



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

FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION**An Opportunity and a Danger**

FOLLOWING upon the present world war it should be a favourable circumstance for social organisation that the first world war ended barely a quarter of a century ago. What was neglected, or done wrongly, after the first world war, has brought us the second within a generation. It is an obvious conclusion that this time it will be necessary to make more fundamental changes in the organization of society than were made after the last world war, if a solution is to be found for the persistent world problems. Already during the present war this conviction has gained such ground that voices are to be heard which speak of the inevitability of a third world war if the task of radically reforming the organization of society is once more left undone.

It is not surprising, therefore, that this time the very bases of our social organization are being subjected to critical examination in widely different circles. Whereas hitherto only socialist thinkers had the critical insight that doubted the adequacy and tenability of the existing bases of society, the diversity of those who now do so is much greater. The more recent critics, however, do not seem prepared or inclined to go so far as the socialists have long deemed necessary. Unlike the latter, they do not regard our society as essentially a class society which can only be changed fundamentally as a result of a class struggle, but their social ideas, nevertheless, embody elements of which a purposeful movement for the reconstruction of our society on a socialist basis might well take advantage. It would certainly be wrong to repudiate the solutions proposed by these critics as completely as they repudiate those of a socialistic character; and that is why we consider it desirable to devote some attention to them here, particularly as they relate chiefly to the bases of international relations, which also concern transport.

The new ideas with regard to the organization of social life which we propose to examine this time are those which are directed to the promotion of the development of international agencies on functional lines. The novelty, however, does not lie in the introduction of this principle into international organization, as many international agencies on a functional basis are already in existence. There is a great variety of them in the field of communications, whose organizational restriction within the limits of national territories has led to one of the most artificial and therefore most inadequate types of social organization. Of those existing before the war we need only mention the Universal Postal Union, the International Railway Union—whose chief task has been the promotion of the unification of operating conditions on European railways—and the International Union for the Issue of Coupon Tickets. During this war new functional organizations—such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.), the Middle East Supply Centre (M.E.S.C.) and the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board—have sprung up like mushrooms.

The novelty of the functional organization now advocated lies in the intention to open up in this direction prospects of useful co-operation, on a world or less than a world scale, in all fields of activity in which the need is felt. No formal stipulations as to manner of co-operation are laid down. It is assumed that if there is a need for co-operation, all that is necessary is to abstain from laying down the formal regulations for such co-operation, and the appropriate organs for fulfilling the desired aims or functions will come into being of themselves. A suitable name, "technical self-determination" has already been found for this kind of social autodevelopment and independent activity, and it has been described as "a cardinal virtue of the functional method." The advocates of the functional method expect that so powerful a stimulus will go out from the social need of international organization that the functional development will create a dynamic of its own that will determine the proper organizational forms, which must be capable of modification whenever circumstances make it necessary.

The rise of this theory of social organization has evidently been encouraged by the needs of the present time, which find expression in the impasse in which the world's social organization has landed. The merit of this theory lies in the fact that it recognizes that the general application of a fundamentally new principle of organization is necessary if we are to meet the urgent demand for effective provision for the needs of a highly interdependent world. It says much for the theory's critical appreciation of our present social organization that it rejects as shams all solutions proposed for present-day problems that do not provide for the transformation of the organizational bases of society.

The functional method is put forward by its supporters as the best way out of the impasse in social organization in which this world of ours now finds itself. It finds its credentials in what we consider to be a fundamentally sound criticism of the causes which have led to this impasse. In the well-chosen words of one who has proved to be so far the most capable advocate of this new form of social organization, "it is the formal principle of state equality that has in the past caused all efforts at common international action to flounder between the Scylla of power and the Charybdis of sovereignty."* One of the consequences has been that what have so far, in spite of these difficulties, managed to establish themselves as functional organizations of some kind or other, have never been, nor been able to be, more than "embryonic functional agencies for the periodical co-ordination of separate national services and policies."

So far so good. But the question immediately arises as to how the advocates of the functional method of social organization propose to lead the functional organization past the twin dangers of power politics and the sovereignty of the state, which have in the past stood in the way of its full development. The goal cannot be

Economic unification would build up the foundations for political agreement, even if it did not make it superfluous.

... There is no prospect that under a democratic order we could induce the individual States to accept a permanent limitation of their economic sovereignty by an international authority, operating over the whole field; and it is less likely at a time when the individual nations are themselves planning anew their own use of it.

The real question is not "who are the rightful authorities", but rather, "what are the rightful ends—and what the proper means for them?"

The function of our time is . . . to develop and co-ordinate the social scope of authority.

D. Mitrany.

reached by repeatedly insisting on the way one must behave on the road to it, when all the time the road thereto has yet to be built. We are told that the theory of the functional organization stands for peaceful change—which is hardly surprising for a theory evolved and advocated in war-time. We are then apparently expected to watch the peaceful road coming into being by making "changes of frontier unnecessary by making frontiers meaningless through the continuous development of common activities and interests across them."

But the question irresistibly arises as to how we can expect, if we set course in this direction, that the Scylla and Charybdis, between which such endeavours have previously come to grief, will not once more loom on the horizon. One can readily agree with Professor Mitrany that "action at the end of the war will fix the pattern of international relations for many years to come," but this truth, by now generally recognized, only fixes the historic moment when action will be of preponderant importance for the achievement of an expected long-term result. But this is far from saying that it is also the moment at which functional development will fix the pattern of international society. For that it will be necessary to have behind the functional method social forces capable of overcoming the forces that will try to oppose it.

The circumstance that the theory of functional development is silent on this point, and thus disassociates itself from the socialist solution for present-day social problems, leaves it enveloped in uncertainty as to the forces which will be called upon to bring functional organization into the world. If the advocates of the functional method had accepted socialism they could help to bring about socialism by way of functional organization. Then it would not have been necessary to raise the question, which they have so far left unanswered, as to who will clear the way for functional development, and the kindred question of how it is to be done. As a clearer of ways the labour movement is a social force not to be despised, as it need not be regarded as unconditionally handicapped by the formal principle of state equality, which necessarily stands in the way of the achievement of unlimited functional organization. Incidentally we may say, in this connection, that we are inclined to believe that the reason why the labour movement is so consistently ignored by the functionalists is that they have been

*Professor D. Mitrany: *A Working Peace System—an Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*; Royal Institute of International Affairs, June, 1943.

unable to detect sufficiently convincing indications that that movement has, in the historically decisive period through which we are now passing, the necessary will, courage, power and capacity to bring the realization of socialism a few steps nearer.

Handled with socialistic aims in view, the functional method could be a salutary means for organizing the world, or a part of the world, on lines that could form the pattern for a social system under which uninterrupted progression would be possible, with peace solidly established as a by-product. But the functional method can also be employed with other ends in view, and then it might prove to be a danger instead of the blessing that its advocates undoubtedly intend. For example, the later products of capitalistic economic organization, such as cartels and monopolies in general, might also be regarded as kinds of functional organizations. In the past they have certainly succeeded in using or neutralizing national sovereignty and power politics for their own purposes. They constitute the only real "super government" in the world, an autonomous international organization that can determine the fate of mankind at its will. Failing a mass urge towards socialism when the present war ends, and the conscious use of that urge by a socialistic labour movement, there is every reason to believe that it is these forces that will determine the nature of the peace that has been won at so high a cost by the freedom-loving peoples.

The danger is by no means imaginary that monopoly capital will make use of the functional method for the

purpose of consolidating and extending its power, particularly now that the advocates of that method have shown their neutrality in the class struggle. One of the most considerable branches of monopoly capital has in the meantime taken steps which at least show an appreciation of the possibilities of the functional method. The London *Economist* comments on these steps as follows: "By inviting Professor Mitrany to act as their adviser, Lever Brothers and Unilever declare their wish to study the wide social and political problems in which their vast organization is necessarily involved. The company's interests stretch all over the world, and their raw material subsidiaries bring them in touch with native affairs in Nigeria, the Congo and the Pacific. . . . In many respects they hold the position of a state in these areas, since the impact of such a body upon the lives of natives is more thoroughgoing than is usually realized. . . . The value of his (Professor Mitrany's) appointment, however, will depend upon how far the company makes use of his suggestions, even when they conflict with maximizing profits, as most reforms inevitably will on anything but a very long-term view."

From these considerations, and from the appointment given to the chief exponent of the theory of functional development with which we illustrate them, we would do well to learn the lesson that whether functional development will be a blessing or a new danger to humanity will depend on whether the socialist labour movement or monopoly capital makes use of it.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY MOVE

The British Trades Union Congress has sent out invitations to a World Trade Union Conference to be held in London in June, 1944. This is an event of capital importance, and the Trades Union Congress deserves every praise for its initiative.

The decision to convene the Conference was come to at the annual Trades Union Congress, held at Southport on 9th September, 1943. Its inspiration is reflected in the resolution on "Trades Unions and the War Situation," the latter part of which reads as follows:

" . . . The Congress reaffirms its resolve to strive to make the coming peace worthy of the high aims for which the Allied Nations have declared themselves to be fighting. On behalf of the organized millions of working people this Congress represents we make our claim to a voice in the settlement of the terms and conditions of peace, and a share in the formulation and application of national policy to ensure economic security, social justice, and higher standards of life for all.

" To this end, the Congress requests its General Council to give immediate attention to the possibility of convoking a World Conference of the representatives of the organized workers of all countries as soon as war conditions permit, with the object of considering the most pressing problems both of policy and organization affecting the interests of the working people,

and thereby to promote the widest possible unity, in aim and action, of the International Trade Union Movement."

The invitation has been sent to all trade union national central bodies. Where more than one such body exists in any country, all those of any importance have been invited, as have also existing international trade union organizations, that is to say, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the international trade union federations by trade or industry.

The Conference is to be advisory and consultative in character. Its decisions will not be binding on the organizations taking part until they have ratified them. This fact should be an encouragement to participation, as no organization need fear being involved in any engagement to which it has not given mature consideration.

On account of the "belligerent" character of one of the items on the agenda, the Conference will be divided into two parts, and representatives of the workers in neutral countries will only participate in the second half, so that they will not be associated with any discussions on the conduct of the war, or peace proposals, but only with the consideration of questions relating to relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The following is the provisional agenda suggested by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress:

1. The furtherance of the Allied war effort ;
2. The attitude of the trade unions towards the prospective peace settlement ;
3. Representation of the trade unions at the Peace Conference, and at the preparatory commissions or conferences for relief, rehabilitation and post-war reconstruction ;
4. Problems of post-war reconstruction, including the reconstruction of the International Trade Union Movement.

The Trades Union Congress is inviting participating organizations to propose subjects for discussion, and it assumes that the Conference will probably fix its own final agenda.

Some of these arrangements are excellent, but others are susceptible of improvement. It is satisfactory that existing international trade union organizations should be invited to take part in the Conference, but less happy is the uniform allowance of only one representative for each of the international federations by trade or industry. Just as the national trade union central bodies vary in size—a fact for which the Trades Union Congress makes due allowance—so are there great differences of material and political importance between the several international federations ; and the contribution that each of them can make to the success of any action to be started by the Conference is very unequal. Having regard to the essentially consultative character of the Conference, a somewhat larger representation of the greater of these international federations would hardly be likely to raise any very thorny constitutional problems.

The workers in both belligerent and neutral countries have common aims, and in a conference convened "to promote the widest possible unity, in aim and action, of the International Trade Union Movement" they should sit together from beginning to end. There may be some little political difficulty about getting representatives of the workers in neutral countries to attend a conference to deal with "the furtherance of the Allied war effort," but it would be easy enough to get round it by wording this item of the agenda somewhat differently.

But these defects of arrangement should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the Trades Union Congress is offering the trade union movement of the world an opportunity to consider its problems and find new ways and means to unite for action. Far-reaching decisions affecting the lives of the workers in all countries of the world are being come to by forces acting within a purview which is world-wide in its scope. If the workers wish to have an effective voice in the determination of their own destinies they must also create a force capable of action on a world scale.

The most urgent task, upon the successful accomplishment of which all the rest depends, is the ending of the war by the defeat of the fascist powers. What can the organized workers do to accelerate it ? And what do the workers' organizations think the statesmen in the different countries should do to achieve the same end ? These questions have certain essentially military aspects with regard to which only a very restricted number of

people can speak with any assurance, and it is hardly likely that a trade union conference will wish to pronounce upon them. But the same questions have also industrial, social and political aspects, about which labour leaders are peculiarly qualified to speak. There are also aspects whose scope lies beyond the end of hostilities proper ; and here is work for the trade union movement. And its action will be the more effective according as the number of countries, belligerent and neutral, to which it extends is greater, and if it is guided by common ideas.

The war has swept away all the old political, social, economic and cultural relations between individual citizens and the community in each country, and between the peoples of the world. What must we put in their place ? Must we restore the old conditions, partially or wholly ? Must we maintain the whole or part of the new relations established under war conditions ? Or build again from the bottom up ? The labour movement cannot evade these questions ; they are fundamental, and the replies that events will give to them will determine the fate of future generations. And any policy that is not based upon a set of principles according to which the life of the world must be organized in its major aspects is inadequate. The Trades Union Congress is, therefore, facing the world's trade union movement with the duty of examining its conscience and proclaiming its conception of the future peace.

But the world cannot pass with one leap from war to the future peace, even if as ideally conceived as the trade union movement would like it to be. The transition from war to peace will be long and painful, with reverses as well as successes. No man, even though invested with the absolute power to govern the whole world, is capable of foreseeing, and still less determining, how humanity shall pass from this war to the new peace. All that we know is that the first step on the road to peace will be a gigantic effort to relieve peoples in distress, and to re-erect economic systems that have fallen in ruins. The second step will be taken by those who undertake the rebuilding of the old social edifice, or the building of a new one. Everything else, the whole of the future, depends on these two steps. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that the trade union movement should bring its influence to bear on this work of relief and reconstruction, so that the organizational principles of the future peace that it advocates, or will advocate in the future, shall be applied from the very first moment.

If, as we hope, the Conference succeeds in laying down a world trade union policy aiming to accelerate the conduct of the war to its final end, and to propagate its principles for the organization of the peace and the relief and reconstruction work, it will also wish to take steps to ensure the success of this policy by immediate action. What would be more natural than the constitution of an *ad hoc* body entrusted with the direction of such action ? Bryn Roberts, one of the two principal speakers who supported at the Southport Congress the adoption of the resolution which we have quoted at the beginning of this article, expressed his hope that co-operation would be centralized in a single International Committee. For such an international body to work successfully, all

existing international trade union organizations capable of making a useful contribution should be drawn in and harnessed to the task. The immediate constitution and bringing into effective operation of such a body—which if necessary could be of a provisional character only—would probably mean deferring to a later date the solution of the less urgent problem of the post-war form of the international organizations of the trade union movement.

The material necessary to give this Conference historic importance is not lacking, therefore. It would be difficult to exaggerate the urgency of the action which the Trades Union Congress has undertaken. In the fourth year of the first world war the trade union movement was far more advanced in its work of preparing a Labour policy than it is to-day. The second world war raises problems affecting the whole future of the Movement, and above all the future of the workers of the world.

The trade union movement must make a decisive contribution to their solution if it wants to prevent other forces from preventing any solution at all—as they did after the first world war—and precipitating this time humanity's final catastrophe. We subscribe unreservedly to what Sir Walter Citrine, the General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, has written about the matter: "If we, the representatives of the workers, cannot hammer out a constructive policy for a comprehensive International, we are as good as admitting that the new world we have said we want cannot be created. This will be just the excuse needed by static or reactionary elements in the various countries. This is a supreme historical test for the Movement. The depth and strength of its faith will be revealed by the extent to which it is ready to rise superior to national difficulties." And we would add: "superior to nationalist ideas and sentiments."
P. T.

TOWARDS A POST-WAR EUROPEAN TRANSPORT SYSTEM

The International Railwaymen's Conference, held in London on 28th and 29th September last, requested the I.T.F. to set up a committee to deal with the European transport problem; for it was felt that whatever the economic and political situation which might emerge after the war, the trade unions would have to demand—as many of them are demanding already—a say in the reorganization and the operation of transport, and that the trade unions should prepare themselves for the task by subjecting the problem to preliminary study. At the first meeting of the European Transport Committee which was subsequently appointed, its Chairman, Mr. J. Marchbank, delivered an address of which we print the essential parts below.

The problem, or rather the problems, before us are on the one hand extremely urgent and on the other hand also raise long-term issues. It is clear that for many reasons transport will after this war be an instrument for combating chaos, famine and disease on the Continent. So far the question of transporting food, medical supplies, raw materials and industrial equipment, and the millions, if not tens of millions, of people who have been taken from their homes, has not been publicly discussed by the authorities concerned. Transport labour desires to play a part when such discussions do take place, and from this follows the necessity of formulating a policy, if possible an international one, and the only body through which this can be done is the I.T.F., as the body to which are affiliated the free transport workers' unions of all categories in Europe and to which were affiliated also the transport workers' unions of the countries which to-day are under the Nazi yoke.

The countries which will have to be provided with food, medical supplies, materials and equipment after the war, and perhaps even during the war, cover a large part of the European continent. This continent was before the war an aggregation of national states. How many of these will survive the war as independent and sovereign entities it is hard to say, but it may be assumed that most of them will revive and retain their independence and, what is especially relevant to our discussions, their sovereignty.

I think that we are all agreed that in the post-war world countries will have to surrender part of their

sovereignty to international or regional institutions if the highest degree of co-operation and prosperity is to be achieved. For the relief period, as I would term the first phase after the war, it will not be difficult to persuade such national governments as will be in existence of the necessity of placing the necessary means of transport at the disposal of the distributive agencies, or to compel a defeated Germany to allow such agencies access to her transport system.

* * *

We do not know how great are the forces determined to seize the opportunity offered by the war, but I hold that the I.T.F. must be one of them. Organized labour is, in fact, the only potentially big power on which the forces of progress can rely for creating in Europe new bases for the political, economic and cultural relationships between nations.

The schemers of interests vested in the old disastrous relationships and rivalries know the importance of transport as an instrument in international political, and economic policies. They have their transport policy—though little publicized—shrewdly calculated to serve their purpose, which is to divide the world and so rule it. They will pay lip service to international co-operation, and even promote casual co-operation where and when it serves to enhance their power. The ends of the custodians of vested interests conflict violently with the interests and ideals of the working classes all over the world.

What, then, should be Organized Labour's transport policy? This committee has been set up for the purpose

of providing a tentative answer to the question. I presume you will commence your task with a general exchange of views on the whole range of the subject. That being so, it is obvious that one of the first tasks will be to take stock of the existing means of transport, their composition and their relative importance, and to bring about their co-ordination where necessary. This is in itself an immense task for which the co-operation of all concerned will be needed.

It is a task which can only be carried out effectively if for this purpose national frontiers, and all the paraphernalia of customs and passport control, are abolished. In a general discussion of this kind I may be permitted to refer to a contribution I made as long ago as July, 1942, which appeared in the *Daily Herald*. I said then: "Europe alone will offer a great field for development. About it will inevitably be a vast network of airways. They will be part of a sensible transport system, not just an unbridled competitor, as road transport became after the last war. The railways, canals and roads must be welded into the whole, each supplementing and supporting the others. And I look forward ultimately to a great Socialized transport system over the whole Continent.

"A magnificent opportunity will present itself at the end of the war. . . . Then will be the time to sweep away artificial barriers between country and country, to standardize railway gauges and make intercommunication a factor that will whittle away the narrow nationalism that has brought disaster. In the early stages it might not be possible to step easily beyond the barriers of some particular State, but the co-operative use of transport between States can be made part of the peace and the building up of the new social order will eventually demand a centralized authority. . . ."

This statement proceeds from four principles:

- (1) In several respects, and in particular in respect of transport, Europe must be treated as a unit.
- (2) In the European transport system must be achieved complete co-ordination of all forms of transport by land, coastal and inland waters and by air.
- (3) Relief operations must be made the starting point of a new transport policy.
- (4) We must use transport as a lever for securing a better European order.

In the sixteen months that have elapsed since the statement was made, I have read articles and statements, and listened to arguments dealing with the same subject. For instance, G. D. H. Cole, an economist of repute on whom the Executive called in 1930 to report to the I.T.F. congress on the economic trends of the time, has pleaded much on the same lines as I do. Mr. David Mitrany, adviser to the powerful international combine of Lever Bros. and Unilever, writes in a publication of the Royal Institute of International Affairs: "What is the proper basis for the international organization of railway systems? Clearly, it must be European, or rather, continental, North American and so on, as that gives the logical administrative limit for co-ordination."

The necessity of treating Europe as a unit is not openly questioned by hard-boiled defenders of national sover-

It is significant that any serious discussion of the future of Europe leads to the conclusion that Europe is a unit and must be treated as such in any practical scheme of reconstruction.

The Times on December 10th, 1943.

eighty in discussions on air transport, which can make available valuable new services to mankind. The pre-war situation was really bad, and if anything is surprising it is that air transport in Europe developed as much as it did. Here the need for international control is so patent that no further argument is required. Control on a European scale is sufficient only for meeting European material needs. But H. G. Wells has demonstrated convincingly that for the safety of Europe and the world something much greater is required. To ensure that air transport will be a service to humanity, and not a curse, a worldwide controlling institution is indispensable.

Of all manifestations of thought that encourage me to strive for bold and profound changes in the European set-up I value highest the journals and leaflets published by our comrades fighting in the underground movements throughout oppressed Europe. I have not read in that kind of literature scientific treatises on the organization of European transport after the war, but I have read significant statements which are relevant to the discussion we will conduct in this committee. . . .

I am profoundly convinced that in striving for a transport policy that is conducive to European unity I am aiming at the goal our comrades on the European continent have in mind when they resist and fight. I have let my thoughts go on the question: how to reach the goal?

The answer to that question must vary according to circumstances. The circumstances prevailing at present suggest the following course: The U.N.R.R.A. have stated that they will control the shipping required for relief operations. It has been stated that no individual state will be allowed to act on its own in the field of maritime transport without regard to the repercussions of its actions on the needs and endeavours of other states. All claims on shipping will be met by U.N.R.R.A. on the basis of the requirements of all claimants, so as to ensure a fair deal to every nation in need of relief. That is an excellent principle and it would seem that those who have established it have realized that the work of U.N.R.R.A. would be in jeopardy if the same principle were not applied also to the whole of European inland transport.*

Relief and rehabilitation is a temporary job. But when does relief and rehabilitation end and economic development begin? Relief officers in North Africa have soon found out that no sharp limit can be drawn between the short term job and the long term requirements. Long term economic developments must be initiated while the urgent relief work is still going on. That will also be the case in Europe. . . . Long range decisions have to be taken

* In the meantime, announcements that U.N.R.R.A. would control what amounts to a shipping pool and a European inland transport service have turned out to be *canards*. If and as such international agencies are created, they will—as matters stand at present—be distinct from U.N.R.R.A.—Ed.

right at the start. Such decisions can not be taken too early, as I should like to illustrate by an example of a technical character, i.e., the introduction of automatic couplings on European railways. What is true of technical questions is true of others also. During the short span of time following the end of hostilities, decisions affecting transport must be and will be taken, and they will determine the course of European transport policy for the next quarter or half-century. If the opportunity is seized for taking the right decisions the pace of European progress and recovery can be hastened considerably.

* * *

The purpose of transport, which is not a productive but a distributive service, is to provide sufficient facilities for the movement of passengers and goods. This does not mean merely that transport has to be provided for a given volume of traffic; the provision of transport facilities can be the means of creating traffic by releasing areas from the isolation in which they formerly found themselves.

One of the questions which we shall have to investigate is whether in the past the sovereignty of the several nations has been an obstacle to the improvement of the economic position of a given country or region. We shall have to investigate whether conflicting interests or perhaps identity of interests has on occasion hampered the improvement of transport facilities. There is no doubt that countries which have fallen behind in economic and social development would profit enormously if there existed an international institution to guide them, and if other countries helped to bring them into line. It is generally true to say that where means of transport are deficient the standard of living is relatively low.

It has often been said that Europe is a political anachronism, and we of the I.T.F. have always favoured the creation of the United States of Europe. We have to admit, however, that not much thought has been given to the question how a union composed of so many divergent elements would work in practice. This war has once again proved that Europe cannot be united by force, but that the path to unity lies via voluntary co-operation. Whether the oppressed peoples of Europe will be prepared to co-operate on terms of equality with the country responsible for their suffering and misery seems highly improbable. It will be a long time before a situation exists where wholehearted co-operation becomes feasible, but we should never forget that Germany lies in the heart of Europe, and that without her the gradual building up of a European commonwealth of nations can never become reality. . . .

I do not think that it is true to say that the fact that the Germans have taken possession of the transport systems of many European countries, and have pulled down frontier barriers, will necessarily facilitate the task of unification. The countries neighbouring upon Germany will initially tend to frown upon everything reminiscent of their incorporation in the Third Reich. While we must have full understanding for this natural reaction, we shall have to place our discussions and our policy on a higher plane and look to the future, believing as we do that peace can only be maintained if all the

peoples of Europe are given an opportunity to play their part and take their share within a system based on mutual welfare.

My own opinion is that the question is such a tremendous one that we shall be well advised at a later stage to confine ourselves to a close examination of the main aspects which demand a practical solution immediately after the war. I believe that we cannot do much more than frame recommendations designed to ensure that the main arteries of the European transport system shall be used for the benefit of the different European nations on a basis of equality, to avoid one country taking measures that will hamper or injure the interests of another, to bring about the creation of machinery armed with powers to deal with and finally settle disputes that arise.

In my view a large part of the transport problem can be left to the several countries. I cannot see any use of an international discussion on urban and inter-urban traffic, for example, apart from the general interest we take in the position existing in the various countries. The same applies to local and regional traffic where restricted to one country. On the other hand, where such traffic affects more than one country, joint schemes will be needed. But at the present stage, lacking as we do information about the situation locally, it is extremely difficult to make any pronouncements upon where co-ordination will be needed.

* * *

It is not my intention to go into all these questions; I would but draw your attention to some of the aspects of the problem before us. One of the aspects which you will have to deal with, and one which should always be our foremost consideration, is that of working and service conditions. It is true that we are ignorant of the cost of living and the monetary relations between countries which will prevail on the morrow of the war. But it is also true that the European workers can only gain by a levelling of the cost of living and a standardization of their working conditions. If such standardization is to be brought about, I think the natural process is for a lead to be given in the trades which are international in character and for the other trades to follow suit.

Even if it should not prove practicable to standardize wages, I see no reason why it should be impossible to equalize other conditions. I think it is true to say that where wages are low other conditions are also inferior, so that the wages argument cannot be used against the case for standardization. Standardization must start somewhere, and I consider that hours, holidays, social insurances, continuity of employment and service amenities (such as canteens, recreation facilities, etc.), should provide a useful starting-point. . . .

The organization of the world and prolonged co-operation after the war among the United Nations are inconceivable unless each one of them is disposed to make certain sacrifices for the common peace. The world cannot be organized if each State maintains its national sovereignty in its entirety, together with the absolute right to solve its political and economic problems in its own way.

P. H. Spaak, Belgian Socialist Leader and Foreign Minister.

The formula errs only in so far as it assumes that sovereignty was for most European States a reality.

The New Statesman and Nation on December 18th, 1943.

THE POST-WAR OUTLOOK FOR AVIATION

Not a day passes but one finds in newspapers and periodicals reports about the development and future of aviation. This is not surprising when one considers that the building of aeroplanes has become Great Britain's biggest industry. In the United States no less than two and a half million workers are engaged in the aeroplane industry, with the result that it has left all other modern large-scale industries, such as the automobile industry, far behind. When the war is over mankind will have at its disposal an aeroplane production capacity exceeding the wildest expectations. Just as motor road transport took, after the last world war, a step forward that could not have been expected for many years without the war, so will staggering possibilities be opened up for air transport after the present war.

It is not possible to say even approximately how many aeroplanes themselves will be available, apart from capacity for producing them, on the morrow of the war, but it is pretty sure that it will run into hundreds of thousands. This fact alone gives good reason for expecting a similar development of aerial navigation after this war as was witnessed with motor road transport after the last world war. In 1914 the French army entered the war with only 110 motor lorries: in 1918 it had 70,000, to which must be added 105,000 British and American vehicles. If we apply a similarly high ratio to the British ownership of aeroplanes at the beginning of the present war, and at the end which is still to come, we shall probably be exceedingly moderate in our comparison.

Nor will there be, after the war, any lack of the means for operating air transport. Well-equipped aerodromes, fuel, and trained personnel for service in the air and on the ground will be available in superabundance. Experience will have been acquired in performances of the most varied character, and in every imaginable circumstance, that without this war would have long remained in the realm of pious hopes. The only obstacles that, in peace-time, may stand in the way of the fullest possible development of this so widely ramified industry, geographically and economically speaking, will be political, economic and social, but certainly not of a technical character. The all-important question will prove to be by whom, how and for what purposes this mighty product of technological genius, organizing power and courageous spirit of enterprise, wrestled with blood and toil and sweat and tears from a world in need, will be used. It is hardly to be believed that the use of this most ideal means of international transport, brought to so high a pitch of perfection in the greatest and most general of all collective efforts at co-operation to a common end that this war represents, should once more be chiselled down to fit the bed of Procrustes of state sovereignty, for the purpose of serving national interests wrongly understood and interpreted in terms of antitheses.

The international problem is complicated by an exclusive recognition of the rights of nations.

E. H. Carr.

So long as the foundations have not been laid for a general post-war plan of international co-operation, however, it looks very much as though things would go this way. The *New York Wall Street Journal*, the spokesman of a group of interests which in practice probably lies furthest removed from the social ideals which the labour movement professes, gives us the following realistic picture of what is being busily brewed in circles which apparently are not forced to devote themselves exclusively to the promotion of the war effort:

"Men who transport the world's goods and people (this does not mean the transport workers! Ed.) are preparing now for the biggest battle . . . and this time the sky literally is the limit. . . . Preliminary jockeying by those who want to get a hand quickly into the air transport field when peace comes has converted the offices of the civil aeronautics board into a semi-madhouse. Applications for new air routes—many propose to fly helicopters—are coming in at an unbelievable rate. . . . Municipalities are competing for air services. Politicians are promising airports everywhere. Also fighting for world routes and airfields are the strong Government-backed air systems of the British, the Dutch, the Swedes and other members of neutral or the United Nations group."

The struggle which we have pictured of those who wish to take advantage of a means of transport which has been perfected during and through the war, as a result of so much effort, suffering and sacrifice on the part of the whole of human society, by no means has its origins in the fact that the issue of the war now appears to have been decided. Strategic plans for the struggle were laid much earlier. This appears, for example, from remarks made by the President of Pan-American Airways at the end of October, when he mentioned that his concern had been busy for two years on a programme for the construction of 153-passenger aircraft to be used for a ten-hour service between New York and London. It is estimated that passages will cost \$100, or about £25. This involves a life and death struggle between the post-war passenger services by sea and by air. The ship-owners are so pessimistic as to the outcome of this struggle that they have hastened to add themselves to the list of those interested in running air services. This is not surprising when one considers that before the war the prices of passages by luxury liner were roughly £18 for third class, £23 in the tourist class, and £35 in first class. But for these prices passengers were from five to eight days on the way, instead of ten hours. In this case not only the time factor, but also that of cost is definitely on the side of the air route. The time factor has here a decisive influence on the cost factor on account of the very different requirements in the way of accommodation for voyages differing so much in duration. And what applies for transoceanic traffic by aeroplane and passenger liner also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, for transcontinental traffic by aeroplane and train.

We do not propose to enter here into the highly controversial question of post-war opportunities for goods traffic by aeroplane. For the time being we consider that the question of what the general conditions for world trade will be is far more important for the weal and woe of the post-war world than that of the economics of the traffic itself. The broader economic problem here over-

shadows that of transport economics, not only on account of the favourable influences upon the volume of world trade that would flow from a beneficent regulation of that trade, but chiefly because of the general political and economic implications that would be incidental to it. The volume and variety of world trade will depend much on the foundations that are laid for it, that in determining the several shares in that trade that will be carried by land, water or air, widely differing economic standards will have to be applied, according as those foundations are such as to hamper or further international trade.

But apparently the time is not yet regarded as ripe for considerations of this kind. In so far as any thought has been given to the formal regulation of post-war aviation on the so very necessary international basis, it seems that only the passenger traffic has been taken into consideration. At the beginning of October reports on the subject appeared in the press, following a press conference with President Roosevelt. From what he said he had discussed with Mr. Churchill, who shared his ideas, it appears that practically speaking attention has only been given to passenger services and strategic lines. The former have mainly been discussed in terms of privately owned and privately operated air lines; the latter only in connection of the possibility of State lines. This sample of statesmanlike foundation-laying of future world organization is dished up to us by President Roosevelt under the label of "Freedom of the Air." It is not necessary for us to say anything nasty about it. This has already been done acutely and realistically, though inevitably somewhat bitterly, by Mr. G. L. Schwartz, lecturer in economics at the London School of Economics. In a letter to the well-known independent British weekly *The New Statesman and Nation* he lets us see "what that principle of so-called freedom comes to."

He writes :

"Mr. Roosevelt said that if a Canadian air liner ran to the Bahamas or Puerto Rico there was no reason why that line should not be allowed to land planes for refuelling in America. But if it landed at, say, Buffalo, it would not be allowed to pick up passengers there and set them down at Miami. Similarly the British might run a line from England to Australia and New Zealand. There was no reason why their planes should not land at New York for refuelling, but they would not be allowed to pick up passengers there and take them to the Pacific coast.

"Now an arrangement which would compel a plane to travel empty from Buffalo to Miami, or from New York to Los Angeles, will strike the ordinary man as senseless, and I can give him my professional assurance that it is so. The virtual scrapping of transport accommodation is a piece of fatuous restrictionism on all fours with the burning of coffee, the ploughing-in of cotton and the slaughtering of hogs for cart grease. I defy anyone to demonstrate that it is not anti-social. On these lines the only hope for the post-war world lies in bigger and better smuggling, bootlegging and black-marketing. Thank Heaven, the commando boys are getting a good training for these social services.

"It is becoming the moral duty of all good men and true to produce counter-schemes to these damfool enhancements of scarcity, and in the present case I toss off the following proposal. Let the Canadian Air Line pick up passengers at Buffalo and ostensibly book them through to the Bahamas. Arrange for them to be taken ill over Florida and make an emergency landing at Miami. The passengers will emerge with white faces (the stewardess can fix that up) and declare themselves incapable of continuing the journey. They can then recuperate at Palm Beach in accordance with their original intentions."

Whether things will go exactly as Mr. Schwartz so vividly prognosticates on the basis of the image one gets from the interpretation of "freedom of the air," given by the originator of the well-known "Four Freedoms," President Roosevelt, we do not know, but we do know that we need not expect a future widely different from conditions in the past if, to begin with, air transport is to be formally regulated as officially announced shortly after in Washington. A report which appeared in the press stated :

"The State Department gave on October 15th an indication of the procedure which will be adopted in the field of international aviation. When, after consultation with the Civil Aeronautics Board, the needs of American air companies are known, the question of landing rights will be discussed with foreign governments, and in the meanwhile foreign companies seeking landing rights in the United States should request their governments to transmit their applications through diplomatic channels."

The prospects for post-war aviation, and for the future of our world in general, are certainly very gloomy if means are not found to lay broader foundations for international aviation than those which we have termed the bed of Procrustes of State sovereignty. In the meantime the bed is being made, and the world is again threatened with being mutilated upon it, and later set once more ablaze.

A NATIONAL TRANSPORT PLAN FOR CANADA

One of the key positions in the national economy and one of the major fields of investment, is the transportation system. The end of the war will undoubtedly bring vast changes here, notably in the expansion of air transport, the revival of road transport on something like the pre-war scale, and important re-adjustments by the railways to meet the new conditions. We must not go back to the chaos of unregulated road-rail water competition. Our various means of transportation must be co-ordinated in a single scientific National Transport Plan. The Canadian Pacific Railway and its growing network of air-lines must be brought under public ownership and operation, and such air, road and water services as are not part of the publicly-owned transport system must be fitted into the plan by being confined to their proper economic limits and adequately regulated as to rates, safety, etc.

The governments, Dominion and Provincial, the various unions of transportation workers, representatives of the technical and management staffs of the various transport systems and representatives (management and union) of the railway rolling stock, aeroplane, ship-building and other transport equipment industries, should at the earliest possible moment begin to formulate the National Transport Plan, so that it will be ready for operation in the transition from a war to a peace economy. The unions concerned should start work on their own proposals at once.

From "*The Canadian Unionist*."

A UNIFIED TRANSPORT SYSTEM IN POST-WAR CHINA

As soon as peace is restored China will look forward to a period of modernization and industrialization. There are tremendous potentialities for development in transport and communications, and plans have been laid for their rehabilitation and reconstruction after the war.

In the first place, we have formulated a plan for a national transportation system in which railways, highways, waterways and airways are duly mapped out and co-ordinated and a national communication system in which telegraph, radio, city and long-distance telephones, broadcasting and postal services are all inter-related. Both national economy and national defence have been taken into consideration without sacrifices to international needs.

In the second place, we have gained by experience abroad. We have formed several committees to work on standardization and specifications of equipment and materials required by railways, ships, planes, telegraphs, telephones, etc. This work has been carried on for several years and will be pushed to completion in the nearest future.

In the third place, we have not forgotten the need for international co-operation as stressed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, our national father, in his book *International Development of China* written soon after World War I. He foresaw the need to divert surplus productive energy and manpower in war industries to peaceful pursuits as soon as war ends and favoured productive energy and manpower being devoted to develop China's vast resources. It is regrettable that such schemes could not be materialized then. It seems certain that after the close of World War II the same conditions will exist. It has been proposed that the principles outlined by Dr. Sun should be brought into application with minor modifications. Generalissimo Chiang has in his new book *China's Destiny* formulated a programme for the execution of Dr. Sun's plan. We may say that foreign capital in the form of machinery and materials will be greatly needed

and will always be welcome in China provided that investment is made in consistency with the principle of equality. Foreign technical assistance is also needed and welcomed. A modernized China will be a great step forward in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the new world.

The war has demonstrated the efficiency of our organization and the ability of our men engaged in transportation and communications. China's engineers have built railways, highways, bridges, tunnels, airfields, etc., with commendable speed and of high standards. Transport men have shown skill and bravery in handling military movements during the various critical stages of the war. Our past record is gratifying, but in view of the magnitude of essential post-war reconstruction China requires many more engineers and experts than we have to-day. We have arranged to send students to study abroad. The co-operation and assistance of the Allied Governments, industries and transport firms will be most welcome. *From a Bulletin published by the Chinese Consul-General in London.*

LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY ON U.S.A. RAILWAYS

Railroads are paying less for labour, in proportion to traffic carried, than ever in their history.

That significant disclosure high-lighted a report on "War-time Labour Productivity in Railroad Transportation," published at the end of September by the Department of Labor.

Each year since 1938 there has been a sharp drop in labor costs. For the five years ending with 1942 the decline was over 22 per cent. Last year, the Department said, "the unit labor cost was lower than any previous year."

That has been due mainly to an amazing rise in workers' productivity, the report explained. They are carrying an all-time high in traffic per man and in many instances labor-saving machinery has displaced a large amount of man-power, the report showed.

Machines Slaughter Jobs. As examples, the Department cited machines doing the work of 80 to 90 men, which have been put into service on maintenance of way work during the past few years, mainly before the war.

"Most of the technical developments have either speeded up operation, increased the load capacity of trains, or reduced labor requirements for maintaining roadway or equipment," the Department explained. "In these ways, they have helped to make it possible for the railroads to carry much more traffic per man-hour worked than ever before."

In the seven years from 1935 through 1942, workers' productivity has almost doubled, the report disclosed.

It used 1939 as a yardstick, putting the productivity index (that is, traffic per employe) at 100 for that year. On that basis, the index stood at 83.9 in 1935 and had shot up to 150.3 in 1942.

From "Labor."

ON THE DYNAMICS OF TRANSPORT

P. WOHL and A. ALBITRECCHIA, transport experts of the *International Chamber of Commerce*.

It was transport, in fact, which enabled the governments to organize those vast areas within whose boundaries the nations came to life politically and economically. . . .

ROAD AND RAIL IN FORTY COUNTRIES—1935.

E. von PHILIPPOVICH, Austrian Economist.

The highly developed means of transport of the present day have not only called into existence great organizations to control their own functions: they have also become an instrument for the organization of large-scale production.

THE SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION OF TRANSPORT
—1905.

L. DE BROUCKÈRE, Belgian Socialist and Theoretician.

To organize economic activity transport must be organized first.

THE NECESSITY OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
ON A WORLD SCALE—1941

THE I.T.F. FIGHT AGAINST FRANCO SPAIN

By JOHN MARCHBANK

Underground activities carried on by the International Transportworkers' Federation in Italy were depicted in our July-August issue. Some of the results of this work are now visible. Our Vice-President describes below the activities of the I.T.F. in connection with the tragic course of events in Spain. Here, too, results may be visible very soon.

The I.T.F. became active in Spain when, on 18th July, 1936, the rising of the Fascist generals in Morocco challenged the legal and democratic government of the country. Right from the beginning the I.T.F. took a definite stand. Before the month in which the tragedy started had come to an end, a strong appeal went forth to the transport workers' organizations everywhere to watch sharply all shipments to Spain and to boycott vessels in ports already in the hands of the Fascists. A special fund was instituted to provide help for the democratic fighting forces in Spain, and my late colleague, Comrade Nathans, assistant general secretary of the I.T.F., went to Spain in the following month. I have to record here our sense of loss at the death of Comrade Nathans, who was killed in an air crash on 28th July, 1937, whilst travelling on a mission for the benefit of the Spanish people.

From Spain Nathans wrote a passionate appeal for help, embodied in a report of his experiences which was widely read—even by the victims of other Fascist regimes, such as the Austrian workers, who circulated it through the underground organization of the Austrian railwaymen.

In response to that appeal the I.T.F. bought food, chartered ships and made the first organized and systematic effort to provide famished centres of population with the means to enable them to carry on their single-handed fight. At the same time the I.T.F. did everything within its power to assist the representatives of the legal Spanish Government in their desperate efforts to get hold of what was denied them by the official and treacherous policy of non-intervention. Arms and munitions were their most urgent need. Not only were ships chartered with the help of the I.T.F., but reliable crews were also mustered, including radio officers who are, under such conditions, of very great help.

How difficult this work was, in the circumstances prevailing, can be understood by those who realize that not only the authorities were opposed to the enterprise, but as a rule the ship-owners too could not be regarded as favourably disposed to such activities. The Norwegian Seamen's Union, for example, had to face legal action by the shipowners, who did not want to acquiesce in the sailing boycott the I.T.F. had instituted on the ports held by the Fascists. Ships' crews, moreover, were not at all pleased when it happened that ships chartered for other destinations were, whilst at sea, given orders to proceed to ports under fascist control. Numerous cases are known of seamen who made themselves liable to prosecution for desertion because they refused to sail their ships to these ports.

It is a matter of history that the I.T.F. pressed consistently and with vigour a policy of defiance to the non-intervention programme and urged it upon the International Labour Movement. The strongest and most

passionate advocate of this policy of defiance was the late Edo Fimmen, and he had the support of his I.T.F. colleagues. Testimony to this effect came from the Union General de Trabajadores de España, the Spanish national federation of trade unions, which informed the I.T.F. that Fimmen's eloquent plea had been reported to them and added: "The Executive Committee unanimously decided to express to this comrade their profound thanks, and to ask you at the same time to inform him of the very great satisfaction of the Spanish working class with the activities of your organization on behalf of our cause." Edo Fimmen, who was at that time put forward as candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, went himself to Spain in the first half of 1937, busying himself with the organization of our I.T.F. intervention, and facilitating its many-sided activities in Spain.

Among the thousands of workers from every country who volunteered for the Spanish fight for freedom, members of the I.T.F. took a prominent part. They organized their own groups on the various fronts and distinguished themselves in many actions. Here is evidence of it in a letter from one of these groups on the Aragon front, addressed to Edo Fimmen:

"13th April, 1937, on our Huesca Front, we made a big attack in which all the members of our group of seamen participated. We suffered heavy losses (the casualties are then enumerated). For the rest our small group emerged in good health and undaunted from the severe fight. After furlough, the remainder will, together with the International Brigade, return to the front and take their part in the fight against Fascism. Dear Comrade Fimmen, we all have but one wish—that all our friends abroad will fulfil their proletarian duty. We shall continue to stand to a man and hope and desire to guard the honour of our I.T.F."

It is still too soon to tell the whole story of the I.T.F. work in Spain. It is not yet at an end. Even as I write a letter reached me from the I.T.F. secretariat, giving me in translation the substance of a communication received from the Spanish General Union of Workers, whose Executive is now resident in Mexico. In this communication our Spanish comrades assure us that their hopes of restoring the Republic are centred in the victory of the United Nations, "not so much with a wish that they should intervene in matters which only Spaniards must decide, but because their victory would mean the crushing of Hitler and Mussolini who, making use of Franco, enslaves Spain, and because with the removal of its ignominious chains Spain will decide clearly, as in 1931, for a Republican regime."

Unfortunately our Spanish comrades in Mexico are disturbed by rumours to the effect that the British Government is prepared to help in the restoration of the Spanish monarchy, and that intrigues are afoot to place

on the Spanish throne Don Juan, of Bourbon, who in 1936 went to fight against the Spanish Republicans, taking sides with the Nazis, Fascists and Phalangists. "This rumour," our Spanish comrades write, "is being spread in the columns of American newspapers, which mentions a similar tendency on the part of the Washington Government, and they have all the appearance of probability, defining the attitude of the United States Government as being inevitable consequence of that previously taken up by the Government in London."

Our Spanish comrades go on to explain that if the Spanish monarchy were restored by the will of the Spanish nation, they would regard it as legitimate that Ministers representing the Labour Party and the British working class in the British Government should refrain from opposing the resurrection of a regime which the will of the Spanish people overthrew twelve years ago, but that they "could not regard it as equally legitimate that these Ministers should go to the extreme of encouraging and assisting such a change in violation of the earnest wishes of the Spanish people." By agreeing to, and still more by assisting the transfer of tyrannical power from Franco to Don Juan, our Spanish comrades say Britain

would be violating the essential principle for which it is fighting—that is, the freedom of all peoples to choose the regime under which they will live, and to appoint their own Government.

I cite this communication both for the warning it contains, and for the evidence it supplies that the vital connection between our I.T.F. organization and the Spanish Republican forces is still maintained. One may hope that the rumour of British Government policy being directed towards the restoration of the Spanish monarchy is unfounded. The best guarantee that no such support would be given by the British Government is the presence of Ministers representing our organized Labour Government. But it is well that the warning should be given and that the British Government and the British nation should realize that the way to get rid of Franco and the Phalangist regime is not to re-establish the monarchy but to promote the establishment in Spain of democratic institutions and a regime of constitutional government, and at the same time to use its influence to bring about the release of the many hundreds of thousands of political prisoners still in Spanish prisons and concentration camps.

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 provoke thought and because it may contribute towards a clarification of thought.

Our first quotation is from "The Railway Service Journal," the organ of the Railway Clerks' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, in which Mr. C. N. Gallie, the General Secretary of the R.C.A., writes:

Share in the control of management in industry, which was the subject of a great deal of consideration after the last war, is again becoming the subject of discussion in certain trade union circles. It is an intriguing question, but from statements which I have heard it seems to me that a claim for partnership in industry is too often the consequence of immature thought, and appears to be based on a conception that wages and other conditions of employment are sufficient recognition for services rendered by labour, and that in some form or other partnership will improve these. Taking industry as it is at present organized, this simply means cashing in on the capitalist system. Personally, I cannot accept the ethics of such an arrangement. Furthermore, I feel it would fail in its purpose. The economies of capitalism are bound to limit the wage structure, or alternatively, to resort to the principles of the Corporate State, by which organized sections of the community would be able to exploit the whole. Of course, there is a good deal to be said against showing undue tenderness for a community which fails to realize its obligations to the producers of wealth. But fundamentally, I think it is wrong to create within a democratic State a set of conditions which makes exploitation possible. Of this I am certain—that if Labour as a partner sought to apply the full rights of a partner, it would find its other partner asserting its political influence to safeguard its power and its prerogative. It seems to me that any form of workers' share in the management or in the control of industry must be accompanied, if it is to be effective, by a simultaneous assertion of political power.

We take our next quotation from "The Canadian Unionist," the organ of the "Canadian Congress of Labour," It is part of an article entitled "The Objectives of Labour."

The worker wants economic security, which depends upon an assured and adequate income; he can obtain that income only by working, and in periods of economic depression work is not available.

It is therefore necessary for the workers to give some consideration to the economic system under which production is carried on, including the methods whereby the operations of industry are financed. They must gain an understanding of the underlying economic principles, of the theories which have been formulated, and of the proposals for reform or reconstruction of the system. The next step is the realization that the adoption of an economic system which will provide economic security depends upon political action, and the study of political platforms and parties.

Out of this will develop association with an existing political party or the establishment of a Labour party, with a view to making whatever changes in the system are required to attain the objective. Obviously, this is a universal objective—the workers want no more for themselves than they want for everyone else, and that is the highest living standard which the human and material resources of the nation will provide, and with every other consideration made subservient to it.

Neither the immediate nor the ultimate objectives of Labour are contrary to the public interest, nor are they to be feared by anyone as dangerous to any group or institution which exists for the service of the people. But Labour has become more and more convinced that there is no excuse for poverty, for involuntary unemployment, for economic depressions and the distress they cause, in a country like Canada. All that is required is the collective intelligence to use our resources wisely and unselfishly, for the benefit of all the people rather than for the profit of comparatively few.