.

In recent months ships have not been able to sail from American ports because of shortages in man-power. These delays meant waits in getting vital supplies to men in our front lines, and they will continue until private pools of seamen are broken up, until hoarding is abolished, until army and navy vessels taken from the merchant pool are put under the control of the W.S.A. and co-ordinated with all other operations.

Loading and Unloading in Foreign Ports. Unlike the Truman Committee, the C.I.O. maritime unions in their report admit the practical difficulty of effecting much improvement in foreign-port shipping operations. Ballast pools can be organized to do away with the supposed necessity of carrying thousands of pounds of sandbags from American ports to ship destinations and back again. Unloading and loading at foreign ports can be better organized by installing adequate machinery and sending out skilled longshoremen from this country to direct operations. But practical difficulties will still outweigh these possibilities in most cases; the maritime unions therefore urge primary attention to the home situation in which improvements can more easily be put into effect.

From *The New Republic*.

It is better that men should think of themselves more in terms of their occupations, professions and business, and meet the nationals of other countries on that basis, and be less conscious in all their activities of their differences as Englishmen, Germans or Frenchmen. The identification of all the interests and activities of a country with its political sovereignty, and the political authority which controls its armed forces is the greatest of all the ultimate dangers.

Sir Arthur Salter.

FACING THE PROBLEMS OF ASIA

By **WOUSAOFONG**

Dr. Wousaofong is a prominent representative of the Chinese colony in the United States. He is Secretary-General of the Asia League of America and was formerly a member of the Political Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva.

The purpose of the recently founded Asia League of America is to promote co-operation among all groups vitally interested in a solution of the problems of Asia. It has an immediate platform and a far-reaching ideal, which is the realization of the principles of political democracy, economic democracy and international democracy.

We understand political democracy to mean a system under which the government is a true expression of the popular will, and is controlled by freely elected representatives of the people. Such a government should also assure essential rights to the individual, without distinction of race, colour or creed. In our opinion, the form of democracy which operates in the present democratic countries of the world is not adequate. Because of the lack of economic democracy the rich have practically every freedom and the poor have nearly none. Furthermore, democratic rights are enjoyed only by the citizens of the colonial powers, but not by the subjects of their colonies.

Political democracy should be completed by economic democracy. The application of economic democracy should permit the equitable distribution of wealth and freedom of education. Economic democracy aims especially at the elimination of unemployment and the assurance to all individuals of adequate food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

By international democracy we mean equality of all races and peoples and the application of the same standards to every nation, particularly in the matter of the distribution of raw materials, of collective security and disarmament. Finally, in our opinion, no nation, however powerful, can be absolutely secure without an international organization based on equality of peoples and collective security.

It is necessary to emphasize the character of interdependence of political, economic and international democracy. For without international democracy, without co-operation between peoples on the basis of racial equality and collective security, no political or economic democracy can last. Without political democracy, which is the anti-thesis of totalitarianism, international and economic democracy is impossible. The nature of autocracy is to create privileged classes and privileged nations by means of force. Finally, without economic democracy, political democracy is simply an illusion. For actually no citizen can enjoy political equality without enjoying equal economic opportunities.

As far as the immediate political platform of the Asia League of America is concerned, our first task is to support the United Nations in winning the war, and especially in winning the peace. We are convinced that without the destruction of the Fascist powers far-reaching social ideals are an illusion. But no lasting peace

can be won without the establishment of a world organization for international co-operation predicated upon the principles of racial equality and the inclusion of all nations in a universal system of collective security. We are also convinced that the future security of the Asian countries can be guaranteed only by an international peace organization.

To promote the growth of democratic institutions and processes among the peoples of Asia is also one of our important tasks. For no progressive man can have the faith to struggle for the freedom of the Asian countries if he is not convinced that the Asian peoples will also be free from domestic oppression, political and economic. Our task is also to further political, economic, cultural and technological co-operation among Asians, as well as between the peoples of Asia and the rest of the world.

The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter should be applied on a world-wide scale embracing Asia. If this is not done, our soldiers at the fronts will lose their lives in vain.

To further the cause of independence for all countries of Asia now subject to the domination of foreign powers, is our most vital concern. We commend the attitude and relationship of the United States to the Philippines as a model for all colonial powers. Assistance, co-operation and even supervision, whenever and wherever required in the interests of any Asian people, should be extended by a world organization, under conditions which would obviate the abuses of the mandate principle as an instrument of power politics. The sad experience of the League of Nations must be made to benefit future generations.

We recognize that the homelessness of the Jewish people and the oppression to which they are subjected in many lands create a unique situation which calls for a just and energetic solution. To restore to the Jewish people their homeland, Palestine, is the most rational solution conceivable.

This is the far-reaching ideal and immediate political platform of the Asia League of America.

Among our friends there has been recently some talk of China emerging as the leader of Asia, as if China wished the mantle of an unworthy Japan to fall on her shoulders. Having herself been the victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for the submerged nations of Asia, and towards them China feels that she has only responsibilities, not rights.

China has no desire to replace western imperialism in Asia with oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own. Unless real world co-operation replaces both isolation and imperialism, in a new inter-dependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security.

Chiang Kai-shek.

LABOUR'S STAKE IN THE POST-WAR WORLD ORGANIZATION

By OSCAR JASZI

Professor of Social Science, Oberlin College, U.S.A.

There is something in the very nature of the working class which, sufficiently enlightened and organized, could constitute a bulwark of international justice and peace. First of all, working people constitute a dissatisfied element which feels that its potentialities have not been fully developed and its services not justly compensated. Labour has an international aim and must use international means of co-operation. Furthermore, it has never been in favour of the theory of unrestricted national sovereignty. Finally, labour has always been a party for change, involved as it is in the revolutionary transformation of the process of production. The main problem, therefore, is how these dynamic and international tendencies inherent in labour can be made more conscious and utilized for a better world order.

The world is not yet a unity, but it is surely accelerating towards larger integrations. There is a growing number of economic, social and cultural problems which can be solved only through international co-operation. The United Nations constitute at the present time only a political nebula which could easily be disrupted by antagonistic forces. But it is not beyond the possibilities of the victorious powers to lay down institutional foundations for real world co-operation which could lead to the solidification of that nebula into a kind of a stable solar system. If the leading nations of the world could agree upon some broad principles of economic and social policy, and above all of a common military organization for repelling aggression, this would surely be the dawn of a new world order which the smaller nations, trembling for their independence and security, would joyfully follow.

Inside of the general framework of this new World Organization there will be a necessity for regional organizations, comprehending those parts of the world which have closer common interests and traditions. For it has become evident that in the future small independent states cannot survive, unless they are included in an organized system of mutual protection and economic co-operation, based on the principle of equality. Only so could the great values of independent nationhood be conserved. But it is equally manifest that our world is not yet sufficiently united in common interests and values to have a united government which could take universal decisions concerning all problems. In the case of the U.S.A., the British Commonwealth and the U.S.S.R. we see already such gigantic integrations representing very different forms of federalism. This process will necessarily continue all over the world. For the near future some sort of a European unification is of the greatest importance. There can be no peace and prosperity in Europe until two things are achieved: the establishment of a European free trade area and the prohibition of any single, independent national army. A European council could successfully work in this direction, provided that it is not simply a council of the various governments, standing at attention for the command of the Big Three, but one in which all the full-fledged democracies have real representation.

Regional federations should not be regarded as inde-

pendent units. The World Organization should establish as much co-ordination and community of fundamental principles as possible. As some of the great powers have legitimate interests outside of the federation which they lead, not even the beginning of a healthy European integration can be imagined without the wholehearted support of Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The same is true of any effort for the promotion of a Far Eastern unification. Even inside of these broad regional integrations there will remain certain economic, national, racial, or cultural problems which will call for the establishment of more restricted co-operation in the form of some federal structure. But this idea of local federations could easily be abused. We must watch carefully that they correspond to real economic and cultural interests and are not used as hidden instruments for future power politics. Therefore, we should clearly emphasize that no Catholic block under Hapsburg, or any other combination, should be tolerated if it aims to serve as a kind of bulwark or *cordon sanitaire* against the U.S.S.R. or Germany or any other state.

In all these international organizations democracy and labour in particular face a great danger. These organizations should not become exclusively governmental agencies; they should be directed and controlled by public opinion. But as long as the necessary forces for such an organization are still lacking, at least a sufficient representation of all the productive groups should be provided in the organs of decision and execution. Essential for labour would be the regional and industrial decentralization of the work of the I.L.O., regional conferences for Europe, Asia and Africa, and industrial conferences for particular industries. Without an adequate check on governments and bureaucratic centralization no effective international co-operation is imaginable. There is no possibility for a durable peace as long as the great majority in many countries are illiterate or economically exploited. Labour must, therefore, carefully watch that the old rulers, responsible for Fascism and Nazism, are not restored, but that the door is opened for constructive popular energies, either through carefully planned reconstruction, or—if the United Nations fail—through revolutionary changes. Labour should not concur in a policy which would use the occupational forces as instruments to quench popular movements for liberation.

In international planning labour must stretch its imagination and avoid the danger of self-complacency. For the real problem is what will happen twenty or thirty years after victory. It is not enough to crush Germany or Japan; we must give them new and better opportunities for life; otherwise they, or other states which are at present insignificant, will become the leaders of new armed coalitions. Therefore, the main objective of labour in the struggles ahead should be not the magic formula of security but the understanding that security without justice is neither realizable nor desirable.

From an Address delivered on June 12th, 1943, before the American Labour Conference on International Affairs in New York.

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 food for thought and because it may contribute towards a clarification of thought.

Our quotation this time is taken from "Shipping World"—the "Oldest (British) Weekly Journal devoted to shipping, shipbuilding, marine engineering, ship repairing, insurance and finance." It comments on current events as printed below, timidly disclosing the awkward position in which British shipping interests will be placed by the American ally, which apparently insists on pursuing its shipping interests along capitalist lines after the war. Our readers are invited to ponder on the consequences of such a policy which, of course, cannot be envisaged as limited only to this field of economic activity, but must, mutatis mutandis, inevitably cover other fields.

U.S.A. PLANS.

While official spokesmen on this side of the Atlantic refuse to come to grips with the problem of the future of British shipping, definite plans have been prepared in the United States for the ownership and operation of the vast volume of tonnage which is now being launched from American shipyards, and those plans take into account the continued support of the shipbuilding industry which has now reached such vast proportions. In advance of the comprehensive study that is being undertaken by the Maritime Commission, Admiral Emory Land, the directing brain of the Commission, has set forth in precise terms the post-war programme :

1. Private ownership, private operation and private construction.
2. Ship American : Travel American.
3. Ship a reasonable percentage of overseas traffic in American bottoms.
4. Set up proper routes, lines, and services with a minimum of American competition, as foreign flags will furnish all possible competition necessary.
5. Study seriously indirect lines, as other leading maritime nations have done. The United States has every right to compete on the indirect lines.
6. Modify previous Maritime Commission policy by thoroughly considering and adopting tramp shipping.
7. Maintain for the duration the present policy of holding title to new ships.

It was an American who declared that what railways are to the inhabitants of the American Continent, ships are to the people of the British Isles and maritime Commonwealth. Admiral Land, however, bases his claims not on his country's dependence on sea transport, but on its population, urging that 135,000,000 men, women and children are entitled to have at their disposal approximately 20,000,000 tons of shipping—presumably deadweight—supported by a large shipbuilding industry, both shipping and shipbuilding being subsidized in order to meet foreign competition, for Admiral Land foresees competition on the sea routes. But the main fact to be commended to the theoretical planners in this country is that he declares for "private ownership, private operation and private construction."

PLEA FOR SUBSIDIES.

Those who are making plans for the maritime industries of the United States do not attempt to conceal their conclusion that subsidies must be paid. Admiral Vickery, vice-chairman of the Commission, has explained the official attitude towards subsidies. The Commission has in the past endeavoured, he has stated, to assist private enterprise in providing a healthy shipping and shipbuilding industry, and this objective survives unchanged as a primary post-war aim. "But there seems to be little doubt that our shipping and shipbuilding industries will require Governmental assistance in the future much the same as they have in the past." In the field of international transportation, cargo and passenger rates are determined, he added, by those of the operator with the lowest costs. "Since Americans have always refused to be satisfied with anything but the best, we have built ships unsurpassed in their construction, equipment and appointments. This extra quality, however, cannot be had without paying a premium." He concluded that American ships were more expensive than

those built abroad because American labour costs were higher in construction of ships and their operation. American ship operators, therefore, had a financial handicap at the outset in competing with foreign lines. "Experience has shown that this handicap is sufficient to drive American shipping off the seas, if the people of this country are unwilling to give our merchant marine the same support in the form of subsidies that they have long given our farms and factories in the nature of high price levels maintained by tariffs on imports." Finally, he claimed that a subsidized merchant marine was a consistent part of their national economic structure, and that without it America's activities in international commerce would be dictated by others. "But, regardless of the economic aspects, a merchant marine second to none is as necessary to our national defence as a first-class Navy . . . and we subsidize our Navy 100 per cent."

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

Much is heard of the Atlantic Charter, especially on this side of the "Herring Pond," from Left Wing politicians. They interpret it as signifying the application of free trade conditions by all nations to manufacture and transport, each country making the contribution to the common pool which it can do with the most efficiency and the greatest economy. They assume that all tariffs and subsidies will be abolished, except in very special circumstances, the greatest good of the greatest number being adopted as the guiding principle in commerce and transport. That that is not the meaning which officials of the Maritime Commission attach to the Atlantic Charter is apparent. It is admitted that some countries can build and operate ships cheaper than the Americans and, therefore, it is urged that the differential should be made good out of the national Treasury, while shippers will be urged to use tonnage flying the Stars and Stripes. We have no complaint to make of the candour of the official exponents of American shipping policy. It clears the air and should be beneficial to writers and speakers in this country who persistently refuse to face unpleasant facts. While they talk platitudes, Americans are getting on with realistic planning on the assumption that the people of the United States, acting through Congress, will endorse those plans, providing such funds as may be necessary for the maintenance of a large ship-building industry and the operation by private enterprise of merchant fleets of 20,000,000 tons deadweight. Whether that figure includes the ships engaged in the traffic of the Great Lakes as well as the coastal shipping has not been made clear. It is apparent that there is a good case for discussion between British and American shipping authorities, since the differential problem, as British owners know to their cost, is not exclusively one that concerns the shipping and shipbuilding of the Republic.

WHAT THE COMINTERN RAN AGROUND ON

The deep differences in the historic paths of development of various countries, in their character and social orders, in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, and in the degree of consciousness and organization of the workers, conditioned the different problems facing the working-class of the various countries.

From *The Resolution dissolving the Comintern.*