

ganized in the systematic way typical of English working people, a campaign for nationalizing industry. In the middle of December an extra session of the Trade Union Congress was held in London. The leader of the miners, J. J. Thomas, said: 'If the case of the miners is based upon democratic and constitutional arguments of public interest, the necessary conclusion is that our only proper course will be to convince the public of the justice of our case. In doing this, we must not overlook the political side of our movement, which may be as powerful an instrument for attaining our ends as direct action. It will not be as expensive and as difficult to gain our objects by our ballots as by strikes.'

Lloyd George has now attempted, in his great Manchester speech, to rally the capitalist bourgeoisie against the working people. The Labor party is opposing the power of the English proletariat to the power of the bourgeoisie. It is demanding that the industries of the country be organized as a great national undertaking. It proposes to employ its physical power as an element in industry to acquire control of industry. It proposes to nationalize the mines; but it will not stop there. A conviction that the individualist system of capitalism broke down during the war has impressed itself upon the consciousness of the working classes. Social revolution in England has commenced. The land is in a ferment. Next February the people again cast their ballots and we expect the working class to become the dominant influence in the government.

In America, likewise, the class struggle is assuming new and critical aspects. There, too, the workers demand the socialization of railways and coal mines and great industries. Hitherto they have stood aloof from political struggles. They are now re-

solved to participate as a class in the coming presidential election. A few weeks ago a political labor party was founded in Chicago, which proposes to put its own candidate in the field. Even the conservative trade unions, led by Gompers, are entering the election, for the first time in their history, with a political and social programme that demands a labor code for the protection of the working people and the democratic control of industry.

So, while our bourgeoisie are waiting impatiently for the return of the good old days, the aspect of society throughout the world changes with every passing moment. While the bourgeoisie fancy themselves accompanying the revolution to its grave, the latter rises in full vigor to the West. Just as employers imagine that they have stopped the movement toward socialization here, a gigantic struggle is starting in England and America to socialize the vast industries of those countries. While our middle classes are protesting against an eight-hour day, English and American employers are being forced to grant a seven-hour and a six-hour day. While our people are talking of repealing the reforms of the revolution, the working class of England is pressing forward to new and more radical measures. Quite true, indeed, the high tide of the social struggle in Central Europe is ebbing, but it is still rising, more powerful than ever, farther toward the sunset. Out of the sea came the dawn of the proletarian revolution; its full noon-tide now moves toward the western zenith.

[*Journal de Genève* (Liberal Democratic Daily), January 5, 1920]

HOLLAND'S WAR LOSSES

EVERYONE knows that the prosperity of Holland depends entirely upon free access to the sea. Naturally,

therefore, the shackles placed upon ocean commerce by the belligerent countries during the war and the armistice have caused heavy losses to Holland and have prostrated its international, colonial, and internal commerce.

In 1913 the net tonnage entering and departing from Dutch ports was 36,229,000. In 1918 it had declined to 3,363,000. In 1913 the number of persons employed in the Dutch merchant marine registered at Amsterdam and Rotterdam exceeded 50,000. In 1918 it was less than 1800. Naturally, therefore, there are many unemployed.

This enforced idleness extends beyond the people normally engaged on shipboard, whom we have just mentioned. It extends to the employees of warehouses and wharves and shipyards and dealers in ships' supplies. It affects also the clerks and agents and brokers and thousands of other commercial employees, whose labor was directly or indirectly associated with that of their seagoing colleagues.

Added to this prostration of the merchant marine are other direct losses due to war measures. Many cargoes shipped at a time when no regulations existed to prevent their reaching their destination, never arrived because sudden measures to prevent this were put into effect while they were in transit.

Vessels after being loaded were held in port indefinitely and often forced to relinquish their trip and to sell their cargoes at a loss. Finally, commerce between Holland and its own colonies gradually declined and at last it ceased entirely. The colonial wares from its own possessions offered for sale in Holland were valued in 1913 at approximately \$16,000,000. In 1917 their value had declined to less than \$1,200,000. It seems probable that the war has ruined permanently the Dutch

market for several of these colonial products.

Naturally, the cessation of this trade affected the public revenues. The customs duties declined from \$6,800,000 in 1913 to \$3,600,000 five years later.

The industries created by the war were, naturally, of a temporary and precarious character. In many cases they incurred losses that wiped out all their profits. Some navigation companies earned tremendous sums for a time; but though occasionally profits have been large, the merchant marine as a whole has declined through the loss of vessels destroyed or seized in the course of hostilities.

Holland's losses in other directions have also been serious. Take the single instance of the capital that disappeared in Russia — citizens of Holland owned Russian bonds to the value of well toward \$400,000,000; Dutch private investments in Russian enterprises amounted to more than \$60,000,000. All this capital has practically vanished. One of the best authorities, Professor Treub, former Minister of Finance, estimates Holland's total losses in Russia at \$600,000,000.

Holland had very extensive investments in Germany before the war. Indeed, stocks and bonds in German and Austro-German enterprises were favorite investments. The losses in Hungary alone are exceedingly heavy.

Moreover, Germany was heavily indebted to Holland merchants who see their bills shrink to a fraction of their former value by the fall of exchange during the period when payments were postponed. The authority we have just quoted estimates that the total losses of Holland through the depreciation of credits and investments in Germany and Austro-Hungary totals \$300,000,000.

[*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Liberal Daily),
December 30, 1919]

ALSACE-LORRAINE IN RE- CONSTRUCTION

RECENTLY, the Strassburg *Neue Zeitung* concluded its account of the first session of the provincial Parliament with these words: 'An end now to these celebrations and festivities. The permanent happiness and welfare of our people depend entirely upon systematic productive labor.'

The provinces have already wasted too much time with these displays of national sentiment, and the heavy tasks of the political transition period and reconstruction rest with increasing heaviness upon them. A year ago, when a political era, in which the people of Alsace-Lorraine — as they now confidentially admit — had enjoyed great material prosperity, came to an abrupt end, they congratulated themselves on their good fortune at being able to step immediately into a new political era under the banners of a victorious power. Yes, the people of Alsace-Lorraine were very lucky. During German rule their wealth had multiplied; and when Germany's star waned they were welcomed under another favorable constellation. But history does not sell its favors so cheaply. Alsace-Lorraine soon discovered that it must pay a heavy fee for changing its allegiance and that where the sun shines brightest the shadows are also darkest. The people thought they had escaped high prices, privation, coal scarcity, curtailed transportation, declining credit, and falling exchange. However, they meet these familiar evils, somewhat mitigated, it is true, under the new government.

In addition, the country has its own peculiar hardships. First of all, the railway service has gone completely

to pieces. Complaint after complaint is heard of this. 'The thing must stop. Our excellent railway system cannot be allowed to go headlong to ruin.' But it is not these surface inconveniences that are causing the most alarm to thoughtful people. They now ponder the future of the industries that have hitherto depended upon German management and technical skill. The most prosperous establishments in the country were under German control and direction. When they were confiscated their output rapidly declined and the prosperity of the neighboring business community was, of course, affected. As a result, the protest against the way this sequestration has been carried out is becoming clamorous. But this does not remedy the evil. As the sequestered enterprises are liquidated a new difficulty arises. French private capitalists have hastened to acquire the most tempting iron, potash, petroleum, and coal properties and the works associated with them. The people of Alsace-Lorraine, traditionally attached to local interests, resent this bitterly and consider that they are being delivered over to the exploitation of French trusts and treated like a foreign colony.

Frenchmen are overrunning the country to the prejudice of local investors and native workingmen. A horde of French business agents has invaded the land, establishing new enterprises everywhere, very much as the Germans did at an earlier period. Local proprietors now see themselves obliged to take the same secondary position with regard to France that they previously were forced to take with regard to Germany. They are resisting this vigorously and are fighting the French expansion movement, which is greatly encouraged by the favor shown new comers by the