



ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

CROSSLAND FOSSE
BOX END
KEMPSTON
BEDFORD
England

Affiliated Unions in :

ALGERIA
ARGENTINA
AUSTRALIA
BELGIUM
CANADA
CHINA
DENMARK
DUTCH EAST INDIES
DUTCH GUIANA
ESTONIA
FINLAND
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
HUNGARY
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

The Transition from War to Peace Economy

THE transition from a war to a peace economy raises a problem which will be increasingly discussed as time goes on. An immediate stimulus to such discussion is given by the phase which belligerent operations have reached; a stimulus, therefore, that is determined by the time factor. And it goes hand in hand with another that can be ascribed to the stage of development of war economy; a development that has now led to such a transformation of the economic structure of 1939-1942 that the resulting war economy is based on the waging of total war by the United Nations. The magnitude, form and character of the divergences of present economic relations and activities from those of the pre-war period can now be established. The basis upon which the transition to a peace economy will be accomplished is no longer an unknown quantity, and it is economically equilibrated.

It would be wrong, however, to assume, from the certainty that has been reached with regard to the factual position, that we already know how the transition from the present war economy to the future peace economy will be accomplished in practice. There are still a number of other factors that will come into play that are of very great, and possibly decisive importance for a solution of this problem; factors that still lie hidden in the lap of the future. In the first place it should not be forgotten that the war-time economic relations that have been brought about by the United Nations are not the only ones that will determine the fate of the world. A great part of the world is subject to the war economy of the fascist powers, which has effected still more fundamental divergences from the conditions previously prevailing than has that of the United Nations. From this fact alone it follows that a defeat of Germany and Japan in itself affords no guarantee of a transition from war economy to a peace economy on lines that would be possible on the side of the United Nations.

What, however, is above all of decisive importance for this transition, and which applies equally to both of the camps into which the world is now divided, is what we should like to call the qualitative factor. It reduces itself to the question of *what kind of peace economy*. As more attention is devoted to the problem of the transition from war to peace economy, the closer will its appreciation be bound up with the question of whether its qualification is to be *capitalist or socialist economy*. No peace economy is conceivable that would be neutral in respect of this qualification. This also applies, indeed, to war economy, whose pattern is either essentially capitalistic—in spite of all controls—as in the United States or United Kingdom, or collectivist, as in Soviet Russia. The only possible, and historically admissible change in the basis of the economic system, in relation to the transition from war to peace economy, is that from an essentially capitalistic war economy to an essentially socialistic peace economy.

In the long run, therefore, this transition problem cannot be dealt with without raising the question of what kind of peace economy. The only alternative, when discussing the matter, is to try as far as possible to avoid coming down definitely on the side of either capitalistic or socialistic peace economy, and—for the time being at least—the matter is largely dealt with on these lines. It is generally done in this way. In the first place it is admitted that the pre-war peace economy suffered from a number of serious shortcomings, such as mass unemployment, too great inequality in the distribution of income, inadequate utilization of material or potential resources, socially harmful monopolistic practices, risk of deep depressions, etc. Then means are sought that it is hoped might serve to eliminate, or at least considerably diminish, these shortcomings. These means generally amount to improving or facilitating processes that have already operated, may be inadequately, in the past—e.g. trade, credit, debt and currency policies, industrialization, access to raw materials, public works, migration, etc. And to all this there is generally added a recognition of the necessity of closer international co-operation, sometimes accompanied by a plea for the creation of new, or reform of existing, international agencies; whose basis, however, is for the time being allowed to float in a political vacuum.

Of the publications exploring the subject in this way none is more worthy of praise than the Report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions, Part I, published by the League of Nations, about four months ago, under the title of *The Transition from War to Peace Economy*. It is the work of an international committee, a fact which in itself promises a wider outlook on the economic fate of the world than if the subject had been studied from a purely national point of view. The report starts out from a number of considerations which are entirely prompted by the prominent place which the study of the phenomenon of economic depressions takes in the task of the Delegation. It premises that the war threatens to increase economic instability, and that consequently plans are necessary "if the risk of depression and unemployment is to be mitigated." Failing such plans a major post-war depression will "lead to a resumption of policies of intense economic nationalism." The Delegation, therefore, proposes an international plan as a more hopeful alternative to the "independent action by each country" which is foredoomed to failure.

However good this starting point may be as a whole, in relation to its purposes, it is

immediately obvious that it does not take into consideration the possibility of eliminating the capitalistic basis of the phenomenon of economic depression; and this characterizes the report—however interesting it may otherwise be from the expert's point of view—as one of the endeavours, to which we have already referred, to avoid as far as possible taking up any clear position as between capitalistic and socialistic peace economies. The Delegation is fearful of the future should there be no "high degree of statesmanship and courage on the part of those responsible for post-war policy"; for in that case the authors of the Report "have no doubt that a spurious 'realism', which ignores the effects of national policies on the interests of other countries, will be prevalent after the war as it has been in the past, and that the pressure of special interests in favour of self-regarding policies will again be strongly felt." We must admit that for the time being we see far more reason to expect the advent of this historic "spurious realism" than the "high degree of statesmanship and courage." We refrain from going into the question of whether the purposes of the Delegation are capable of being realized by means of these latter qualities on a capitalistic basis; though we are firmly convinced that so long as it is tacitly assumed that the peace economy will maintain such a capitalistic basis there is no reason to expect this saving statesmanship and courage to make its appearance at all. Such things do not occur on a basis that is historically obsolete, and to expect it is tantamount to a belief in miracles.

Even in the most intelligent endeavours to avoid taking up a clear position as between capitalistic and socialistic peace economies it is impossible to avoid revealing sometimes out of which ideological corner the wind is blowing. And so it is with this report of the League of Nations Delegation. It says, for instance, in connection with the

The Australian Council of The Australian Railways Union believes firmly and sincerely, that the present social system has outlived its usefulness and is no longer capable of providing for the economic and social needs of the community. We believe that war and cycles of crisis and economic depression are inseparable from capitalism and the capitalist mode of production and distribution. We believe that so long as the system of capitalism survives, periods of economic crisis must become more frequent and more intense; and that the methods that will be adopted to overcome these ever-recurring crises, must cause increasing misery and suffering to the people, without providing either prevention or cure. We believe that the needs of present-day civilisation, and the requirements of the future—the satisfaction of the desire of man for progressive improvement in his lot, the achievement of human hopes for a full and free life for all, with an assurance of economic security from birth to death and the fullest satisfaction of economic, social, recreational and cultural needs during life—demand a complete change from capitalism to socialism. Thus do we proclaim our socialist faith, our belief that only through socialism can the future of mankind be secured and guaranteed.

attainment of certain objectives of economic policy, that they "postulate indeed that production is at once a social enterprise and a social responsibility, and that as and when private initiative proves inadequate* the State must take measures to right the situation." Quite apart from the fact that in our present-day economic life "social enterprise and responsibility" often no longer coincide with national frontiers, it is difficult to see how the State can be sufficiently well equipped to take effective action in such cases, lending themselves as they do to divergent appreciation. But, however the matter is looked at, the social precedence of private initiative is definitely laid down, and such a basic condition for social organiza-

* The italics are ours.

tion will not fail to have a decisive influence on the character of the State. To expect in that case from a capitalistic state an economic policy reflecting supra-capitalistic wisdom looks to us very much like utopianism.

It is with regard to this point that the League of Nations Delegation falls, in our opinion, hopelessly short in its grasp of social reality. In the face of the most instructive teaching of history it postulates that the governments, in determining their economic policy, will not only be endowed with this supra-capitalistic wisdom, but that they will also be able to act according to its dictates. At the same time it cannot be entirely blind to the fact that endeavours successfully to govern a society on such a basis that the several groups composing it have little in common must inevitably meet unsurmountable difficulties. And so it admits that "if sectional interests obstruct the government in its endeavours to live up to its new responsibilities, then either it will fail, or in an effort to succeed will sacrifice individual freedom." We are convinced that even the perception of the possibility of such an obstruction is self-defeating for the plans, however well intentioned they may be, if they are founded on

a social basis that leaves the way open for such calamities.

We do not wish to end these considerations with regard to a subject which will be discussed to an increasing degree in these columns, and we hope in the ranks of the I.T.F., without quoting from the Report an observation with which we are heartily in agreement: "While it is clear . . . that post-war plans and policies must be laid in advance, conditions change too rapidly and too radically in war-time, and the future is too uncertain to allow of any policy being more than tentative and provisional. The two main uncertainties relate to: (a) the type of social-economic system that peoples will desire to set up; (b) the manner in which peace comes about." We must also make a marginal note to the next following sentence, if we are to have no misunderstanding as to the meaning of what we have tried to set down above. The Report goes on: "The economic objectives which we have set out might be attained under very different economic systems." We are convinced that the economic objectives so benevolently discussed in the Report can only be attained with a socialist peace economy—the only economic system that can create the conditions of which peace will be the organic product.

INTERNATIONAL RAILWAYMEN'S CONFERENCE

By PAUL TOFAHRN

Secretary, Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F.

An International Railwaymen's Conference was held in London on 28th and 29th September, 1943, under the auspices of the International Transportworkers' Federation. This was the first international trade union conference to be called for the purpose of studying post-war problems, a fact which gives it considerable importance in itself. We shall have to wait a few months, or perhaps years, to see whether it was equally important as judged by its results, and whether those results were what one has a right to expect in times like these.

The organizers of the Conference started off from the assumption that the final phase of the war has already commenced, or is about to commence—at least in so far as Europe is concerned. If this hypothesis is accepted, a concrete and immediate question arises which could hardly have been asked earlier, i.e. what can be done to hasten the end of all this slaughter? In this case the answer is easy: the railwaymen in the anti-Nazi camp must do all they can to back up the efforts of the armed forces of the United Nations, while on the other side of the fighting front the railwaymen must do their best to hinder and paralyze the armed forces under Hitler's command. This simple answer the Conference has given, but it is well to consider more closely how it was given.

What will, I think, most strike the imagination is the fact that a message has been sent to the railwaymen of Europe as though they were a single community, though it is true that the railwaymen in the occupied countries and those of Germany do not yet form a single group. It largely depends on the action of the German railwaymen *during the war* whether such a single group will ever

be formed. If they choose to follow Hitler until he is defeated, the European block of railwaymen—and other workers—can only be formed with very great difficulty, and perhaps not at all. In this case the future will indeed be a gloomy one for all railwaymen and all European workers. The Conference has pointed out that the way to make sure of the future is to act *now*: the railwaymen of Germany and her vassal states must join immediately "the European workers' army of sabotage." And these workers are reminded, further, that freedom does not come on the bayonet points of foreign armies, even when they are liberating armies, but that those who would win it must fight for it themselves.

In a message to the German railwaymen the Conference pointed out, with all due emphasis, that the workers on both sides of the firing line share a common fate and have a common aim: "Hitler can prolong the war, and thus cause the death of hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of your and our sons and brothers. Hitler's war of defence can lead to further destruction of European industries and communications by aerial attacks from both sides, and bring death to more of your and our wives and children. But none of this can save the Nazi tyranny from destruction; the destruction which you and we jointly swore to accomplish ten years ago." The Conference further pointed out that if the German workers did not wish to share responsibility with the Nazi tyrants for the martyrdom of the peoples of Europe, it was necessary for them to do something now. And it told them that accomplished facts are the most convincing arguments and that if they overthrow the Nazis and take their places, they will become one of the

factors determining the future of the German people. And the sooner the better.

In the message to the Germany railwaymen, therefore, the reply to the question "How can the end of the war be hastened?" is pregnant with a sense of urgency. The passions commonly whipped up by war are dominated by the desire to assemble the strongest possible working-class political force, and with this end in view the gates of working-class solidarity are kept widely open, and the railwaymen and other workers in Germany and its vassal states are invited to cross the threshold before all action is paralyzed by the occupying armies of the United Nations. This is what the Italian workers have done. They rejoined the ranks of the international labour movement on the day on which, in the midst of a war, they overthrew Mussolini and snatched freedom of association from Badoglio, the Italian Kerensky.

A message from the Conference to the Italian railwaymen speaks to them as comrades-in-arms, met once more after a long period of separation caused by the vicissitudes of the battle.

The Conference was resolute, and even enthusiastic, in its endeavours to lay during the war the basis for a powerful labour movement after it is over, but it was in some perplexity when faced with the question of what was to be done as soon as fighting ceased. Europe will then be on the border of chaos; perhaps already submerged in it. Millions of men will break down the enclosures of their prisoner of war and forced labour camps, impatient to return to their homes in the four corners of the continent. Millions of soldiers may demobilize themselves. Stocks of foodstuffs and coal will be exhausted. A very large number of industrial establishments will cease working. Public authorities, especially those in charge of food supplies and sanitation, will be in danger of being overwhelmed, or even submerged, by spontaneous migration on a vast scale. The spectre of famine will march hand in hand with the spectre of disease. Many towns will be found partially or wholly destroyed. Means of transport will be in a dilapidated state, and often no longer exist at all. Large numbers of the transport workers will probably have been torn away from their industries, their homes or their countries. And here and there the situation will no doubt be complicated by revolutionary explosions.

And through and across this scene of misery and confusion it will be necessary to transport the means of relief as well as the armies of the United Nations, with worn-out vehicles and dilapidated equipment, and a totally inadequate number of transport workers exhausted by four or five years of privations and physical and mental suffering. But it will have to be done: the railways and all other means of transport will have to run, though it may often be without supervisory staff.

As to how it will have to be done one can do no more, for the moment, than speculate. The Conference accepted without discussion the idea of the union of all European peoples in a struggle against famine and pestilence, and the appeal to all European railwaymen—a term which embraces also the general managers of the railways—to join all their forces for the salvation and

reconstruction of Europe; but in so far as the suggestions were somewhat more concrete they were met with reserve and even scepticism. But in the face of a situation that will probably be catastrophic, is it really inopportune to propose that the workers and managers of the railway industry should organize their work through joint committees of a local and regional character? Is it fundamentally impracticable to have the railways run under the responsibility of autonomous committees composed of the elected representatives of the personnel, in cases where no managerial staff is available? Can a more appropriate basis be imagined for the birth or rebirth of the future trade unions? And is it really premature, as one delegate suggested, to dream of remedying the continent-wide misery by means of a continent-wide organization of transport?

It was obvious that the delegates, taken up, as they are, almost entirely with the war effort, had not had time to form any precise idea of the nature and magnitude of the effort that will have to be made after the war, nor how it can be accomplished. To the suggestions made to them they opposed nothing and added nothing. The proposal made to them, and which they have accepted, was that the Management Committee should appoint a Committee to consider the problem of the organization of European inland transport as a whole. In the meantime the I.T.F. will offer the Allied governments its co-operation in the work preparatory to the rehabilitation of European transport, and more particularly in the settlement of problems affecting the railway personnel.

It is only natural that the first international workers' conference to deal with post-war questions should have cast its eyes beyond the limits of the railway industry and the railwaymen's trade union movement. It warned all the European workers that an immense task awaits them; that when hostilities cease they will hear "the same cry of distress that the workers in Central Europe and the Soviet Union heard after years of foreign and civil war: 'Give us transport, bread and coal.'" And this is the great work of unification that the Conference wished the railwaymen to pioneer: "By uniting all your forces for the salvation and reconstruction of Europe you will create the conditions which are necessary to restore European working-class solidarity and bring about an understanding between the peoples of Europe. Out of your action there can arise a Europe united by the association of its peoples in freedom and equality, organizing their co-operation to put an end to armed aggression and abuse of economic power. Out of your action there can arise in each of your countries governments whose watchword will not be 'To each according to his power,' but 'To each according to his needs.'" The Conference called for the unity not only of the workers of all European countries, but also those of differing political outlook. The message to the Italian railwaymen puts it still more clearly: ". . . together we will reform the workers of Europe into a united and powerful trade union army. . . ."

In setting Europe on the road to peace it is the first step that determines all the others. That is why the message to the European railwaymen says: "The weeks,

days and even hours which immediately follow the cessation of hostilities will be of decisive importance. At that moment the world will enter upon the path of peace or upon that which leads to the third world war."

The work of the Conference was followed by two fraternal delegates from the railwaymen of the United States. Comrade J. A. Phillips, a veteran of the trade union movement, undertook the trying journey at the request of the Railway Labor Executives' Association of the United States, which had been invited to send delegates to the Conference. The same Association had sent Comrade F. K. Switzer to England, in the course of the summer, on a prolonged research mission. The Conference was also attended by two Russian observers, who had been in the United Kingdom since the Trades Union Congress—Comrade P. M. Tarasov, President of the Soviet Russian Railwaymen's Union, and Mrs. Zhukova. All were given a hearty welcome.

RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONFERENCE

The International Railwaymen's Conference, held in London on 28th and 29th September, was attended by forty-six representatives of railwaymen and other transport workers from seventeen different countries—Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, India, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Soviet Russia, Spain, the United States and Yugoslavia. In a few cases in which railwaymen were not available, or could not be sent, delegates came from other transport workers' unions, or from national trade union federations. For the first time in the history of the I.T.F., fraternal delegates attended in representation of the railwaymen of the United States and observers in representation of the railwaymen of Soviet Russia—Messrs. J. A. Phillips and F. K. Switzer for the Railway Labor Executives' Association of the U.S.A., and Mr. P. M. Tarasov and Mrs. Zhukova for the railwaymen's organizations of the U.S.S.R. Another of the delegates, M. Charles Laurent, arrived from Vichy France only five days before the Conference. The delegates included M. J. Bondas, Minister of Labour of Belgium, M. Peter Krier, Minister of Labour of Luxemburg, M. F. Nemeč, Minister of Commerce and Reconstruction of Czechoslovakia, and M. Jules Moch, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies and a well-known transport expert.

Mr. John Marchbank, Chairman of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F. presided.

The following resolutions and messages were adopted :

Resolution on co-operation with the Inter-Allied Committee on Inland Transport.

WHEREAS the rehabilitation of transport, and particularly the railways, in the occupied territories of Europe as they are successively liberated, will be one of the essential factors for success in the task of relieving their distressed peoples ;

WHEREAS, in view of the many and great difficulties to be surmounted, intelligent and organized co-operation between the authorities and the workers concerned will be essential if the fullest possible utilization of the railways and other means of transport is to be secured ;

WHEREAS the I.T.F. is the authorized representative of all the European transport workers whose trade unions have been destroyed by the occupation authorities and quislings ;

The Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F., meeting in conference,

The two communities of railwaymen they represented are the largest in the world. Neither of them belongs to the I.T.F., and both were represented for the first time at an I.T.F. conference. Comrades Phillips and Tarasov officially endorsed, on behalf of their organizations, the messages addressed to the European, Italian and German railwaymen, and the former remarked, in the course of an inspiring speech, that the presence of the President of the Soviet Russian Railwaymen's Union was "a long step forward." The same can be said of the presence of the American delegates. I trust that this Conference will help all of them to realize that a phase of the working-class struggle is developing in Europe which will be of decisive importance for the workers of the whole world. And I hope that the railwaymen of the United States and Soviet Russia will find it possible to continue to help their brethren in Europe to unite in the effort to build up a new Europe.

together with representatives of the railwaymen of the United States, in London on 28th and 29th September, 1943,

Requests the Management Committee to offer to the Technical and Advisory Committee of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau the co-operation of the I.T.F. with a view to its participation in the work preparatory to the rehabilitation of European transport, and particularly its assistance in settling, at the proper time and place, all problems affecting the railway personnel, while reserving full liberty to follow its own policy with regard to the organization of transport.

Resolution demanding representation at the Peace Conference.

This Conference of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F., representing the railwaymen of many countries who are playing a prominent part in the war effort, and who will be called upon to render the most valuable services during the period of reconstruction following the war,

Demands that the railwaymen of the world be afforded, through the I.T.F., representation at the Peace Conference and at any Reconstruction Conference dealing with transport problems.

MESSAGES

European Railwaymen.

The Railwaymen's Section of the International Transport-workers' Federation is meeting, in London, for the first time since the war started. And this meeting is being attended, for the first time in our history, by spokesmen for the railwaymen of the United States. We send our comradely greetings to you and pledge ourselves to continue the struggle against the Nazi and Fascist enslavers until final victory is secured and freedom and democracy established in all European countries. We are considering the position of the European railwaymen and their action in the several countries. The principal question has been that of what can be done, during and after the war, to safeguard the workers, and the peoples of the world, from a restoration of the conditions of the past and a return of the evils of the present.

The answer is clear: we must overlook nothing that will help to destroy the Nazi war machine as soon as possible. Our comrades on the transport sabotage front have already done great things, and if they receive the necessary reinforcements may precipitate a breakdown of the Hitlerite regime. These reinforcements must come from Germany and its vassal States. The railwaymen and all workers of these countries must understand, as the Italian workers do, that freedom must be fought for and not alone expected on the bayonet points of the liberating armies. They must take their places immediately in the ranks of the European workers' army of sabotage.

It is already time to think beyond the destruction of Nazi tyranny. The weeks, days and even hours which immediately follow the cessation of hostilities will be of decisive importance. At that moment the world will enter upon the path of peace or upon that which leads to the third world war.

In so far as Europe is concerned we can only distinguish one path leading to peace—the co-operation of all the peoples of

Europe in the struggle against famine and pestilence, more dangerous than war itself. When hostilities cease the European workers will hear that same cry of distress that the workers in Central Europe and the Soviet Union heard after years of foreign and civil war: "Give us transport, bread and coal!" Transport to forward speedily food and help, to repatriate the prisoners and exiles, to maintain and expand agricultural production, to carry coal to the millions of human beings who would otherwise die of cold.

This tremendous task cannot be accomplished unless you all get into harness. By uniting all your forces for the salvation and reconstruction of Europe you will create the conditions which are necessary to restore European working-class solidarity and bring about an understanding between the peoples of Europe. Out of your action there can arise a Europe united by the association of its peoples in freedom and equality, organizing their co-operation to put an end to armed aggression and abuse of economic power. Out of your action there can arise in each of your countries, governments whose watchword will not be "To each according to his power" but "To each according to his needs."

European railwaymen, the course of history has caused you to be among the first to set hand to the job of reconstruction. The stakes are large: seize your opportunity. The organizations belonging to the International Transportworkers' Federation, especially those in the countries of the British Commonwealth, and also the railwaymen's organizations of the United States, will help you to the limit of their means and abilities. Your comrades throughout the world are with you in heart and soul in the accomplishment of your great task of saving the peoples of Europe and the world.

Italian Railwaymen.

The spokesmen for the railwaymen organized in trade unions belonging to the I.T.F., meeting in Conference in London on 28th and 29th September 1943, send you their fraternal greetings.

Thanks largely to the advance of the Allied armies, the long drawn out struggle of our anti-Fascist comrades in Italy against Fascism was crowned on 25th July with its first resounding success. Great was the joy of the workers throughout the world when they saw their *Italian comrades at work breaking down* the Fascist regime, winning back their freedom of association, building up new organizations and institutions, and making ready to transform the political and social order in their country. But the vicissitudes of war have prevented you from pursuing a movement so rich in promise, and Nazi barbarity has forced you into a new and sanguinary struggle. Reports on the battle in Italy show that the Italian workers, with the railwaymen and transport workers at their head, have joined the great working-class army of sabotage. Carry on the fight with determination, with all means, both great and small, at your disposal; and with full confidence in the issue.

Together we will rid the world of Nazi tyranny; and together we will reform the workers of Europe into a united and powerful trade union army that will work for the establishment, in the liberated countries, of political and social regimes that will give the workers liberty and security. And in the larger life of Europe the unity of the working class must lead to the unity of its peoples in the effort to fight off the famine and pestilence which war brings in its train. Thus, and only thus, can the way be opened to permanent association of all the peoples in freedom and equality, and their organized co-operation to promote the common welfare.

In the tumult of the assault on the European bastions of Fascism we cry to you:

Comrades, to arms against our common enemy!

German Railwaymen.

For ten long years the iron Nazi terror has prevented you from professing the great ideals of international solidarity and socialism which for generations inspired the German railwaymen and other workers. But to-day, after four years of war, the opportunity once more presents itself for you to reaffirm, by your deeds, your faith in the old ideals, and you owe it to yourselves and the international trade union movement to seize it.

The German defeat has begun: since Stalingrad and Tunisia the German war machine has been in retreat. The first Axis partner has surrendered unconditionally. Hitler can prolong the war, and thus cause the death of hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of your and our sons and brothers. Hitler's war of defence can lead to further destruction of European industries and communications by aerial attacks from both sides, and bring death to more of your and our wives and children. But none of this can save the Nazi tyranny from destruction; the destruction which you and we jointly swore to accomplish ten years ago.

How can we redeem this pledge? Only by active participation in the destruction of the German war machine. The railwaymen in the free world are doing this by working without intermission to maintain supplies to the armies that are fighting against Hitler. The railwaymen in the occupied countries are sabotaging to the best of their ability the railway system controlled by the Nazis, one of the most vulnerable parts of the German war machine. And you, German railwaymen, what are you doing?

What can you do? The fifth winter of the war is approaching, and the German High Command is faced with many troubles. Very considerable difficulties have already arisen in connection with transport, and the air attacks of the Allies will certainly add to and intensify them. And so can you. Your co-operation in this struggle would not only help to shorten the war, but also to relieve the German working class, in the eyes of the world, of much of the responsibility for the terrible sufferings which the Nazis have brought to the peoples of Europe.

We know what we are asking of you. We know that we are calling upon prisoners to attack their heavily armed gaolers. But we know, too, that there are to be found among you men with the same courage, the same ingenuity and the same willingness to make sacrifices as among the railwaymen in the occupied countries who every day risk their lives by sabotage. We know this from experience, for the I.T.F., under its recently deceased and unforgettable leader, Edo Fimmen, has always given active support to the underground organizations of the German railwaymen.

To save useless loss of life among your sons and brothers and wives and children is alone worth the risk. But that is not all: the future of the German people will be largely determined by those who, by their action inside Germany, actively help to overthrow Nazi domination. Much depends, therefore, on what the German workers do. And there is no time to lose.

Railwaymen and transport workers of Germany! This war gives the working class of the world a great opportunity in their struggle for emancipation and for peace. The German workers are to-day at one of the key points of this battle-front. Your comrades throughout the world expect of you that you will do your duty. Help them to bring about the main condition of peace: *the destruction of the Nazi war machine, which must be followed by the annihilation of German militarism and all that it stands for and that stands behind it.*

(continued from page 57)

ample allowances for the natural peculiarities of the several branches of industry, each of which calls for a different plan of organization....

We must clearly recognize one very important truth: the raising of the standard of living of the mass of the population, making their lives secure and giving them a share in the blessings of culture, implies an increase in the productivity of industry. But why should the workers be less industrious, and have less joy in their work, when they know that the fruits of their labour will not go mainly to the owners of capital, but will be used to benefit themselves and the community generally? This war has given a most emphatic practical reply to this liberal-capitalist assertion. The military achievements of the Russians, which have astonished the world, afford an almost historical example of the productivity of a socialist order. . . . This, however, has nothing to do with the political methods of bolshevism.

But does not the present world war give a really grotesque and horrifying illustration of the "productivity" of the capitalist economic order? Amid the ideological and other discussions of the moment we only too often forget the old but still valid truth that it is the capitalist social and economic order that is responsible for the war. This war is a veritable devils' dance of destruction of both goods and human lives. It is the last increment of the "productivity" of the capitalistic economic system. To which it may be added that the years of depression that preceded this war have revealed the fatal disease which afflicts the capitalistic method of production. . . .

We should never forget that the Swiss people are not alone in this struggle for a better social order. The workers of the whole world are to-day inspired by an intense longing for an order in which they will no longer be the victims of economic depressions, unemployment, famine and war. . . . In the ultimate analysis Humanity is a unit, of which our people form a part. We cannot "live for ourselves alone" in any respect. . . . The task we share with *all other peoples* is that of fighting for a better and more righteous social system. Durable peace is only possible in a world where social justice reigns. We march with the workers and peasants of the whole world to the conquest of a new order. And we know at the same time that the "New Switzerland" for which we fight, will uphold the earliest and best traditions out of the history of our people.

THE FRENCH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT TO-DAY

Its Activities and Aspirations

By CHARLES LAURENT

Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour and General Secretary of the French Civil Servants' Union.

M. Laurent has arrived recently in Britain from Paris, where he lived and worked under the German occupation. In the underground resistance to the enemy and Vichy he presided over the governing committee of the northern zone of the organization "Liberation", which, like all the underground organizations in France, belongs to the Council of Resistance at the head of the movement as a whole. This Council has delegated M. Laurent to sit in the Provisional Consultative Assembly, which performs in the Committee of National Liberation at Algiers the functions normally appertaining to the Parliament in France.

Resurrection—Betrayed by one of its former assistant secretaries temporarily holding a ministerial post, the French Confederation of Labour was dissolved by Vichy. At the same time there was set up for each branch of production so-called Organization Committees which increased still further the power of the employers. Comrade Jouhaux, General Secretary of the French Confederation of Labour, was detained by the Vichy police at his home before being definitely put behind prison bars. Subsequently the Huns took him to a prison in Germany, where he is held as a hostage.

In spite of the treachery of some of their leaders who entered the service of Germany—convinced as they were of an Axis victory—or Vichy, the militant sections of the workers maintained their local trade unions and some federations and at the first opportunity which presented itself re-established underground the General Confederation of Labour. It should be mentioned that the Railwaymen's Federation, led by men concerned to retain their contacts with the Government, did not participate in this development. The Federation's membership dwindled very rapidly and there is every reason to believe that at the first congress to be held at the end of the war, the railway workers will sweep away those responsible for the present policy of the Federation.

Resistance.—To regroup the workers in the local unions, to revive the activities of the federal organizations, to re-establish nation-wide contacts, these were certainly paramount among the objectives of the comrades who rallied to the Confederation as reconstituted underground and who were resolved to take an active part in the day-to-day struggle against the foreign enemy. Both as leaders and rank-and-file trade unionists have made a great contribution to this widespread struggle which to-day unites Frenchmen of all shades of opinion.

The Gestapo watches unceasingly; it has revived the methods of the Inquisition: beating, tearing off finger and toe nails, burning foot soles with a soldering lamp, crushing the genital organs—such are the tortures inflicted upon those who refuse to give information, often because they have none to give. One of our friends, secretary of a district Trade Union Federation, had to be taken to hospital unconscious, with part of his intestines protruding from the rectum.

When these methods are known one can understand that the thirst for revenge is immense. Consequently one is rather surprised, upon arriving here from France, to find that there is a rebirth of sentimentalism and that already, as in 1919, the question of the treatment to be

meted out to the authors of these deeds is the subject of controversy.

European Unity.—It cannot be in the minds of men who aim to build a powerful international movement based on the community of interests of the working masses, to desire the destruction of Germany, but we certainly do desire that all the statesmen entrusted with the shaping of the peace shall find the means of averting the periodical recurrence of the horrors of war. Can we accept for a moment the supposition that our grandsons may be called upon to do again what we had to do from 1914 to 1918, and what our sons have done since? Emphatically not. French trade union circles, therefore, consider it urgently necessary that the closest attention should be given to the problem during the months that remain before the fighting ends, with the view of clarifying thought and finding solutions.

From the gigantic conflict three great groups will emerge, Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia—and perhaps a fourth if one reckons with a reborn and united China. What will become of the old European states in face of these giants? Would it not be the moment, notwithstanding all the economic and monetary difficulties that would be encountered, to examine whether, once the criminals have been punished, there could not be established an entente which would mark a big step towards the realization of the dream of Aristide Briand: the United States of Europe? It will, no doubt, be objected, with good reason, that not all the countries of Europe have reached the same level of economic and social development. The old industrialized nations of the West are far in advance of the Eastern countries which have remained largely agricultural. The French farmer, it is clear, would be accepting a substantial decline in his standard of living if he were to sell his corn at the same price as the producers of the Balkan region. But would it not be possible, in spite of this, and whilst maintaining certain customs barriers, to create a federation whose task it would be to harmonize as far as possible everybody's interests, and to promote co-operation by working out, for all branches of production, a master plan of development which would sweep away, in a common effort, all secondary rivalries? All efforts in this direction will have the support of French militant trade unionists.

Planned Economy.—But for such an enterprise to be conducted successfully there must be a substantial change in the present economic system. French trade union leaders consider that liberalism has had its day. They think that the organization which has grown up during

the war will have to be replaced, when peace comes, by the deliberate planning of economic affairs by the public authorities in the common interest. They realize the difficulties such a proposal will meet from some sections of public opinion. After the restraint of the extensive war-time controls, there will be a strong desire for the removal of all restrictions. Never has the longing for a return to complete liberty been more general.

These feelings are easy to understand. Stocks are exhausted, the needs of reconstruction are immense and all dynamic elements foresee the period of feverish activity which will set in as soon as hostilities cease. Many are in a hurry to see all the regulations and restrictions disappear in order that they may plunge themselves into any branch of production where big profits can be made.

Though individual initiative must be enabled to take the place due to it, the State can no longer allow a return to the old chaos in production. One cannot again face the prospect of a period of intense activity and general prosperity, the result of reconstruction and restocking, succeeded, after three or four years, by the gradual return of unemployment. In many quarters there is agreement that deliberate steps must be taken to avoid millions of men once more finding themselves without work, a phenomenon calculated to appear the more abruptly since the war has greatly accelerated the growth of the machinery of production.

Although certain advocates of economic planning have hardly distinguished themselves in opposing the German desire for domination, and have been all too prone to join the collaborationists, leading trade union circles in France consider that the case for planning is as strong as ever it was. They hold, therefore, that it is the task of the State, as representative of the national community, to plan and direct economic affairs. But in order to relieve that State from the pressure of money-power, exerted through the press, the trusts and the big financial and industrial undertakings, it is desirable that a considerable proportion of them should be assimilated to the public services though not necessarily administered in the same manner.

French trade unionists desire, in particular, that banking, insurance, production and distribution of power, water supply, mining, transport by land, sea and air, importation and distribution of liquid fuels, be in future run as public corporations, thus ensuring that the general interests shall have predominance over sectional interests. The structure for such corporations has already been devised. Alongside an executive organ appointed by the State there would be included representatives of the several branches of industry, as well as of the trade union organizations of the workers employed therein.

The French trade union leaders do not envisage such a system for those branches of production in which the process of concentration is incomplete, and where there is still room for competition. In such branches the State will confine itself to a controlling function exercised through a price and production policy to which all must conform. The actual degree of control exercised will vary according to the place occupied by the branch of industry concerned on the priority list of social requirements. A sector left to free enterprise will give full scope to individual enterprise. Small-scale, more particularly handicraft industry and small-scale trading are examples where this line would be followed.

Let us Seize the Opportunity.—It will be seen that the need of reconstructing their organizations and of resisting the Huns does not prevent French trade unionists from giving thought both to the problems of international relations and to those of economic reorganization. They do not claim, indeed, that they know all the solutions and realize that the most difficult problem of all is to translate theory into practice, but they are most anxious that trade unionists in other countries should also study these problems and make their contribution towards the solutions. It is only between countries which have substantially the same economic and social framework that the Europe of to-morrow can be built. The period we live in is a revolutionary one; let us take advantage of it to ensure the incorporation of our ideals in the new social structure which is emerging.

WHERE ARE WE GOING ?

We reprint below some considerations on problems of the future, extracted from the lavishly produced 1942 Report of the Swiss Federation of Commercial, Transport and Food Workers, which is affiliated to the I.T.F. They show, incidentally, that social contrasts are no less marked in the Swiss democracy than they are elsewhere.

Where are we going? That is a question which in these times claims the attention of every thinking worker. In itself it implies at least some doubts as to whether we still have economic and social development under control, in so far as we are ever able to influence it at all. Among large circles of the population mistrust shows itself in the belief that on the one hand the authorities responsible no longer have enough will and power to check a dangerous development, and on the other that forces are at work driving in the dangerous direction. . . . The trade unions have never tried to accentuate social contrasts, nor to paint them black for their own ends; but one often has the impression that other circles are

beginning to forget another truth—that the strength and firmness of the home front are of the greatest importance for our ability to defend ourselves against the outside world. . . .

Nowadays it is necessary not only accurately to appreciate conditions, but also to enquire how they are felt by the mass of the people. . . . There are indications enough that discontent and mistrust are increasing rapidly among the lower strata of the population. . . . There is talk of the "leftward drift of the masses"; and it is not mere words, but an actual fact. . . . The "leftward drift" means that in wide circles of the population—not only among the working class, but

among all those who have been hard hit economically by the war—there is a strong desire for a new social order. The power of resistance of a people to external forces does not solely depend on more or less healthy social conditions at home . . . ; the human beings from whom such great sacrifices are demanded also want to know what they are fighting for, why they must bear privations in a disciplined manner, and what the shape of their future will be. As a result of the publication of the Beveridge Plan a large number of our people clearly realized for the first time that the world will take on quite a different aspect after this war is over ; that there will not only be a shifting of frontiers, but far-reaching and permanent changes in the economic and social order. The fact that two partners so fundamentally different in their political and social ideas as the two great Anglo-Saxon powers and the Soviet Union should be on the same side in the war constitutes a dynamic factor of the first order. . . .

For what kind of a future is the working class fighting ?

The answer to this question is determined in the first place by the experiences of the workers during this war. The most important of these experiences boils down to the simple fact that it is the most numerous section of the population, that of the great mass of wage-earners, which has had to suffer the biggest reduction of its standard of living. . . . It is undeniable that the workers have had to suffer the worst privations and make the greatest sacrifices. In view of this fact one can only regard it as a sign of psychological blindness when bourgeois newspapers of the right constantly raise the question of whether the working class has "proved itself" during the war. Latterly occasion has been found to praise the "remarkable discipline" with which the working class has faced these "difficult times." Instead of speaking of it, it would perhaps have been more useful to draw practical conclusions from the fact. . . .

The most important experience of the great mass of the wage-earners during this war has been . . . that even during times of maximum national effort, when such words as "common destiny," "national solidarity," "national unity," "one for all and all for one," etc., hold sway in public utterances, the "right" of the economically stronger continues to prevail, and that they are not willing to give up the privileged position which the ruling political, economic and social order gives them, but are determined to maintain it and profit by it. . . . The worker . . . naturally asks : Must it always be so ? Must we be disciplined during this war so that the same economic and social order may prevail afterwards ? Or will a new order emerge from these "great times ?" . . .

During the first half of last century economic developments inevitably led to the foundation of a powerful federal State, the new Swiss Confederation of 1848. The economic convulsions started during the present century by two world wars are certainly no less profound than those of a hundred years ago, and they will also lead to far-reaching changes in the political as well as the economic and social structure of our country. The trade unions are the last to wish wantonly to destroy the historic traditions and "individual life" of the cantons

and communes ; but what matter above all else are the tasks upon whose accomplishment the lives and welfare of the people depend. The courageous drawing of practical conclusions from the facts of the case is more important, as we see it, than chaste professions of faith in the principle of federalism. . . . The economic and social policy followed during the present war has made it clear to us that we are also exposed to the danger of stopping at half measures, or of taking one step backwards after each step forward. . . .

Practice . . . has shown that powerful resistance is always put up against any attempt to create real order. We hear warnings against "too far-reaching encroachments upon the rights of the individual," when it is all too clear that what is being defended is really the "right" to commit social injustice. The resistance of liberal capitalism to the setting up of a better social order by legislative measures is only aimed, in reality, at "economic recovery" at the expense of the workers. By "freedom of initiative" it only means freedom to exploit man-power ruthlessly as circumstances may dictate, and freedom to compete regardless of the interests of others. One also finds that . . . most social measures in our times are only applied "under pressure" by ruling economic and political circles—reluctantly, and not by conviction or with any desire to set up a new and more righteous order. . . .

It will be one of the most urgent tasks of the trade unions to back up the efforts that are being made to press for a solution of the problems of the future. In this connection we refer to the programme published during the year under review, entitled *La Suisse Nouvelle* (New Switzerland). This programme was drawn up by the Swiss Socialist Party in consultation with a large number of trade-unionists. . . . It is a very valuable contribution to the discussion of the future development of social and economic conditions in our country. . . .

Its fundamental demands are democracy, including economic democracy, and social solidarity. "The national economy is a matter for the whole of the people : it must no longer merely serve the interests of those who are out for wealth or power. . . . Capital must be at the service of labour." This means production planned to meet the requirements of the community, and not to make the greatest possible profits. It means that the worker will enjoy a new position in the undertaking in which he works. And it means that products will be distributed in accordance with social and democratic principles. These three postulates briefly summarize the essence of the new order. . . .

"The carrying out of this programme presupposes that the working class will take over political power. This implies that a majority of the people must be won over for a socialist political and economic order."

Two points are characteristic of the socialist political and economic order as pictured in the "New Switzerland" programme. Firstly it does not aim at complete and formal nationalization, but at "an economic and social transformation of Switzerland on a free co-operative basis." . . . Secondly, the programme makes

(continued at foot of page 54)

FOOD AS A CLASS WEAPON

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

The language of the Atlantic Charter, which promises self-determination to all the peoples of Europe, is as generous as it is explicit. It ought to mean that they will be free to choose, not merely their form of government, but their economic system. Will Italians and Greeks really be free, if they so wish, to depose their kings; will Hungarian peasants be free to satisfy their land hunger; will Germans be allowed to socialize heavy industry and break up the Junker estates? The usual answer that comes from the White House and Downing Street is that in due course free elections will be held everywhere to ascertain the people's will. Only a rather old-fashioned Liberal will be content with this assurance. In the interval, through Amgot, the economic controls, and the distribution of food and raw materials, the two English-speaking Powers, linked in an uneasy and distant relationship with Russia, have ample means to influence the electorates and their leaders. They hold in their hands the keys of work and even of life itself. By denying or stinting food, raw materials and credits to popular or revolutionary parties, while reserving these favours to conservative groups, they can do much to buttress the old class-structure throughout Europe. This may seem to some readers a cynical and far-fetched suggestion. There is, however, a precedent which should put us on our guard. Economic pressure was used in precisely these ways to stave off social change after the last war.

Part of the story was told soon after the events by the leading actor in it. Mr. T. T. C. Gregory was the chief lieutenant of Mr. Hoover in his relief organization and had charge of Central and Eastern Europe. His narrative appeared in three articles in the American periodical *The World's Work* (in April, May and June, 1921). The editor introduced him as "one of the new race of constructive American lawyers that has brought so much of genius and imagination to big business." He exhibited, we are told, an "almost ruthless use of power" and proved himself "a real dictator." The whole story can be told in a sentence. Here it is, in the editor's words: "The (Hoover) Commission became involved in a hand-to-hand battle with the Red movement. Using economic pressure—the lever of food as its only weapon—it defeated Bolshevism and saved central and south-eastern Europe to civilization."

A nightmare haunted the Victors in the first winter after the armistice. Germany lay prostrate but "another greedy and menacing power," as Mr. Gregory puts it, "all but succeeded where the Kaiser failed." The Poles, he reminds us, with French aid, flung back the Red Army in 1920, "but one year earlier without that ghastly sacrifice of blood and treasure that was required to save Warsaw, a more dramatic and perhaps a more significant check was given Bolshevism in Hungary, where a handful of Americans, employing only economic weapons, brought down the Government of Bela Kun, and put a sudden end to the dreams of Lenin for immediate

European domination. I suggest that this achievement was more significant than the military repulses of the Red battalions in Poland, for the reason that it proved indisputably the power of food and economic factors as modern weapons for the curtailing of unconscionable political ambitions and for preserving international peace. To paraphrase the adage 'Bread is mightier than the sword'."

Mr. Gregory tells us that Herbert Hoover was the first to grasp the political importance of food. All the Great Powers were hastening "to lay the foundations for economic penetration and political influence in the newly formed territories." A struggle for prestige followed, against "the experienced and far-seeing British." America, however, alone possessed a surplus of food. A duel without quarter was fought between Mr. Hoover and Lord Reading, which left the American in control of relief. "I am trying," as Mr. Hoover put it, "to keep our allies out of Uncle Sam's pockets and I'm having a hell of a job." That may have been his way of saying that "relief" was run from first to last on strictly commercial lines. "Every pound of food and every piece of material distributed was to be paid for."

Mr. Gregory, who is not troubled by modesty, describes the difficulties he had to overcome during this chaotic winter, when food had to be transported over closed frontiers and paid for in deteriorating currencies. "For weal or woe, in this crisis, we dominated central and south-eastern Europe. . . . Salvation lay only in our Mission." Hoover was placed in charge of all the railways in Central Europe. On one occasion he so far relaxed the blockade, which was still maintained against Germany, as to sell to her government \$200 millions worth of American food "for gold in hand paid." On Hoover's motive in all these transactions Mr. Gregory dwells again and again: "He was feeding and succouring Balkanized Central Europe only as an incident to the fight he was making to throw back the wave of Bolshevism."

Mr. Gregory now explains how Bela Kun, on 21st March, 1919, upset Count Karolyi's Government and created a short-lived Soviet system. The Allies in Paris had discredited Karolyi; for they either would not or could not stop the attacks which the Czechs and Rumanians were making on Hungary. Magyar patriotism rallied behind Kun, who raised an army that fought well to defend its native land. "The salvation of Central Europe" now depended, according to Mr. Gregory, on destroying Kun. Marshal Foch drew up a military plan for his overthrow, for which he demanded 250,000 men. The Supreme Council agreed in principle, but pigeon-holed his recommendations.

What chiefly concerned the Allies was to prevent the spread of Bolshevism to Vienna. Kun's Minister to the Austrian Republic had been expelled for an attempt to foster revolution. In his place came the Socialist, Dr. Boehm, who had been for a time a general in the

army of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Mr. Gregory gives a description of Boehm, the most modest and honourable of men, which none of his friends will recognize; nor can I accept the account he gives of the part he played in the "conspiracy" which the Hoover Mission engineered. Gregory acted throughout with the British military commissioner, Colonel Cunningham, "a sportsman and a gentleman," and Prince Borghesi, "more like an English squire than an Italian diplomat."

The "conspiracy" (Mr. Gregory's word for it) consisted in inducing the moderate Hungarian Social Democratic leaders to overthrow Bela Kun in return for a promise that the Allies would support, recognize and feed them. They told Boehm that they would make him "a deathless figure on history's pages—the hero who struck the bloody hand of Soviet Communism from the throat of an exhausted nation." Boehm so far consented as to bring secretly to Vienna two of Kun's Socialist colleagues, Agoston and Haubricht.

The negotiations resulted in an agreement which Hoover backed and presented to the Supreme Council. Its eight points may be summarized thus: Agoston, Haubricht and their party colleagues were to assume the dictatorship, dismiss the Kun Government, repudiate Bolshevism and put an end to the confiscation of property. This dictatorship was to function until a government "representative of all classes could be formed." On the side of the Allies the "raising of the blockade" was promised and "immediate steps" were "to be taken by the Entente to supply Hungary with food and coal and to assist in opening up the Danube." A vital clause was that there were to be "no political prosecutions."

"The plot," Mr. Gregory tells us, "hinged on the labour element," which he describes as "liberal and democratic in complexion." Hoover won over the Supreme Council, which signed and issued a declaration endorsing the eight points of his agreement.

Bela Kun's government had done some brilliant pioneering social work, nor was it guilty of much bloodshed: but it was now in grave difficulties. Mr. Gregory, whose history is as sketchy as it is biased, passes over most of them in silence. Czechs and Rumanians were still attacking and with the latter were the Hungarian Whites. The peasants were sullen, because what they wanted was the division and not the socialization of the great estates. Budapest and the smaller towns were desperately hungry and the lack of coal threatened catastrophe.

The food shortage gave Mr. Gregory his chance. Two or three times the assistant food administrator of Soviet Hungary had begged him to sell food. Mr. Gregory had refused: "I told him from the first that we would have no dealings of any kind with Bolshevism." But a further development of the "plot" he was "hatching" now occurred to Mr. Gregory, which had in it, he tells us, an element of "comic opera." Forty-eight hours before Agoston was due to seize power in Budapest, he sent for this Hungarian official in Vienna and told the unsuspecting man that he had changed his mind and was now ready to sell him food. In fact, on this day, 28th July, he

had neither food nor funds; for the Hoover Mission was being wound up. But there were supplies of food in private hands in Trieste which he could command. He, therefore, demanded that the Hungarian should pay "in cold cash" and "real money" a sum of \$1,000,000. He made the man promise not to "say anything to his government about this trade." "There were tears in his eyes and I knew I could trust him." Next day in a clothes basket the "real money" was duly handed over, and Mr. Gregory ordered three train loads of fats to be made ready to leave for Budapest on receipt of a wire from himself. He had, however, no intention of allowing them to reach the Government which had paid for them in advance in "cold cash."

That evening in Budapest, at a meeting of the Soviet, Agoston, by arrangement with Mr. Gregory, carried out his *coup d'état*. He had surrounded the hall with his armed partisans and after a useless appeal from Bela Kun, he proclaimed a temporary dictatorship under himself, Haubricht and Garami. "The pledge of the Allies was read. It was cheered vociferously. Budapest was turned into a carnival city that night." At ten o'clock next morning, Mr. Gregory reports, his trains began to arrive and "within a few hours the people were eating the bread and the fats that the Bolsheviki, all unknowing and certainly never conscious of the irony of the situation, had bought through me."

Something else, however, was on its way to Budapest just behind the food trains. The Rumanian army, under instructions from Paris, occupied the city, looted it systematically, and put the Whites in power. After their brief success, which had lasted only a few days, Agoston and Haubricht were flung into jail. Mr. Gregory claims that he procured their release. The original idea of setting up the Archduke Joseph as dictator was promptly abandoned. The Americans were active in protesting against this detail of the reaction but I think the credit must be shared with the Czechs.

So ended Mr. Hoover's "conspiracy." He used a promise of recognition and an offer of food, for which Bela Kun paid, to induce his socialist dupes to break up the Soviet Government. The food duly arrived. But so far from recognizing the Agoston Government, the Allies let loose the Rumanian Army to upset it. The Allies had undertaken that there should be "no persecutions." What happened was Horthy's White Terror, which cost the Hungarian Left five thousand lives, to say nothing of tortures and imprisonments.

There are several morals to be drawn from this story. The chief of them is that even when they dole out relief the statesmen of the capitalistic Powers will act on the principle that "All's fair in Class War."

In connection with feeding or policies for feeding a number of European countries immediately after the last war a great problem arose. "This new problem, which year by year is destined to become a more significant factor in all international relationships, concerns the use of the economic power arising from the control of the economic necessities of life—food, coal and other raw materials—for determining the destinies of nations, in short, the use of the 'economic weapon.' It was only in its crude beginnings at Paris; but the world will have a fuller taste of it in the future."

Professor R. Starnard Baker: Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement (published in 1923).

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 is from "Labor", the weekly paper of the Fifteen Recognized Standard Railroad Labor Organizations in the U.S.A., which introduces us to and comments on the contemporary currents of thought among the "propertied class," under the title "Few Economic Changes after the War".

On its editorial page last Sunday, 15th August, the Washington "Star," a fabulous money-maker, gave prominence to the following:

"The idea that this war necessarily must result in very great political and economic changes is being abandoned. **INSTEAD, THE IDEA IS GROWING THAT THE WORLD THAT FOLLOWS THE WAR WILL RESEMBLE IN VERY MANY WAYS THE WORLD THAT PRECEDED IT.**

"Winston Churchill has let it be known that the British intend to do little tinkering with the organization or control of their colonial empire. All signs here suggest that President Roosevelt tends to go along with Mr. Churchill and with Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in shaping a basis for post-war settlements.

"In a word, the emphasis is not to be on any sort of revolutionary adjustment, deliberately promoted. It is not to centre on any shift in the centre of power from the propertied classes to European or Asiatic Labour, or to other revolutionary groups.

"That fact is apparent in events in North Africa and in Sicily and from dealings with the French and other exile governments."

Undoubtedly, the "Star" voices the hopes and beliefs of the "propertied classes" in this country and among our Allies. They regard the "Atlantic Charter" as an alluring "scrap of paper"—**A GOOD THING TO ENTHUSE THE MASSES WHILE THE FIGHTING IS GOING ON, BUT NOT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY WHEN PEACE COMES.**

The "propertied classes" will have their way unless the "producing classes"—**THE FARMERS AND THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS**—have the good sense to stand together at the ballot box.

If we permit the "propertied class" to divide us—and they are working night and day along that line—those of us who belong to the "producing class" will find ourselves worse off after this war than we were before it started.

We take our next quotation from "The Transport and General Workers' Record," the paper of the British Transport and General Workers' Union. In an article entitled "The March of Science" it surveys recent astonishing achievements in the field of science and then asks:

What is the social and economic significance of the great march of science and invention? What does it mean to world trade, to labour, to the present system of capitalist economy? These are questions which should be having attention.

The contribution which science and invention are making to the needs of mankind is welcome, but while we marvel and applaud we must not forget that some day the world will be at peace, and that while great discoveries and new ways of doing things have solved many war-time problems they have, to a very great extent, upset the pre-war conception of world economy.

The introduction of new materials, labour-saving devices, the increase in the yield of crops, and the growing of food where it never grew before have created problems for post-war trade which will prove insoluble without fundamental changes in the economic system of society.

Before the war countries lived by buying and selling. During the war they have, with the assistance of science, ironed out a great deal of economic geography. Some markets as the pre-war world knew them have gone for ever.

All countries are talking to-day about building up their world trade after the war, but when we relate the great discoveries and technological advance of recent years to economics, to say nothing of the great spread of industrialism in Canada, Australia and South America, we wonder sometimes what they are going to export to pay for the things they will have to import.

It may be thought that we are exaggerating the difficulties of the problem. After the war there will, of course, be a boom in trade. We shall all be kept busy supplying the needs of the home market, building up the devastated areas, playing our part in repairing the ruined economy of enemy-occupied countries and developing the great Chinese market. The wheels of industry will be merrily humming. But only for a time. With the vast array and the great variety of synthetics at the disposal of the world, the extension of methods of prefabrication, and the rapidity with which goods can be turned out, the post-war trade boom on capitalist lines is not likely to be of long duration. Taking the long view, it is clear to us that if mankind is to make full use of the knowledge and abundance brought within its reach, that if it is to avoid grave industrial crises and the creation of distressed areas in various parts of the world, very serious consideration must be given now to the international economic set-up which will be necessary to meet the problems thrown up when peace is declared. The Socialist remedy of uniting the world into one great human family, organized to produce to capacity and to share the wealth, the work and the leisure, has been strengthened by the great march of science. All it needs is the courage of the world to apply it.

Our last quotation is from "The New Republic," the well-known American weekly. The article deals with the relation of the labour movement to the "intellectuals" and has something to say about the problem dealt with by the "Record."

The labour movement needs intellectuals to furnish it with ideas and methods for achieving its policies and objectives. One of the disadvantages from which unions suffer is the very fact that they do not have the services of men and women who have been trained in our modern arts and sciences. The capitalist and managerial groups have had a pretty complete monopoly on the services of engineers, advocates, propagandists and administrators. Each year, big business has picked the cream of our best schools and universities and enrolled them in its employ, to devise and perfect ways and means to promote its affairs.

Trade-union leaders have sometimes expressed a hostility to intellectuals that reflects a fear of rival influences within the movement. Intellectuals in the labour movement have had to combat the distrust and suspicion of the "practical" man. Less often, the rank and file may be wary of the intellectual because he has the manners and education of the boss.

The labour movement has in the past obtained a large part of the services performed by intellectuals by borrowing them from other agencies and organizations. Government experts and individual liberals have made their work available to labour, or actually acted in the interest of labour. As unions mature, they should be able to endow themselves with intellectuals as a part of their forces just as any other important social institution does.

BETRAYAL

"I feel like asking the Secretary of War to get the boys who went across the water to fight together on some field where I could go and see them, and I would stand up before them and say: Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war against wars, and I did my best to fulfil the promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say I have not been able to fulfil my promise. You are betrayed. You fought for something that you did not get. And the glory of the armies and the navies of the United States is gone like a dream in the night, and there ensues upon it, in the suitable darkness of the night, the nightmare dread which lay upon the nations before this war came; and there will come sometime, in the vengeful Providence of God, another struggle in which, not a few hundred thousand fine men from America will have to die, but as many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the peoples of the world."

Woodrow Wilson, President of the U.S.A., in a speech at St. Louis on September 5th, 1919.