

MAY-DAY IN WARSAW.



Mass Demonstration of Polish Workers on 1st of May, 1925.

SECOND PART :

CONGRESS REPORT.

CHAPTER I.

Proceedings of the

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND
SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

OPENING SESSION :

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22ND, 1925.

The Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International opened in the Palais des Expositions, Marseilles, at 3.30 p.m., on Saturday, August 22nd, 1925.

In the Chair: Arthur HENDERSON, M.P. (Great Britain), and Alexandre BRACKE (France).

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P. (Great Britain): Comrades and fellow delegates, it is my great privilege and pleasure to welcome you to the Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International, now reconstituted and united after the shattering experience of the great world war.

OUR GLORIOUS DEAD.

I am sure you will agree with me that our first duty is to pay a tribute to the memory of our glorious dead—the delegates here rose and remained standing—the martyred Matteotti; the trusted Hjalmar Branting; Friedrich Ebert, first Workers' President of the German Republic, and the French veteran Socialist, Delory, for many years Mayor of Lille, who died only this week. All these great leaders left behind them what must be an inspiration and an example. I rejoice that you are prepared unanimously to give the testimony which you give by standing as you do.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARYSHIP.

Through the resignation of our two secretaries, who were appointed at the Hamburg Congress, Comrades Shaw and Adler, your Executive has been compelled to examine with special attention this very important question—a question, the settlement of which was so vital to the future working and success of our organisation. After two days of careful dis-

cussion I am happy to say we have succeeded to the satisfaction of the whole of your Executive in reaching a completely unanimous solution of the position. We found that it was impossible for us to retain any longer the valuable services of Comrade Tom Shaw for the work of our International, and the Executive, at its meeting yesterday, unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

“That this Executive of the Labour and Socialist International places on record its regret that circumstances have arisen which render it impossible for the International to retain the services of Tom Shaw as one of the joint secretaries; it expresses its great appreciation of the loyal and devoted services he has given to the cause of the workers and its pleasure that he is to continue to advance the cause of working-class solidarity as Secretary of the International Textile organisation.”

I believe that the whole Congress will support this expression of gratitude and friendship which we feel towards our retiring Secretary, Tom Shaw. (Applause.)

TRANSFER OF HEADQUARTERS TO SWITZERLAND.

The Executive has also done its best to solve the difficulty by at least retaining the services of one of its valuable secretaries. As against all other proposals which were submitted to us we were unanimous that the maintenance of continuity in the work would be of the greatest value for the progress and development of this International organisation. Since, however, to the regret of us all, it was impossible for Comrade Adler, for family reasons, to remain in London, at the close of a very protracted discussion I had the pleasure of submitting, in the name of the British delegation, a proposal that would enable us to retain the services of Comrade Adler.

ADLER TO CONTINUE AS SECRETARY.

The proposal was that we should remove the Headquarters of the International to Switzerland, and that Comrade Adler should be our first and principal Secretary. After an expression—a unanimous expression—of opinion on behalf of all the bodies represented, we had the immense satisfaction of being informed by Comrade Adler that he would respond to that unanimous call to continue the work, and in the event of our going to Switzerland, he would place his services at our disposal. I am satisfied that this is one of the most important statements it would be possible to make, and we thought that it was best to make it at the opening of our proceedings in order that your minds might be set at rest in view of the public statements that both our secretaries had tendered for their resignations; and I congratulate you—as one who has worked for two years in closest association with both your Secretaries—that you have been able to make such an arrangement as will permit of Adler remaining at our head and as our principal Secretary. (Applause.)

A TWO-FOLD TASK.

This Congress has a two-fold task: to review and ratify the work of two difficult years, and to give thought to the tasks and duties that lie ahead. Our reconstituted International has been subjected to severe tests since its rebirth at the Hamburg Congress of 1923, when the several parties and groups came together to frame a new constitution and a new statement of principles and policy, embodying the lessons taught us by the bitter experiences of the War.

All sections of the International have to-day a clearer vision of the historical mission of the working class, and a stronger faith in the

ultimate victory of the international proletariat, as a result of the conflicts and controversies which attended our efforts to re-establish a united, militant, and powerful international organisation.

To-day our International can claim to speak in the name of about 7,000,000 organised workers. We have behind us an aggregate of no less than 28,000,000 votes, representing the vast mass of public opinion which supports the policy of the Labour and Socialist Parties in the different countries. More than 300 daily newspapers and thousands of weekly and monthly journals carry our message to the people. In 16 General Elections in 14 different countries within these last two years the Labour and Socialist cause has registered marked successes in no less than eleven instances. Labour Governments have assumed office in Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, and Socialist comrades hold high office in the Government of Belgium and of Czechoslovakia to-day.

MINORITY GOVERNMENTS.

It is my pleasing duty to tender greetings in the name of the delegates to those comrades present who bear or have borne Ministerial responsibility in their own country. As one who shared responsibility as a member of the Labour Government of Great Britain, I recognise to the full the difficult problem involved in the transition from Capitalist to Socialist Government in the world at large. In the transitional stage the problem appears to be one of Minority Government or Coalition. And we cannot deny that this phase of development in the Labour and Socialist movement brings serious perplexities and uncertainties, both to leaders and followers.

Minority Governments, and Coalition Governments, which are also from our point of view Minority Governments, in the sense that they are the product of circumstances not wholly amenable to our control and that impose upon us compromises and collaborations which we would not willingly accept, are viewed with very great suspicion and distrust by a considerable section of our own movement. Many stalwarts among us seem to wish to raise this question to the plane of principle and to deal with it as an aspect of fundamental Labour and Socialist doctrine. In my judgment, and I speak only for myself on this point, this method of approach will lead us to endless barren controversy upon a question which for all practical purposes settles itself as a question of expediency in each country where it arises.

In any event, the problem is one that must be faced by the leaders of the national movements in the light of both national and international circumstances and conditions at the time when they are called upon to decide whether Coalition or Minority Governments will best serve the workers' cause or whether that cause requires them to refuse responsibility for administering under such conditions their country's affairs.

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS.

Experience has taught us one lesson, and it is this: success in the carrying out of Labour and Socialist policy cannot be attained by each of the national parties working alone and in isolation. Nor can it be achieved by the International seeking to impose its policy upon the national parties without regard to the conditions and circumstances—political, industrial, and electoral—in which these parties are obliged to do their work. The utmost possible co-operation, consultation and agreement that can be attained will be required to an increasing extent as electoral and parliamentary developments in the various countries bring the Labour and Socialist Parties nearer to the point at which they will obtain not merely office but power.

The part which the International will be called upon to play in the immediate future must be, in my opinion, of far greater importance than anything we have yet known. We have reached the stage, both nationally and internationally, when the agitation and propaganda of the affiliated parties must be conducted with strict regard to the possibility, even the probability, that the national leaders will be placed in the position of having to act presently as responsible Ministers: their task will be all the more difficult if agitation and propaganda create the expectation of impossible performances in the field of policy and administration.

TWO YEARS' WORK.

Turning now to the report presented to Congress by the Secretariat, let me emphasise some aspects of the work of the International summarised in its pages. Much more has been done in the last two years than can be fully explained even in this Report. We can congratulate ourselves upon the success that has attended our international effort to promote a settlement of the Reparations problem. It was a menace to international peace. It embittered relationships between the countries, and kept disturbed and unstable the economic life of Europe as a whole. It is due in the main to Labour and Socialist action that the Reparations problem has been approached from the standpoint of reason and constructive internationalism rather than from the standpoint of force and coercion of one nation by another. Complete settlement of the Reparations problem has not yet been attained: but at least we can say that it has been lifted out of the atmosphere in which hatreds and conflicts between nations are so often engendered, and is being approached in the spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding. A very powerful reinforcement of the new spirit comes from the evacuation of the Ruhr which is now practically completed, whereby a dark and painful chapter in the post-war history of Europe is, we hope, closed. (Applause).

PIVOT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

Nor have we been lacking in our efforts in the interests of security. For ten years the world has lived under the domination of war passions and militarist mentality, conscious that it has inherited a legacy of war problems which have been intensified and complicated by vacillation on the one hand and the violation of every principle of international justice and co-operation on the other. Militarism with its standing armies of 6 million men continues to be a dynamic force in the world; therefore, a profound sense of revealed insecurity continues to influence the minds of statesmen and people in several European countries.

Under such conditions nothing in the post-war history of Europe, or in the record of our International, possesses greater significance than the measures taken to prevent a recurrence of international war. The development of Labour and Socialist policy on this all-important question is embodied in the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

I regard this instrument as peculiarly the handiwork of the Labour and Socialist Parties, and the policy it embodies is in my view the only effective and practical method of conserving the peace of the world. Had it been possible to secure the adoption of the Protocol it would have led us far on the road towards a genuine organisation of the nations for the maintenance of peace. It is the most comprehensive scheme of conciliation and arbitration, leading to general and concerted disarmament among nations, that has yet been framed. It is not perfect. But it is universally recognised by the international working-class movement

to be a sound and workmanlike beginning for the great task of outlawing war as an instrument of policy. It must remain as the pivot of our international policy for peace, and as the objective of our immediate endeavours.

LIMITED PACTS.

Whatever may be the attitude that political and parliamentary exigencies may compel the Labour and Socialist Parties to assume in regard to the more limited and less effective plan of a Security Pact between France, England, Germany, Belgium and Italy, I believe that the policy of the Protocol must remain the guiding principle of international action and the governing consideration in determining the action of the national parties.

The final test that must be applied to the Security Pact is whether it leads us towards or conducts us away from the goal to which the Protocol points. I deprecate the treatment of the question of the Security Pact as if it were not merely the alternative but the antithesis of the Protocol. That the Pact is far more restricted in its scope, less effective in its methods, and offers nothing like the same guarantee of security or the same certainty of limitation of armaments leading to speedy general disarmament, is unquestionable: the Pact is a much less satisfactory instrument than the Protocol. That is agreed. The important question remains whether the Pact offers any genuine guarantee of security, however limited in scope, that the International can regard as a step towards the wider sanctions and more powerful safeguards of international peace proposed in the Protocol. That is the question which in due course the Congress will have an opportunity to discuss.

DISARMAMENT.

I want to say a word with regard to the importance of securing disarmament.

Whatever may be our decision on this question there can be no room to doubt the obligation that rests upon the internationally organised working class to continue to urge public opinion in all the countries in the direction of disarmament. (Applause.) Ever more clearly we can see that the nations are sinking under the burden of expenditure upon the maintenance of armed forces by land, sea, and air. Not less clearly can we see that this enormous unproductive and wasteful expenditure on armaments makes it more and more difficult for us to find the means of raising and improving social and economic standards, providing adequately for the victims of industrial disorganisation by means of unemployment insurance, abolishing child labour, extending the benefits of education, and developing health services and other socially necessary measures for the improvement of social and industrial conditions. It has become necessary to redouble our efforts to establish an all-inclusive and genuinely effective League of Nations in which all the countries can find their guarantees of security, freedom, and peaceable progress.

INDUSTRIAL REACTION.

We have another duty devolving upon us, namely, resisting industrial reaction. From this Congress there should go a ringing call to the national parties to concentrate upon the task of making effective the conventions framed by the International Labour Organisation of the League for the establishment of higher standards in industry. This, in my judgment, is one of the most necessary steps to be taken to resist international reaction. There is a tendency in our international discussions to think of reaction mainly in terms of political conditions—the excesses of

Fascism, the White terrorism in Hungary, the repression and violence of the political régime in Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Lithuania, Georgia, Esthonia, Russia, China, where the people are crushed under the iron heel and liberty and democracy are words that have no meaning. (Applause.) Nor do we ignore what is going on in some parts of the British Empire, such as India. Against every form of reaction we must wholeheartedly and persistently protest with every ounce of our strength as an international movement.

But to me there are other equally grave and sinister evidences of reaction visible in the resistance we everywhere encounter from the employing class and from the representatives of organised capital when we endeavour to secure ratification of the international Labour conventions that are designed to raise the standards of life and labour among the working people of all lands, and to equalise industrial conditions throughout the world. In every country to-day Capitalism is striving to force down trade union standards of wages, hours, and working conditions by playing off the workers of one country against those of other countries. Long hours and low wages in one country are used as an argument for reducing wages and lengthening hours in other countries. The plea of national capitalism that it must meet the competition of cheap, underpaid, unorganised labour in other countries is wholly false, for Capitalism is international; and the capitalists who use this plea in the more highly developed and better organised countries are themselves the exploiters of labour in the more backward countries.

Let us make no mistake about one thing: if we cannot secure the general adoption of measures like the 48-hour convention, if we cannot bring about very speedily a general improvement in trade conditions so as to reduce the appalling mass of unemployment, the wholesale degradation of the workers' standard of life is inevitable.

THE GRIP OF CAPITALISM.

That capitalist organisation of industry is weakening and nearing the point of collapse I do not agree. On the contrary, it seems to me that the grip of capitalism has been tightening since the War, that the power of the small group who control finance and own the machinery of production has been enormously extended and is to-day more truly international in its scope than ever before. The essential control of industry is to-day more concentrated and interlocked with the control of sources of supply and the control of credit and finance than at any previous period in the world's history. The workers of the world are exposed to greater danger of becoming literally enslaved as producers of wealth than many of us are willing to recognise, notwithstanding the political progress the workers' parties have made in various countries.

POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNITY.

And I am convinced that unity, co-operation, and deliberate combined action will be forced upon the affiliated parties—and I will go further and say that co-operation and co-ordination will have to be extended to unify the action of the Trade Union International with the action of the Labour and Socialist International—by the sheer pressure of the policy pursued by organised Capital in attacking working-class standards country by country, and in using the weakness of our organised movement in one country to injure the position of the more strongly organised workers in other countries. Organised Capital will begin by forcing the latter to lower their standards in order to meet competition arising from either the superior organisation of Capitalist production or the more ruthless exploitation of underpaid and ill-organised labour. That

problem can only be met by international efforts to establish a higher code of industrial standards in all the countries. And it seems to me that the general enforcement of the 48-hour week in industry is an issue of paramount importance for our consideration as an International Congress.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Next in importance is the elaboration of a policy for dealing with the problem of unemployment, which is the common and recurrent feature of capitalist organisation of industry in every country. There is no stronger proof of the need for a social organisation of industry than the existence of unemployment on the scale that we know to-day. With millions of the working people actually clamouring for the bare necessities of life it is monstrous that millions of producers should be compelled to stand idle by idle machines unable to produce the wealth which the people require in order to live. This tragedy of unemployment, existing side by side with this tragedy of poverty, destitution, and want, is the final and unanswerable evidence that capitalism is strangling society before our eyes. The death-grip of those who control the sources and instruments of production, who hold money, machinery and men in the hollow of their hands, must be loosened else the people will perish.

REACTION ON TWO FRONTS.

As I see it, therefore, our fight against reaction lies on two fronts. We have an economic as well as a political battle to wage. Because I have stressed the economic aspects of our warfare I would not have it thought that I attach less importance to the struggle which the International must carry on against political reaction. Whilst we can look back with pride upon the victories which the working class has achieved we dare not forget that in many countries the workers are still in fetters; that Labour and all progressive forces are stifled in dungeons and crushed under the heel of despotism.

FREEDOM OR TYRANNY.

Turn to Italy. Among the many unknown victims and martyrs murdered by Fascism there stands out one man whose fate has become the very symbol of Italy's sufferings—Matteotti. Even yet the murderers of Matteotti have not been brought to justice, they have either been acquitted or permitted to avoid trial; whilst in trying to shake from its shoulders the moral responsibility for this crime Fascism is sinking ever deeper into brutality and bloodshed. There are comrades amongst us to-day, sitting with their fellow-delegates, who have faced the Fascist bludgeon personally; there are thousands of unnamed workers—like the heroes and heroines of Moimela—who face it daily, who endure persecution and outrage and yet remain faithful to the cause of freedom; whilst those in power, who hold power by force and not by consent, plunge wildly from one excess of violence and repression to another.

Let us honour these heroic soldiers of freedom who remain true to the historic tradition of a once great Italy. Let us say to their torturers and persecutors that the honour of Italy stands stained and besmirched by their misdeeds and Italy is glorified in the eyes of the world only by the bravery and endurance of the Italian workers who fight against this tyranny.

DEMOCRACY *versus* DICTATORSHIP.

Turn to Hungary. There also is a reign of terror whose very chief has not been absolved from the accusation that he instigated and committed at the murder of two of our comrades—Somogyi and Balso. Reaction in Hungary is striving to assume the appearance of an ordered

(Government, but we cannot forget that Hungary is the only country in Europe in which there is no general franchise, and where even the ballot is not secret.

Nor can we as the custodians and guardians of the principles of democracy and parliamentary institutions forget those countries where, under the cloak of a sham constitutionalism or a working-class dictatorship, real political liberty is as restricted as in the countries of open reaction. Thus in Russia the political conditions which the Hamburg Congress condemned have been shown by the British Trade Union Delegation Report to be in principle and in practice a denial of individual political liberty as hitherto understood in the Socialist Movement.

Let me say a special word about Bulgaria. Within the last few months when Bulgaria has been named it has been in connection with bombs and executions, prison tortures, and all the horrible outrages of civil war turned into a campaign of sanguinary repression and criminal vengeance. We cannot to-day apportion responsibility for the dreadful excesses and pronounce judgment as to individual responsibilities: but we can say that the present rulers of the country are stained with blood and that their régime of violence is the cause of revolt.

THE INTERNATIONAL'S HISTORIC MISSION.

Comrades: it is the historic mission of the Labour and Socialist International to defend the international proletariat against exploitation, repression, and violence. Our task is heavier to-day than at any time in the history of organised Labour. But the flame of freedom has been lit in the hearts of the millions we represent, and the peoples everywhere are beginning to feel that their sufferings are not beyond their power to relieve. Slowly the workers are learning where their strength lies, and are beginning to understand the nature of the tyranny that holds them in thrall. Capitalism is unmasked. The workers see it now not as a mysterious monster but as a predatory group of people whose power lies in their control of the capital, the sources, and the machinery by which wealth is produced.

If the sufferings of the people will not move the capitalist exploiters, if the horrors of modern social and industrial conditions excite no pity or compassion, the organised power of the workers must be evoked and the whole strength of our movement, nationally and internationally organised, must be used to strike the fetters from the workers' limbs and to establish freedom—freedom in industry, freedom in social life, freedom of opinion, freedom of discussion in the press and on the platform, freedom in democratic elections, freedom in parliamentary debate, freedom of movement between countries, freedom to live as responsible citizens, no longer as economic serfs or slaves.

Long live the International and that spirit which, in the early days, laid its foundation. (Loud Applause. Delegates, rising from their seats, sing "The International.")

FRENCH SOCIALISTS' GREETINGS.

A. BRACKE (France) said it was his duty to speak in the name of the French Socialist Party to welcome the delegates to Marseilles, and he would endeavour not to repeat any of the points that had been developed by Mr. Henderson. The French Socialists were particularly gratified that the first deliberating conference of the International Socialist Movement was taking place in Marseilles, for the Congress which had been held previously in Hamburg had been merely for the purpose of reorganisation. He wished therefore to thank the conference for the honour they had

done to the French Socialist movement in coming to their country for the first Congress of this kind, and they would try to show themselves worthy of the distinction. If they looked back to the history of Marseilles there was much that would justify the choice that had been made in selecting Marseilles. It should not be forgotten that it was on French soil that the second great period of International Socialism was inaugurated, when the Congress took place in Paris in 1889. They were now entering upon the third period. But whatever number one might choose, it was always the work of the First International which they continued. (Applause.)

The city of Marseilles, too, had a great historic past from the standpoint of Socialist Internationalism. He would not speak of the title of the City from the point of view of history and antiquity, nor would he speak of the rôle which Marseilles had played in the past in the cause of civilisation, nor of those additions which history had made to the attractions of natural beauty, but he would remind them that the great song of international revolution that came from Strassburg on the Rhine, and was now known as "The Marseillaise," obtained that name and became popular only after it had been sung at the period of the revolution by the volunteer battalions that had been raised in Marseilles. Unfortunately that song had been too often prostituted in France by reactionary governments. It had happened that Ministers who called themselves democratic, when the leaders of the workers were shot down and when the officers who did it were decorated, had "The Marseillaise" played by military bands. But "The Marseillaise" was still sung in other countries as the war cry of united Socialists against united capitalists. (Applause.)

In 1879, a memorable Socialist assembly took place in Marseilles in a theatre which would be found in the Allées de Meilhan. It was the first Congress of industrially organised workers which in a Manifesto recommended not merely the socialisation of the means of production, but also pronounced that, as a means of realising the socialisation of the means of production, it would be well that an independent Workers' party should try to become the government of the country. On that occasion a delegate from Grenoble spoke the memorable words:—"Our country, our fatherland, is not limited by political frontiers; our fatherland is constituted by the workers of the whole world and our enemies are those that live in idleness wherever they are." It was in this sense that they greeted as their brothers those that worked in Russia, in Germany, or anywhere else and cheered the universal revolution. The answer was brought in 1892 to Marseilles by that old soldier of the revolution whose name was so dear to them and whose work had been perpetuated by his son continuing in his father's footsteps—he meant Wilhelm Liebknecht, who pronounced these words:—"Between us Germans and you Frenchmen there is a large river of blood, but we workers are innocent of that blood; it is our adversaries that are responsible. That river does not divide us: we, the workers, are one single nation."

It was again in Marseilles, in 1924, that their party took up a new political line in the interests of International peace. Despite the insults and misunderstandings that took place, they directed their politics in such a way as to combine with other parties for the elections, but this did not mean abandoning their principles, and the International had realised the wisdom of their policy. Politics, he said, from an international point of view in France had changed since then, and Nationalist reaction had been uprooted. The elections that had taken place this year had shown again that the Socialists had a growing grip on the country, not merely an increase in numbers, but an increase in political strength and in practical results. Concluding, he said "We can now say to you,

our International Comrades, you can rely on the French Socialists. With regard to the seven million workers that are now grouped around the Red Flag, they will all understand more and more the wisdom and the importance of the Communist Manifesto's call, that the proletarians of all nations should unite not for the purpose of being an instrument in the hands of some dictators, but for the purpose of bringing about by their own will the means which will lead to the emancipation of the working classes. Our Comrade Henderson has said that militarism is still a dynamic force, and that even apparent endeavours for peace are still, in the hands of reactionary parties, instruments of war. Let us understand the danger of this situation and let us strengthen our international forces. Long live the International." (Applause.)

WELCOME BY MARSEILLES SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LEON BON (Secretary of the Local Socialist Federation) said that what he had to do was to express thanks and to speak words of welcome. His thanks went out to the various French sections of their national organisation, because within that organisation several cities claimed the honour of being the seat of this International Congress, but they all finally agreed that Marseilles should have that honour. When the task of organising this Congress fell upon him he found himself surrounded by difficulties and responsibilities, but these were considerably lightened by the constant friendly help of the ever-smiling Friedrich Adler. His second task was to speak words of welcome. They would try to do everything in their power to make this Congress successful and the visit of the delegates to their city a happy one. They were glad in this Department and in this city that the honour had fallen upon them of being the place where a new date in the history of International Socialism was to be inscribed. He hoped the delegates would feel as much at home as in their own countries, and he wished to tell them that of the delegates. Marseilles had always been the seat of Internationalism. He did not forget that he was speaking here before an International World Parliament and in front of many people from whom he would be glad to learn much, and therefore he would only say that in Marseilles they felt particularly the necessity for an international fight for peace. They were seeing here to-day, under their eyes, what they had hoped never to see again after the war—the embarkation of soldiers who were going over there to Morocco in order to fight in the interests of capitalism. The working class of Marseilles was most anxious in the face of this situation, and they asked the conference not to lose sight of this problem from an international point of view, and to do everything they could in their own countries to make the masses and the governments understand this situation. He hoped they would understand this, that the Marseilles Socialists were the friends of peace and the enemies of war. They wanted to fight against war by the universality of the cry "War against war! Live the Socialist International." (Applause.)

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM AMSTERDAM TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

J. OUDEGEEST (Secretary of the International Federation of Trades Unions, Amsterdam) said he was rejoiced that his Executive had again instructed him to greet the delegates at this Congress; to bring them the best wishes of the International Trade Union Movement, and again to bear testimony to their desire to maintain the most friendly relations with their comrades and, if possible, to strengthen these relations.

The enormous progress which the Socialist Movement had made in various countries was a cause of great joy to them, and they thanked the Labour Movements of Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, France and Holland for the enthusiasm and resolution which they had shown in the recent victories over reaction. It was very obvious that it was of the utmost importance to their work, that they should be able to depend upon the co-operation of the political Labour Parties, and of ministers who had devoted themselves to the independent Labour Movement: it was very obvious that their own strength too was augmented when employers who were attempting to suppress the Trade Union Movement did not receive a helping hand from the political party in power, as they would do if the country had a reactionary government. On the other hand, they ventured to say that whenever the Socialist Parties had appealed to the Trade Union Movement for support, their appeal had always met with a warm response, and as much assistance as possible had been given.

In the meantime the employers' attacks on their standards of living still went on. Moreover, the ceaseless resistance of high finance to the ultimate establishment of peace in Europe still continued, so that the fiercest efforts were needed on their part. Although it was the representatives of the Trade Union Movement in the Commission for the Reduction of Armaments of the League of Nations, who, acting in the name of the whole Labour Movement had set on foot the struggle for the "Treaty of Mutual Assistance," yet they were greatly rejoiced to see that the Labour and Socialist International had ranged itself directly alongside of these representatives, and that at the joint meeting of their executives in January last an agreement was reached concerning the support of this Pact. By this means it seemed possible to keep within the realm of practical politics the movement for peace, disarmament and the pacific settlement of disputes between nations: and they were convinced that if this same feeling of friendship and co-operation between their two Internationals continued as it had hitherto done, it would not be long before it would be possible to settle national differences without resort to war. The resolution of the I.S.I. Bureau Meeting of the 4th July on this subject and their decision concerning the Security Pact had their cordial approval. The reactionaries did not cease to attack the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. Wherever the government was in the hands of the reactionaries, as was the case with Holland, Britain and Germany, the employers were making more and more resistance to the statutory regulation of working hours, to the wages which had been attained and to workers' control in factories and workshops. Still sterner fighting on the part of their two Internationals for the ratification of the Washington Eight-Hour Day Convention must therefore continue to be the object of their joint efforts. In the time immediately ahead, moreover, they must continue their energetic propaganda in favour of a demand already adopted by the workers' representatives at the Washington Conference of 1919, the demand for the distribution of the raw materials of industry. To this demand must be added that put forward at the Congress for Social Legislation, held at Prague in October last year, and approved by the whole of the working classes and by the leading economists of the world, for workers' control in industry. But above all it must be clear to everybody that they could not let events which had taken place in the mining industry in Britain within the last few weeks go by without agitating, more energetically than ever before, for nationalisation of land and the means of production. The coal question was no mere national problem. The tens of millions of tons of coal which had been accumulated in the various countries of Europe, and for which it was impossible

to find a sale, spoke louder than ever of anarchy in production—an anarchy which would only be enhanced by the measures taken by the British Government in guaranteeing profits to the mine-owners from the pockets of the tax-payers: for this was a measure which would inevitably tend to augment the over-production of coal, and therefore make the question still more acute. They had no doubt that a just regulation of the distribution of raw materials would speedily lead to the realisation of the necessity for a wise organisation of the output of coal and other fuels, and a similar control of the other means of producing light and power. But this would only be possible when the States in question put an end to all the misery suffered from these causes, by, *in lieu alia*, the coal itself, guaranteeing, if necessary, a livelihood to the workers thereby thrown out of employment.

In connection with the Peace Movement, a word must be said about the growing desire of the reactionary governments to strengthen their protection of their national industries. Even before the war the closing of frontiers and the steady raising of import duties was a menace to peace. Within the last few months it had become clearer than ever, from the difficulties that had arisen when attempting to make commercial treaties, that, if the world wanted peace, there must first be free trade between the various states, compensation being guaranteed only to counterbalance the losses caused to the working population of other lands if there was dumping. Hence he took the liberty to call the attention of the Congress to the resolution which had been adopted by his Executive at its meeting of the 29th June of this year.

They therefore saw before them the need for joint agitation, a joint attack upon the reaction. It was a gigantic task, which would have to be accomplished by collaboration between them. They hoped to see the Conference on their side in the measures which they were thinking of taking in respect of the above questions. They hoped also to be able, if it should be thought necessary or desirable, to give valuable support or help with all the power at their disposal.

Unless the signs were deceptive, the success of the Socialist Movement in various countries within the last few years would be followed by a rapid growth of the trade unions. They were planning to utilise this growth to effect an advance of the wage-earners of all lands in their struggle against the capitalist system, and they were firmly resolved to continue this fight until victory had been attained.

They were convinced that the resolutions of this Congress would go in the direction which they desired: that the carrying out of these resolutions would strengthen the power of Labour: that the ever-growing unity in their ranks would thereby be advanced: and that thus the day was drawing rapidly nearer when steps could be taken along the whole line in preparation of the Socialist order of society—steps preparing the way to a community which would bring happiness and prosperity to the mankind through peace and love. (Applause.)

THE VOICE OF THE VICTIMS OF FASCISM.

F. TURATI (Italy), who was greeted with tumultuous applause, said the welcome which he had received expressed a homage which he knew was not for him personally but was destined, over his head, to reach some solitary grave on Italian soil. He wanted to thank Comrade Henderson for the noble words he had spoken denouncing reaction in Italy, denouncing that most terrible suppression from which they suffered; not merely the Socialists, but all liberty loving people who did

not accept the Fascist regime. Even if the censorship established in his country did not allow those words to penetrate into their journals, they would still find their way into the hearts of the people and would be greatly appreciated. A mediæval regime of tyranny had been thrown upon their country which was endeavouring to destroy the conquests of forty years of Socialist effort. But they had not come to this Conference to whine, they had not even come to solicit help, because Matteotti was right when he said that each nation must fight its own fight for liberty. There was no precedent in recent history for the attempts that were being made at present to suppress all political liberty in Italy. There was not merely Matteotti, whose name had been mentioned by Mr. Henderson, but he had spoken also of many unnamed and obscure heroes and martyrs for the country. He had not forgotten the noble fighters of Molinella. Those two, Matteotti, the individual hero, and the collective sacrifices of the people of Molinella stood out as the very symbols of their fight. So long as persons were ready to die for their ideal, and so long as the masses of the people were willing to follow, they were not going to give up hope. They knew that there were other countries where reaction was raising its head, but this great family of international victims, this great cluster of international sufferers, would not have been in vain if it taught the comrades in those countries where liberty reigned to make every endeavour to keep it as a sacred inheritance. Live for ever the Socialist International! (Applause.)

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY.

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER (Secretary) said he did not rise to deliver a long speech. But before making some technical communications, he wanted, in the first place to make a few remarks of a more personal character. Last Saturday some of the delegates were present in Brussels at one of the most impressive demonstrations of their lives, when the Belgian Workers' Party celebrated the 40th anniversary of its foundation. They met in the great historic Grand Place of Brussels. He with others stood in the small hall where Karl Marx in 1847 founded the Arbeiter Verein, and where, in 1885, the Belgian Workers' organisation had been founded. He had had the honour of speaking, in the name of the forty delegates, to the masses in the Grand Place, and as he was talking to them his thoughts went back to a day, some nine years ago, when he had found himself in front of an Austrian Law Court of the old regime. When he had raised his voice against the violation of Belgian neutrality, the President of the Court interrupted him by saying "Do not go into details." No greater contrast could be drawn between those two scenes, showing the split between the conceptions of the capitalist world and the international solidarity of the workers. Continuing, he said: We have behind us a week of hard work on organisation routine here in Marseilles. The most difficult point was the question of the headquarters of the Secretariat and the appointment of secretaries. Up to the last moment I had done my utmost to reach a solution by which the Secretariat would be entrusted to some other comrade. I had the hope that it might be possible to realise my dream of securing leisure for theoretical and critical study. You are aware that in January I based my resignation on the desire to carry out work of this kind and on the ground of family difficulties involved. In yesterday's session of the Executive everyone had to set aside the wish of his heart, and I was also among those who had to make this sacrifice. I have resolved to set aside my personal desire to be able to carry on more freely theoretical and critical study. On the other hand it was not possible for me to meet the wishes expressed especially by our English comrades on the second point, namely, that I

should remain permanently in London. Once, ten years ago, I demanded from the two women, who stand closest to me in life, my mother and my wife, the heaviest sacrifice which could be asked; without scruple at that time, because I believed I could not act otherwise in the interests of our Movement. But in the situation in which I now had to take a decision I did not feel myself justified in accepting a solution which would impose unbearable difficulties upon them. And thus quite against my own will I found myself in the peculiar situation of having to require a condition from the International, and to say to it that I could only continue in the office of secretary if this could be fulfilled on the Continent. I thank the English delegation, I thank particularly Comrade Henderson, for the keen personal interest they have shown and for the sacrifice they have made to the International, when, faced with the choice either of retaining London as the seat of the Secretariat or of continuing to employ me as secretary, they put forward the proposal that the Secretariat should be transferred to Switzerland. Henderson's declaration at the Executive meeting that the work we have fulfilled in common during the two years in London has convinced him that in spite of all its difficulties, this solution is the most advantageous to the International—this declaration has given me a feeling of genuine pride. When I watched with others at this meeting of yesterday how a solution, which none of the delegates had fought for, which indeed not one had previously thought of, was finally resolved upon—how everybody set aside his personal desire and how the common desire of all that the International might develop in ever-increasing strength became a living reality—then I became conscious, as I had been a week earlier on the Grand Place in Brussels, that we have not suffered in vain, we have not striven in vain, that the spirit of international solidarity has risen anew in the ranks of the Labour and Socialist International. To it the future belongs!

CONGRESS BUSINESS.

THE SECRETARY then announced that the Executive had decided upon the following arrangements for the work of the Commissions:—

1. A Commission will be appointed for each of the 6 items on the agenda. In addition a Commission will be appointed to study Eastern European Questions.

The Executive Committee will act as the Commission for the verification of Credentials.

2. The Commissions will in general be composed in the same way as the Executive, so that Parties which have 3-10 Congress votes will appoint 1 representative, parties which have 11-20 Congress votes will appoint 2 representatives, and parties which have over 20 Congress votes will appoint 3 representatives. Similarly as is done for the Executive the Parties with less than 3 Congress votes can join together to form groups which can appoint 1 representative for every 3 Congress votes.

3. For the Commission on Eastern European Questions all the Parties of Eastern Europe have the right to increase their number of representatives to 3 each, except that the additional members allowed under this ruling will be present only in a consultative capacity.

4. The Commissions for Items 2, 3, 5 and 6, as well as the Commission for Eastern European Questions will begin their work immediately after the opening of the Congress, and the report on these items to the full Congress will only be made following the deliberations of the Commissions.

5. The Rapports on the various questions will be *ipso facto* members of their respective Commissions.

The delegates to the Congress will have the right to be present as listeners at the Commissions, but can take no part.

6. The Press of the affiliated Parties only will be admitted to the meetings of the Commissions.

The Executive has also agreed upon a new distribution of Congress votes. The Executive further recommends to increase the maximum number of votes from 30 to 40. This applies particularly to Great Britain and Germany. The proposal of the Executive will have to be discussed by the Commission for Questions of Organisation and finally adopted by Congress. We ask, however, permission to apply provisionally the new rule in case of a vote even before the formal decision of the Congress. (Agreed.)

Following the new distribution of votes, the number of representatives on the Executive Committee is increased by one for the following parties: France, Holland, Polish Socialist Party. The Latvian Party which, hitherto, has formed a group together with Estonia, will now have a representative of its own, and so will Bulgaria and Palestine. The following new groups of parties having three votes each, have announced their constitution: Greece, Hungarian S.P. in Czechoslovakia, Hungarian Emigrants' Group, "Világosság" and Yugo-Slavia, Independent S.P. in Poland, German S.P. in Poland.

The following parties are actually not represented on the Executive: Lithuania (2 Congress votes), Estonia (2), Danzig (1), Portugal (1), Luxembourg (1), British Guiana (1), S.P. in Carpathian Russia (1), Polish S.P. in Czechoslovakia (1), Turkey (1).

Finally, let me say a word about the Report which the Secretariat is submitting to you in three languages. Will every delegation kindly revise the part of this Report dealing with their Party, and also the respective figures in the statistical tables. Rectifications must be handed in during the Congress, so that they may be inserted in the final edition of the Report which is to be published immediately after the Congress.

The Congress then adjourned.

SECOND SESSION.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 23RD, 1925, 4 P.M.

In the Chair: Otto WELLS (Germany) and Victor L. BERGER (America).

ABSENT DELEGATES.

THE CHAIRMAN said that before starting the Agenda he wished to make some communications. Some of their comrades who were particularly bound up with the history of International Socialism and who would have been present had sent their greetings and apologies. In the first place he wished to mention that old protagonist of International Socialism, Kautsky, who unfortunately was ill and had to stay away, and he knew he would be expressing the wishes of the conference when he said he hoped Kautsky would have a speedy recovery. Then there was Comrade Seitz, Burgomaster of Vienna, who had been kept at home on account of the many duties resulting from his official position. What he had said about Comrade Kautsky was also true of our old friend Nemeo, of Czechoslovakia, and of Wallhead, Treasurer of the International, who had been kept at home on account of illness. A letter had been received from Pablo Iglesias, senior of the Socialist Party in Spain, "that old soldier of Socialism," as he called himself, from whose message the Chairman read a striking passage.

DEATH OF H. H. VAN KOL.

W. H. Vliegen (Holland) said that the sad news had come that morning that Van Kol had died. He was to have participated in the Congress and he would probably have been the only delegate present who had been a member of the First International. All those who knew the history of Van Kol, and all those who knew him personally, would know what sentiments of sadness had been awakened by the news of his death. He was a very dear comrade. His good humour, his courage, and his ever readiness for fight, were an example that they all tried to imitate. At the age of nineteen, when still a student at the Polytechnic of Delft, he affiliated to the Hague section of the First International. During the long years when his profession as an engineer took him out of the country, he still remained a faithful member of the party. His time and money were always at the disposal of the Socialist Party. In 1892 he was at the Congress in Marseilles with Liebknecht, and when he returned to his country he took up the flag of Socialism against the anarchy which threatened to disintegrate the Socialist Movement. Their whole-hearted gratitude went to Van Kol, and they could not better honour his memory than express the hope that the Socialist Movement would bring forth many Van Kols. He asked permission to convey the sympathy of the Congress to his family.

THE CHAIRMAN said that Van Kol, in a telegram dated 19th August, had sent his greetings and good wishes to the Congress, adding that this was the first time he was absent from a Congress of the International. We now learn that it was death who kept him away. He was also one of the founders of the Belgian Labour Party, and should have been a speaker at the meeting of commemoration held recently. The loss

of Van Kol was a loss not merely to the Dutch Socialist Party, but Socialists the world over. Comrade Vliegen was going to Holland in order to be present at the funeral of Van Kol, and he asked the Conference to consent to Comrade Vliegen going there not merely as representing the Dutch Socialist Party, but that he should be the mandatory of the International Socialist Movement, and that as such he should deposit a wreath in honour of the dead pioneer.

This was agreed to.

THE FIGHT OF THE WORKING CLASSES FOR PEACE.

THE CHAIRMAN announced that item 1 of the Agenda would be taken—"The International Labour and Socialist Peace Policy." The speakers would be Roden Buxton (Great Britain), Rudolf Hilferding (Germany), Leon Blum (France), and Morris Hillquit (United States of America).

C. RODEN BUXTON (Great Britain) said he introduced this subject with a profound sense of its importance and moment for Socialism. The question of Security and Disarmament is one which concerns Socialists more intimately than any other Party. Liberals and even Reactionaries may want peace, but the mere desire for peace is reinforced, in the case of Socialists, by the whole conception of society and history on which Socialism is founded. The peace policy of Socialism is something entirely different from Liberal pacifism. We believe that there is far more community of interest between the workers of different countries, than between the workers and the possessing classes in any particular country. Again, if Socialists attack Capitalism, it is partly because Capitalism, owing to its inherent tendencies, contains within itself the perpetual menace of war. A most important part of Socialist world-policy should be the international repatriation of raw materials now so unequally distributed and nationally exploited—a proposal which would contribute more than anything else to the building up of a real world-organisation, and would remove one of the greatest dangers of war.

The immediate international situation makes this question more urgent than ever. Even at this moment there is war going on in Morocco. There would have been wars in the past two years in other cases—Congo, Egypt, China—had it not been for the overwhelming military force on one side. There is an increasing danger of war on a large scale. It is not inevitable; but it is inevitable if the workers of the world do not bestir themselves and determine to prevent it.

What is the duty of the International? It is not to confine itself to any one method, but to use every method at its disposal. Denmark and Sweden have given us a brilliant example of what a Socialist Party can do in the disarmament of its own country. The Socialists of Holland have made important proposals in the same direction. We place great hopes in our Socialist comrades who occupy Government positions in Belgium and in Czechoslovakia.

There is also the great propaganda of peace education which the International is constantly carrying on and which you will see illustrated in the appeals and manifestoes contained in the Report. We demand disarmament. The one-sided disarmament of the defeated States is no solution. We believe that the International should go far beyond the narrow proposals for the reduction or limitation of armaments, which have hitherto clouded the horizon of capitalist statesmen. We should demand, on the contrary, that the proposal should be made of complete

and universal disarmament by mutual agreement; so that this idea, should, at least, be spread abroad among the nations. Continuous pressure should be kept up in each country for this purpose.

But the International should also most carefully prepare its preventive action in the actual case of a threat of war like that of 1914. This should take two forms (*a*) the preparation for concerted Parliamentary and other political action, and (*b*) concerted action with the International Federation of Trade Unions with a view to assisting the Trade Union Movement to take the most effective measures on the industrial field, whether through strikes or otherwise, to paralyse the war machine. Both these forms of action require, in my opinion, enquiry by special commissions, including historical enquiry into the reasons for the failure of 1914, and scientific enquiry into the modern methods whereby practically the whole of industry, but above all iron and steel and heavy chemicals, is diverted from peace production to war production.

All these methods are open to the International. They should be sharply and clearly distinguished from the Communist idea of forming groups in national armies, encouraging desertion, and so forth, and at the same time stirring up revolutionary, colonial or international wars, in the belief that out of such wars something better will emerge. This is a childish belief, an amateurish belief, which is contradicted by all history. It is merely dealing with symptoms and not fundamental causes.

Such are the distinctive tasks of the International. But the International must also take up a position on the proposals for Security and Disarmament which may be adopted by existing Governments. Capitalist Governments are in power, and, unfortunately, public opinion is dominated by a false conception of security. The real fact is, that great armaments provoke suspicion, counter-preparation, and attack. They are a weapon in the hands of Capitalist governments, which they cannot be trusted to use for defence only. So far as home defence is concerned we should be far more secure without them. But public opinion is not yet convinced of this. We must take things as they are. We cannot afford to wait. And we recognise that, as things are, no great measure of disarmament will be secured in the near future without some system of mutual guarantee against attack.

The movement for such a system has passed through various stages, and culminated last year in the Protocol of Geneva, the guiding idea of which was that, not only must security be combined with disarmament (as in the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance), but Universal Arbitration must be combined with both.

In the elaboration of this Protocol 48 nations worked together. It was the first time that the statesmen in general had regarded the abolition of war as a serious possibility. Under the Protocol all disputes were to be referred to impartial settlement, the aggressor, against whom alone war was justifiable, was defined as that Power which, having refused Arbitration, resorted to war. It was a general system of mutual agreement. Partial agreements, if admitted at all, were admitted only if registered and published by the League and if open to all States (members of League) desiring to accede thereto. Finally, this guarantee system was not to come into force until a general scheme of Disarmament had been brought into operation by a conference to which all States, even those outside the League of Nations, should be invited.

I will not discuss that, as Henderson dealt with it yesterday. I will merely say that the International, by all its declarations has supported the Protocol, but we are faced with the fact that its fate is now doubtful,

and new proposals have been made for a limited Pact in Western Europe. This Pact, however, cannot be placed in the same category as the Protocol. We are confronted with mere vague principles—with a few diplomatic documents, full of uncertainties and inconsistencies—in which the real difficulties of the situation have not yet been faced. There is, in fact, no Pact before us. There is the beginning of a negotiation, which may lead to a limited military alliance, or may lead to the Protocol in a different form.

It is not possible, therefore, to present any clear declaration of the policy of the International with regard to the Pact. There is an overwhelming opinion in favour of the Protocol. The British delegation has always shared the opinion, though it has always been careful to define its attitude as to the form in which ratification should take place. But the different parties are divided as to whether the Pact will ever become a reality; as to what form it will take if it does become a reality; and as to the value of any such form. There are, in fact, two different views on this point.

(1) Some Socialists, thinking mainly of the need of liquidating old quarrels—and assuming that the Protocol cannot be realised for some time to come—point to the great advance represented by the German Government's offer of February 9th—especially the paragraphs relating to the Protocol, and the offer to make analogous Arbitration Treaties with all States. They dwell on the German rather than the French conception. They welcome the application of peaceful methods to what they consider the danger spot of Europe, namely, the Rhine; they welcome the co-operation of former enemies. These things are certainly steps towards the Socialist ideal. They think that the advantages of their scheme outweigh the dangers of a limited military alliance. They think that all serious objections can be removed in the new formulation which will take place.

(2) Others, thinking rather of the new complications which a Pact of this kind may create in future, consider that the proposed arrangement, so far as we are able at present to foresee its nature, is likely to divide the people into two camps, and point to the danger of an anti-Russian military combination, driving Russia to become an exclusively Asiatic Power. The proposed arrangement, they think, would not solve the problem of peace in Eastern Europe; the provisions as to Poland and Czechoslovakia are of a one-sided character. Further, it is not combined with any proposals for disarmament. It would allow military action to be taken, in certain cases, both by parties to the Arbitration Treaties and by the "guarantors" of those treaties, without the application of any impartial international procedure, but merely on the one-sided decision of an interested party. Such military action, outside the machinery of Arbitration, while permitted to one party, will, it seems, be denied to the other. A formal equality of rights does not constitute real reciprocity so long as, of the two parties chiefly concerned, one is armed and the other disarmed. Such an arrangement again may tend to prevent the revision, and even may constitute a renewed affirmation, of certain provisions of the Peace Treaties which are condemned as unjust by the Labour and Socialist International. These objections, it is thought, could only be removed if the suggested scheme were accompanied by a widespread measure of Disarmament, and were merged in a general scheme of Arbitration.

Such being the divisions of opinion, the International must necessarily leave it to the various parties, which may be called upon to take decisions suddenly, either to support or to oppose the suggested arrangement. It should lay down the constitution, however, that, whatever

attitude any particular party may take, they should not support any limited Pact which is not under the control of the League of Nations, or which could be used to block any *general* measures of arbitration and disarmament, and further, that they should take the opportunity of the discussions on the Pact to support in their Parliaments the point of view of the International on the subject of the Protocol.

The International, without pledging itself to every word in the Protocol, demands that the whole question of the general principles contained in it should be examined again at the forthcoming Assembly of the League of Nations; that a Disarmament conference should be held, as laid down in the Protocol, and that every effort should be made to secure the extension of the League so as to include not only Germany, but also Russia and the United States. A vigorous propaganda should be carried on in each country in favour of these objects. In every international conflict we should demand that it should be settled, as a matter of course, not by the parties but by an international tribunal. We should go beyond international conflicts, and demand that such conflicts as are of world importance, even within the various empires themselves, should be submitted to impartial arbitration.

At the same time the International recognises that, even a general system of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament will not form a complete solution of the problem of international relations, unless the machinery contained in Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations is elaborated in such a way as to facilitate the revision of any provisions of the Peace Treaties which have become obsolete or dangerous to Peace. Particularly so, when Moscow or the Communist International holds out to the oppressed the hope of effecting these necessary changes by another war. Such provisions must be based upon a clear recognition of the solidarity of working-class interests. No scheme for improving the execution of the law is sufficient unless the making and revising of the law itself is provided for at the same time.

It is important for the International, which is in an early stage of its growth, to limit itself to simple and general proposals. What is important above all is to secure the wholehearted and well-informed co-operation of all the parties, even if the programme be limited and elementary.

That which is common to the conscious Socialists of all countries is the simple will to peace—the general conception that the interest of the workers of the world is one—that they have no real quarrel with one another. Our solution must be a broad and simple one. We cannot enter into the torturing complexities of national diplomacy. We cannot oppose to anarchy, organisation; to suspicion, friendship; to the right States, the sacred watchword of working-class solidarity. If the workers speak with a united voice, united in mutual love and understanding, they can accomplish much. Capitalist statesmanship is bankrupt; Socialist statesmanship must supply the world with that for which the whole world is waiting—Peace. (Applause.)

RUDOLF HILFERDING (Germany) referred in the first place to the International Congress at Stuttgart in 1907, when there was a discussion on the question of International Peace, and Bebel and Volmar found themselves discussing the problem together with their English and French friends, Keir Hardie and Jaures, who were the early leaders in the fight against war. At that time Vandervelde—whom we greet to-day because we know that in the place in which he finds himself at present, he is continuing the fight for peace—Vandervelde, then President of the

International, in his closing speech used these words: "Capitalism is war, Socialism is peace." Now with this antithesis they could no longer satisfy themselves. They had now to find out that they had a concrete proposal for the purpose of preventing war. Life was only worth living while they fought that fight, and sad as it was still to live under Capitalism, it was intolerable to think that they should once more die for Capitalism. (Applause.) They could not wait to abolish war until Socialism was a reality; but the fight for Socialism and the fight for peace were simultaneous objects in the class-struggle of the workers. Since that memorable Stuttgart conference the position of the working classes and the international solidarity of the working classes had considerably increased. Labour was now an important factor in the national and international politics of each country, and it was no longer possible for Governments to govern without taking into consideration the position and the desires of the working classes. They found that Capitalism had, in many cases, either done away entirely with monarchies or had completely reformed them. In the United States they saw Capitalism develop in the form of a Republican Government. They had seen Capitalism likewise develop under the mere sham constitution of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and the Hapsburgs in Austria. They had seen Capitalism develop under such a splendid constitution as that of Great Britain, and under Czarist Russia just as much as it was at present developing in Bolshevik Russia. Thus, Capitalism has developed under very different circumstances and was constantly changing its superstructure, whilst at the same time it was creating its own opponents in the form of working-class forces which grew more and more. This was the great change which had come about in politics since the war. Even though, as Comrade Henderson had said, the workers continued to be slaves economically, their political freedom was growing and soon they would be completely free. A new phase was, therefore, approaching for pacifism. The phase of utopian pacifism of the past, which was merely based on sentiment, was closed and a new chapter opened—that of realistic pacifism. This meant that now their fight was going to be different in its methods. At Stuttgart war was still considered to be an inevitable evil and therefore the means adopted to fight war were, after the outbreak of war, to declare a general strike for the purpose of stopping it. But to-day they realised that war must be fought every day, that peace was a question of political organisation, and that they must not let one day go past without remembering the seriousness of their position. If they did that they would be acting in agreement with the ideal which Jean Jaures had so clearly foreseen.

It was necessary to oppose to the bourgeois conception of everlasting rivalry and competition amongst nations the working class conception, which was one of solidarity and co-operation. They must, in opposition to the bourgeois conception of nationalism, set up a proletarian conception of nationality. They wanted to preserve and to develop in each nation those elements of civilisation, of culture, and of art that were worthy of development. But they did not want to preserve, nay, they wanted to abolish that idea of nationalism which drove nations into the trenches against each other. This abolition of the principle of bourgeois nationalism was tantamount, politically, to limiting the sovereignty of individual States and placing it under the sovereignty of the universality of nations. That meant that no individual State should any longer have the right to declare war. The universality of nations should stand up against whoever broke the peace. The League of Nations also must be strengthened by the entry of Germany. Russia must also enter, and they appealed to their friends in the United States to make every effort to put a stop

to the isolation of that Republic. It was easy, of course, to criticise the League of Nations, but their criticism should not be directed against the institution as such, but against the bad use that Governments were still making of the institution. Last year their hopes were much greater with regard to the League of Nations, for at that time MacDonald and Henderson represented Great Britain, and Herriot and Paul-Boncour represented France, and their hope would again improve when Governments were so constituted, through the influence of Socialism, that they would be able to make a better use of the League of Nations than was at present being made of it. And in order to bring this about their trinity was "Security, Arbitration and Disarmament." They fully recognised that the best means of realising this was the Protocol of Geneva of 1924. They perfectly understood the position of the British Labour Party and thanked them for their tenacity in upholding the Protocol. They were quite in agreement with them on this point, that they thought that arbitration would not be effective unless it was compulsory. If it did not become compulsory, and if it did not embrace all possible conflicts, every point that was excepted could be made the excuse of some State resorting to war. No one separate State ought to be allowed to give a guarantee for any award given by the Court of Arbitration. Such guarantee could only be given by the League of Nations as a whole. Only the League of Nations should be able to judge whether an award of the Arbitrators had been violated; whether an attack had taken place. And above all disarmament was, so to speak, the Holy Ghost in this trinity, because without disarmament they did not think security was possible, and without disarmament arbitration also was not possible, because it would always happen, that the one or the other nation, feeling itself sufficiently strong to carry its point, would try to do away with the Arbitrator's award and therefore war would always remain the latent idea. On the other hand, they did not want disarmament which only extended to some nations, and particularly as disarmament in this partial form would not permit of moral disarmament, which was most essential. They in his country were friends of the Protocol, but whilst they were waiting for the Protocol to become a reality, what were they to do? Should they take no steps towards arbitration pending the Protocol becoming a reality? They would leave nothing undone to help the Protocol to become a reality, but meanwhile they thought that other means were at hand by which they could secure a partial peace agreement. The Security Pact which was being prepared, appeared to them to offer such a possibility, but they were most desirous that such a Pact should not become a step leading them away from the Protocol, but rather a step leading towards it. If they succeeded in obtaining compulsory arbitration and a guarantee undertaken by the League of Nations in a partial Security Pact—if such partial Security Pact obtained an approach between Germany and the Western Nations, and Germany and the Eastern Nations, then, he thought, the Security Pact would bring them nearer to the Protocol.

In reply to his friend Buxton, he said there were certainly differences in the Socialist camp with regard to the Security Pact. Differences of opinion on political problems were quite natural within the International, and sometimes it was the true international spirit which such differences revealed. They understood that the English and French felt a certain pride in the Protocol, and they (the Germans), it must be clearly understood, would do nothing to hinder the Protocol becoming a reality. If they were in favour of a separate Security Pact, it was only because they thought that through it they were taking one step forward in conquering the distrust between nations, and they hoped their English friends would

help them in that first step. On the other hand they would promise that after that first step had become a reality, they would do everything in their power to help the Geneva Protocol to become a reality.

He wished to say yet another few words in criticism of the League of Nations. He had already said that the League of Nations would only become the instrument they wanted it to become if Labour was able to hammer and weld it through its own efforts in the class-struggle which it was fighting in every country. The League of Nations must also become an instrument for eliminating the economic causes of war. The States of Europe had been Balkanised. That was to say, conditions had been created similar to those that produced the Balkan wars in the past. On to the political Balkanisation was grafted the economic Balkanisation. Moreover there was the rising tide of protectionism. Economic protectionism led to military protectionism, and military protectionism brought about war. Therefore the League of Nations must use every effort to do away with economic rivalries and endeavour to organise the economic life of nations on a universal basis. If they succeeded in exercising that influence on the League of Nations, then they would be able to express such a policy on the League of Nations that, instead of it being an instrument of nationalism, they would be able to fight nationalism through the League of Nations. But in order to bring this about there was no other means but to wage an ever-increasing battle for peace within every particular country. If this Congress were to set forth the working-class conception of nationality and to set out on the path to realistic pacifism, this would be a historical accomplishment. It would mean beating the Bourgeoisie in the field of ideas as we shall beat them politically and economically. We sometimes hear some of our well-meaning adversaries say that Socialism has changed and Socialists are moving towards reality. No, my friends. Socialism has not changed, but reality is moving towards Socialism. (Applause.) It is moving economically; for the period of classical capitalism is gone and capitalism of to-day is more and more organising industry for Socialism to-morrow. It is moving politically, for greater and greater is the influence which the workers exercise upon the destinies of nations. That is how reality and Socialism are approaching each other and how our ideal of internationalism is nearing realisation! (Applause.)

LEON BLUM (France) then addressed the Congress, and at the conclusion the President announced that the translation would take place on the following morning at 9.30 a.m.

The Congress then adjourned.

THIRD SESSION.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24TH, AT 9.30 A.M.

In the Chair: OTTO WELS (Germany) and Victor L. BERGER (America, U.S.)

LEON BLUM (France): In the opening words of his speech Comrade Hilferding had spoken of Stuttgart, but he (the speaker) was remembering more particularly Hamburg, where the International was reconstituted, and he was thinking of the progress they had made since that time. Looking around him at the present time, although there were many causes of trouble, he noted that great progress had been made when they considered the situation as it was at Hamburg and as it was to-day. At that time the Ruhr difficulty was at its culminating point, and they were asking themselves whether new and greater conflicts were not going to arise, created by the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. But meanwhile the last of the Allied battalions had left the Ruhr, the problem of reparations had been approached from the angle of reason, the Protocol had been submitted for the approval of governments, and in February the German Government prepared a Memorandum making certain proposals for a Security Pact, which were still in negotiation, and which gave them some hope for the future. He thought that their International would consider with satisfaction these various successes that had been reached, because they had certainly had a hand in making them possible.

The change that had been produced in the attitude of both the French and Belgian Governments was greatly due to the influence of the Socialists. The way had been prepared for the Dawes Plan, providing for the settlement of the Reparations question, by the Frankfurt Socialist Conference; while with regard to the Memorandum of Germany, was it not the preparatory work done in 1922 by the Socialist International to which that success also was due? At that time the representatives of France found themselves associated with Breitscheid, Hilferding, Camille Huysmans, Tom Shaw, and with the never to be forgotten Matteotti, and they drafted a project along lines which afterwards inspired the German document of the 9th February of this year. Sometimes they were blamed for insufficient activity, but he thought there had never been a greater period of activity than last year and this year. In January, 1922, they had a meeting at Brussels, where the Bureau of the Trades Union Federation of Amsterdam met together with the Bureau of the I.S.I. In Paris, in May, there was another meeting of the Executive, dealing with the same problem of Protocol and Pact. Again, in July they met in London, and on the 20th of July in Brussels, so that the permanent organisation had very amply prepared for the Congress, and it was now for the Congress to put into the form of resolutions the attitude it was going to take for the purpose of co-ordinating the actions of the different Socialist sections in the world. With regard to the Protocol, their attitude was clearly defined. When they met in January in Brussels unanimity was clearly defined. When they met in January in Brussels unanimity was reached with the sole exception of their British friends, but in May when they met again to deal with the same subject, their British friends were in agreement, so that complete unanimity was reached. Then came the period when the opposition of the British

Conservatives threw some doubt on the realisation of the Protocol. The Socialists, however, had no reason to change their attitude, as Comrade Hilferding had pointed out. But notwithstanding their general approval of the Protocol, the question arose as to whether the Socialist attitude was to be one of intransigence; whether they were going to say "either the Protocol or nothing at all" or whether they would be ready as a first step towards the realisation of the Protocol, meanwhile to try for some other temporary solution. Were they to revert back to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance? Or should they look forward towards preparing the limited Pact of Security?

Answering his friend Mr. Buxton, he thought it was hardly possible for the Congress to say that they were leaving entire liberty to the various Socialist sections with regard to the attitude they were going to take towards the Pact of Security. He thought it would create quite an impossible situation if the British Labour Party in the British Parliament voted against the Security Pact, whilst in the Paris Parliament and in the Berlin Parliament there was an affirmative vote of the Socialists on the same question. He did not think they could afford to split up the Socialist parties. The International Socialist Movement must be of one mind and must pursue the same policy. Sometimes one spoke of Communist dangers, and particularly of the criticism put forward in the Communist camp, but he thought they ought to work as if Communism did not exist. There was one thing, however, they could learn from the Communist International and that was that it had a uniform policy. He allowed that their policy was bad and was most injurious, but it was *one* policy. He was not advocating the Communist discipline, which was devoid of any liberty of thinking, but he was asking that on a question like this there should not be open dissension and contradictory voting amongst socialist parties.

Mr. Henderson had spoken splendid words with regard to the Protocol, words inspired by wisdom and political knowledge, and words which had led them fully to appreciate the situation. He wished to tell their British friends that they could count upon their collaboration when the time came for the Protocol to be realised. But the question of the present time was whether the first step towards the realisation of the final ideal could not be obtained by some other Pact. They could not approve of a Pact which would split up Europe into the diverse camps which they had before the war, but the question was whether, for the intermediate period, before they came to the full realisation of the Protocol, any other document should be examined to see what it was worth and to find out whether it was a step backward towards the sort of alliance which existed before the war, which Lloyd George and Briand proposed to renew, or whether it was a document preparing the way for a brighter future. If the present document was of the latter character, then he thought they had no right to refuse to consider it. To-day there was no longer any question of having a Pact similar to the one discussed at Cannes, or later on at Genoa, when the only people who were going to enter into the agreement were those who had formerly belonged to the same side during the war. The present Pact was one which was going to be signed by Germany, who would have equal rights and the duties were clearly defined. That Security Pact provided for the peaceful settlement of certain Eastern questions by arbitration. It also provided for the control of the League of Nations, and particularly it afforded a solution for the most dangerous of all problems—the relations between Germany and France. Now what would be the value of that Pact if the British Socialists refused to adhere to it in the British Parliament? It had been pointed out that that Pact contained certain difficulties, and

particularly the difficulty in regard to coercive sanctions and the difficulty of guaranteeing Germany's Eastern frontiers; but all these difficulties would vanish as soon as Germany entered the League of Nations, because, according to the terms of the Covenant, no coercion was possible for any doubtful case, nor in any case which would be judged by one of the parties only. But, on the other hand, the Covenant provides that in the event of flagrant war, there was to be immediately concerted action on behalf of the members of the League for defence or help. Therefore the key to the situation was that of Germany entering the League of Nations. Now Germany was opposed to Article 16 of the Covenant, but he thought, with goodwill on the part of Germany, it would be possible to find a way out of that difficulty. They asked their German friends not to raise any legal point, and they on their part would undertake to endeavour to get their governments to pursue such a policy which would take into account the difficulties existing in fact. In the same manner difficulties, especially as regards possible contradiction between the Pact and the Treaty of Rapallo, would vanish as soon as Russia had entered the League of Nations.

He was going to make a practical proposal with regard to the Protocol. The Protocol, as they knew, had been accepted by the Assembly of the League of Nations, but it had not been ratified by the Governments. In the Protocol there was one part concerning arbitration which would certainly be accepted by the British Dominions, and as that was so they should at least try to save that part—they should rally round that part at least. All difficulties were, of course, not eliminated by arbitration. There would still be some problems to solve, and particularly the problem of disarmament. One speaker (Hitler) had referred to the Trinity—"security, arbitration, disarmament"; but he would not mention them in this way. He would prefer to say, "security *through* disarmament and arbitration." For arbitration will assure the solution of conflicts, and disarmament will protect the nations against the danger that one nation, relying on the force of its armaments, would take up a brutal attitude towards another nation, and thus the security of all nations would be really assured.

But there was something better that they must pursue. Arbitration was all right when conflicts were arising, but arbitration would not be necessary if the causes of conflicts disappeared, and they must give their attention to an examination of the causes of conflicts. If they considered the world as it is—a world which it was their duty to improve—they would feel sure that they had much work to do. At Hamburg they dealt with one of the causes of unrest, they discussed the question as to how far the Peace Treaties of 1919 had left causes of war in the world. But since then a new fact had arisen. One of the treaties that was felt to be an injustice when it was entered upon in 1919 had been revised; but it had been revised in consequence of a war. The *Sèvres Treaty* had become the *Lausanne Treaty*. This must not be allowed to be repeated. If a treaty was to be revised, it must not be revised in consequence of a war.

The second cause of international conflict lay in the fact that they had in Europe at the present time quite a number of autocratic governments, as for instance, in Russia, Italy and Spain, and autocratic governments were in themselves a constant menace to peace because they were apt to apply in foreign politics the same habits of brutality they showed towards their own subjects. A third lay in the economic disturbances of Europe as a result of the war. They were quite convinced, he said, that national prosperity was perfectly reconcilable with international prosperity; in fact that national prosperity led to international

prosperity and to international security. But, on the other hand, poverty, economic unrest and instability were bad and led to political disturbances. Economic difficulties were never so much in evidence in Europe as they were at the present time. The economic principles which governments were trying to apply were full of contradictions and were, so to speak, a travesty and ridicule of political economy. That was to say, economic conditions could not be reconciled with the political conditions created by the war. There was the relation of debtor and creditor between nations, which could only be adjusted if free trade existed and if exports were unfettered. Then debts could be paid, but against that possibility through exports stood the insuperable tariff walls. People spoke of being self-sufficient on the economic line; that was to say, having an economic system where everything consumed at home would be produced at home; but together with that theory came the competition in foreign markets. One tried on the one hand to consume only those things that were produced at home, and, on the other hand, to throw on to the foreign markets as many goods as possible for the purpose of realising capitalist profits. In consequence of this, workers everywhere suffered from under-consumption and unemployment, and frequently from both. Another problem arose out of the importation of workers such as they were witnessing at the present time in France.

But the greatest consequence of the war was perhaps that the centre of gravity had been shifted out of Europe, and in certain cases the Mother Country had itself become a sort of Dominion. Problems of race were coming up, and problems of colonies, in the same way as followed the Napoleonic wars, when the nations of Europe awakened to a sense of their strength by union. In the same way the world war had awakened the national sentiment in countries outside Europe and particularly the colonies, it had accelerated the movement of millions and millions who were trying to rise, within a few years, to a higher standard, and Bolshevism, having failed to bring about in Western Europe that catastrophe on which its whole theory of revolution is based, is now trying to play upon the over-excited nationalist feelings arising out of racial and religious wars. The more they looked round outside Europe, the more they enlarged their investigations, the more problems they saw cropping up. What answer should they give to them?

At Frankfurt they had already pointed out that only by international organisation there could be found a satisfactory solution of the problem of international credit, the problems of currency and exchange, and the balance of trade. With regard to raw materials, were they to face the risk that war should break out, say between Britain and America, at some future period over some disagreement in regard to export trade? No! The distribution of raw material cannot be left in the hands of individual States which would be free to decide which customers they were to supply, and where work was to be stopped and workers were to starve. The questions of colonisation, raw material, revision of treaties, were going beyond the national sovereignty of individual States. The treaties concluded in 1919 could not constitute a permanent privilege in favour of the victory States—a privilege that they proposed to defend with all the means at their disposal. Of course they did not want any alteration of the treaties to be brought about through war. On the contrary, they wanted, by the subordination of national sovereignties under an international organisation, to find a way for the peaceful settlement of all conflicts. Therefore, he did not propose to examine with Mr. Buxton what they proposed to do if war threatened. His action was rather to eliminate the cause of war, and this he contended was much more important. In France there had been a long period

of mistrust in regard to the League of Nations, but now, owing to the propaganda that his party had undertaken in that country, rather a contrary attitude was apparent. There was perhaps an excess of trust at the present time in the League of Nations. But it was now their duty to tell the League of Nations that it would be of no importance unless it became an organ of international harmony—unless it became an organ of super-sovereignty, able to solve the various economic, political and unless also it was able to find the means of readjusting treaties that were unjust, and of finding the possibility of settling the difficult questions of over-population and immigration. The League of Nations, in a word, had to be inspired with the ideals of the Socialist International. Some injustices would never be eliminated until the capitalist regime was done away with. But they could not wait and be idle; they ought to try to benefit by every step they could take towards the realisation of their ideals. In conclusion he said: "It is an interesting coincidence that Herr Hilferding has spoken just before me. He is a delegate to the German Reichstag; I am a deputy in the French Parliament. He is a good German; I am a good Frenchman. Yet we are able each to speak the same words. I am glad of this, because it proves that we are both seeking the good of our countries in the general good of the world. The interests of the nations are after all in harmony with each other, and this constitutes the hope of our final victory." (Applause).

THE CASE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

MORRIS HILLQUIT (U.S.A.) said: The distinguished comrades who have preceded me—Comrades Buxton, Hilferding and Blum—have very ably discussed the question of the working-class fight against the danger of war from the European point of view. I propose to approach the same subject with special reference to the situation in the United States, for to all thinking Socialists it must be clear that in the existing international situation, the great problem of lasting world peace cannot be solved without America. And just because the European peace cannot be so directly and vitally concerned in the maintenance of peace, it becomes their duty to study more closely the situation in America, and to make closer and more intimate contacts with America, and particularly the workers of America, so as to draw them more intimately and fully into the pacific struggles with the class-conscious workers of the world. For the United States is by no means exempt from the war danger.

In the competitive struggle of the capitalist nations for the world's wealth the whole globe is a potential war map. Every spot on it is an active or passive danger point, and the United States is no exception to the universal rule.

The time when the great American Republic stood aloof from the rest of the world, complacent in its "splendid isolation," and separated by two vast oceans from the intrigues of the East and the West, is long past.

The United States has covered the customary cycle of economic development with amazing thoroughness and rapidity. Fifty years ago the country was still prevalently agricultural, and the farming population was its dominant element. The dawn of the new century found it overwhelmingly industrial and capitalist. Within the period of one generation it perfected the organisation of its industrial processes and the exploitation of its domestic wealth resources, and plunged resolutely into the inescapable final phase of capitalist development—imperialism. Imperialism may be defined as the exercise of dominion beyond the original or "natural" boundaries of a country. Its varied forms are the

extension of the home territory, the acquisition of oversea colonies, the establishment of "protectorates" and the development of the more subtle "spheres of influence" in foreign countries.

The United States has gone through all these stages. It has extended its territory in continental North America; acquired oversea "possessions," established effective protectorates, and is now entering upon the phase of international rule through the money power. In this powerful form of the new imperialism, it has attained tremendous proportions within the last decade. Before the war the United States was still mainly concerned with the development of its own resources, partly with the aid of foreign capital. It was in debt to foreign investors to the extent of \$3,500,000,000. The rapid industrial expansion of the country during the war has radically changed its international economic and financial position. American manufacture no longer finds at home an adequate supply of raw material for its production, nor a large enough market for its output, nor sufficient field for the reinvestment of its profits. America's foreign trade has grown apace since the war. Its merchants are competing with the most powerful European rival for the world market. Its manufacturers are vitally concerned in the foreign control of certain essential raw materials. Its bankers are beginning to finance the world. At this time American private investments in foreign countries are estimated at the stupendous sum of \$10,000,000,000, and they are growing by leaps and bounds.

While American imperialism has thus on the whole followed the almost classical lines of modern development, it presents certain special features impressed on it by the history of the country, its geographical situation and peculiar economic conditions.

The United States entered upon its national career one hundred and fifty years ago as a confederation of thirteen states, which together covered an area of about 825,000 square miles along the Atlantic coast. This area was increased by the purchase of the vast French territory known as Louisiana in 1803; the acquisition of the Florida Peninsula in 1819, and the annexation of the "Oregon" territory in 1846. In 1848 the United States made its first annexation by conquest. It took from Mexico, after a short war of unequal forces, more than half of its national territory, a veritable empire, from which were carved out the present gigantic states of New Mexico, Texas and California. To-day the country covers the entire middle portion of the North American continent, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and from the Canadian boundary line on the North to the Mexican border on the South. The territory comprises more than 3,000,000 square miles, an area almost four times as large as its original domain and equal to the combined pre-war territory of European Russia, Austria, Hungary, Germany, France and Spain.

The tremendous area thus gradually acquired was intended for the purpose of "rounding out" the country, securing outlets on both oceans, and for the extension of the slave trade and slave economy. It took a long time to develop and assimilate the extensive acquisitions. The conquest of the Mexican territory was followed by a round fifty-year period of non-expansionist policy, broken only by the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. The Spanish-American peace treaty following upon the war of 1898, signalises the first American adventure in the policy of colonisation. By the terms of that treaty the United States obtained control of the island of Cuba and possession of Porto Rico and the Philippines. Cuba was subsequently surrendered to the people of the island under the provisions of a treaty which practically made it a dependency of the United States. Porto Rico, as well as the Philippine Islands,

which lie clear across the Pacific Ocean, are still owned and administered by the United States as colonies or "territories." Two years later the Hawaiian Islands, situated midway between the Western coast of the United States and the Eastern coast of Asia, were annexed.

But the most acute form of imperialism the United States has reserved for its neighbours on the American continent. In 1823, the young North American Republic announced to the world "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers." This pronouncement, which has since attained historic fame as the "Monroe Doctrine," was originally intended to safeguard the United States from European aggression, particularly in view of the designs of the Holy Alliance to restore the Spanish rule to the seceded South American Republics. When the country attained to a position of hegemony in the Western hemisphere the doctrine was maintained to keep off European rivals from other lands on the American continent. "America for Americans" was the popular version of the Monroe Doctrine in its original application. Its modern revision may be said to be "America for the United States."

There are twenty "independent" republics, large and small, south of the United States, collectively known as Latin America. Of these ten are under official fiscal control of North American interests. In six out of the ten the United States has at one time or another supported its banking and commercial interests by armed intervention. Most of the remaining countries are closely tied to the United States by fiscal bonds.

In Central America, mostly along the coast of the Caribbean Sea, there are six small republics—Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama.

On the Island of Haiti in the same sea there are two Negro republics of former French possession, Haiti and Santo Domingo.

In 1903, when the republic of Colombia, which then owned the isthmus of Panama, refused to sign a treaty with the United States for the construction of the Panama Canal, a revolution "provisionally" broke out on the isthmus, which declared itself independent of Colombia. The United States immediately recognised the new republic, prohibited the Colombian Government from asserting its authority by military force, and negotiated a treaty with the "Republic of Panama," by which it not only received all the land required for the canal but virtual control of the whole country. "I took Panama," was the frank and terse phrase employed by President Roosevelt a few years later to describe the occurrence.

In 1912 the United States landed 4,000 marines in Nicaragua, took possession of the country, and supported a self-constituted reactionary government opposed by the vast majority of the people. Incidentally it secured the payment of certain matured obligations to American bankers. The United States still maintains a small detachment of marines in Nicaragua, and American bankers collect its customs and operate its national bank and its railways.

In 1915, when Europe was preoccupied with its own affairs, and just before America had joined the crusade to make the world safe for democracy and to vindicate the sacred right of self-determination for all nations, large and small, the United States occupied the little republic of Haiti by armed forces and killed about 2,500 natives, in support of outraged American railroad interests. American marines are still in Haiti, and Haitian revenues and fiscal policy are still under American control.

The following year Haiti's sister republic, Santo Domingo, was invaded by United States marines without declaration of war. The President and Congress of the republic were unceremoniously dismissed and the government was taken over by the United States. It was not until 1924 that the marines were withdrawn.

Honduras is likewise occupied by armed forces of the United States, sent there for the "protection of American life and property."

Of the remaining Central and South American countries, Salvador, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Guatemala have either mortgaged their revenues to United States bankers, turned over their fiscal government to United States "advisers," or have otherwise been placed in a position of financial dependence upon their powerful northern neighbour.

Many and devices are the ways of American imperialism. They include the use of armed force in the South and of Christian missionaries in the East; fomenting revolutions to secure subservient governments in sister republics and invading foreign sovereignties under the terms of loan agreements.

But while the activities of American imperialism are varied and extended, its acute danger points are few and localised. The fear of war because of America's financial ascendancy in Europe and South America is rather remote. The relations between the United States and Canada, its only neighbour on the north, are those of pacific economic penetration. The tiny Central American republics are too weak to offer armed resistance to the North American colossus. American war talk is primarily directed towards Mexico and Japan.

Mexico has the misfortune of possessing fabulous natural wealth and a weak, unorganised and untrained population. From the time of the Spanish conquest, four hundred years ago, it has never ceased to be the object of covetous foreign intrigues. Probably no other country has ever been so completely dominated by foreign property interests. Foreign interests control 97 per cent. of the rich Mexican oil wells and two-thirds of the whole wealth of the country. Only one-third of Mexico is owned by Mexicans. The greater part of these foreign holdings are in the hands of United States capitalists. During the regime of Porfirio Diaz, who ruled Mexico as a dictator from 1876 to 1911, and lavishly bestowed grants of land, oil wells, mines and other concessions to foreigners, there was little trouble between the adjoining republics. But the dictator was finally deposed by a successful revolution, and the last fourteen years have been marked by a continuous struggle of the Mexican people to regain their own country, punctuated by revolutions and political changes and culminating in the recent election of President Plutarco Elias Calles on a labour platform. During this revolutionary period the country adopted a new constitution (1917), which is one of the most advanced and enlightened contemporary political documents. One of the provisions of the new constitution vested the title to all minerals and oil wells in the Mexican people. Foreign interests were allowed to continue exploiting oil wells and mines under government concessions, and upon the payment of adequate taxes.

The new measures aroused the determined opposition of the American magnates, who organised an insidious and systematic propaganda against Mexico and succeeded in enlisting the active support of the United States government in defence of their interests. A persistent campaign for "intervention" in Mexico was inaugurated, which threatened to break out in open hostilities in 1912, when 100,000 United States troops were mobilised on the border. During the period following, American

troops invaded Mexico under the guise of "punitive expeditions" for the alleged purpose of avenging misdeeds committed by Mexican bandits on American soil; official American representatives actively interfered in the internal political affairs of the country seeking to dictate the choice of its president, and finally the United States Government dispatched and published a number of notes to its Southern neighbour, which outraged all conventional diplomatic courtesy by their peremptory and censorial tone. This provocative practice persists to the present day.

If the mainsprings of the Mexican-American differences are quite obviously rooted in the customary economic motives, the causes of antagonism between the United States and Japan are much more obscure and involved. They seem to be psychological as well as economic. To begin with, every self-respecting nation is bound to have a "logical" or "hereditary" enemy, and in our Christian civilisation the enemy is usually the neighbour. This "natural" sentiment is generally stimulated by patriotic munition makers, professional soldiers and similar interests, of which America has its full share.

Now it is true that America is separated from Japan by some 5,000 miles of water, but it must also be admitted that Japan is the nearest aggressive and powerful country west of the American continent. The great "yellow invasion" of the American shores is therefore the favourite bugaboo of American militarism. In recent years the American possession of the Philippine Islands, which lie immediately south of Japan, has furnished an additional talking point in the anti-Japanese propaganda—"Japan is scheming to capture the Philippines."

Practically the only direct point of Japanese-American economic contact and rivalry is China. The United States as well as Japan are members of the international consortium which exploits the unfortunate country, and the governments of both nations are keenly concerned about the share of the spoils that goes to their respective nationals.

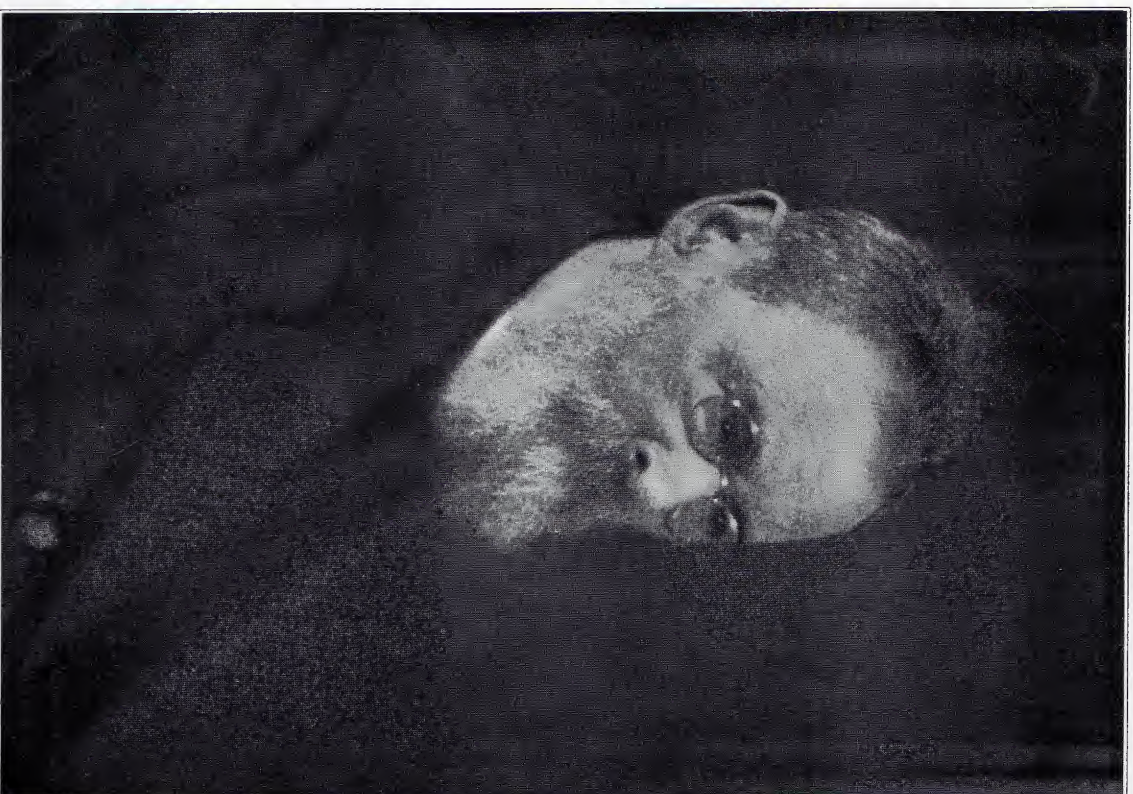
The most acute friction between the two countries does not arise from their international relations, but from the treatment which Japanese subjects have been accorded in the United States, particularly in the State of California and other States on the Pacific coast.

The presence of Asiatic immigrants on the West Coast of the United States has long been a source of dispute and irritation.

Shortly after the discovery of gold in California, Chinese labourers made their appearance in the State, partly lured by its sudden prosperity, and to a large extent deliberately imported by employers. By 1880 there were over 180,000 Chinese in the State of California. The low standard of their life made them formidable competitors to the native workers, who organised an energetic campaign against further immigration or importation of Chinese labour. The agitation assumed such powerful dimensions that Congress found itself impelled in 1882 to pass a law prohibiting the immigration of Chinese labourers into the United States.

Japanese immigration began later and the Japanese immigrants were at first sharply distinguished from the Chinese, particularly when their numbers were insignificant. But when the Japanese population reached the 100,000 mark in the State of California a popular hostility developed against them similar to that which led to the exclusion of the Chinese. The State legislature of California passed laws imposing economic and social disabilities upon Japanese residents to the great irritation of Japan and the embarrassment of the United States Government. A series of diplomatic negotiations between the two governments ensued, as a result of which Japan undertook voluntarily to limit the immigration

PAUL B. AXELROD.



One of the founders of Russian Socialism, whose 75th birthday coincides with the International Congress (25th August, 1925).

of its nationals to the United States. But this did not prove sufficient to meet the objections of the people of the West Coast. In 1924 when Congress was framing a new immigration law in the direction of drastic general restrictions, persistent demand was made for a provision denying all Japanese subjects entry into the United States for the purpose of permanent settlement.

To understand the seemingly unreasoning hostility towards the Japanese immigrants certain special conditions must be considered. The combined Chinese and Japanese inhabitants of California represent less than three per cent. of the population of the State. In the United States as a whole they constitute a barely perceptible element, and the Japanese account for less than one half of these oriental residents. But the Japanese are of very gregarious habits. They concentrate in spots, and in one or two counties of the State of California they make up a third of the whole population. They do not assimilate with their American neighbours, they breed large families, are enterprising, capable, and frugal, and their very virtues inspire their neighbours with almost superstitious fear.

The early Japanese pursuits in California were largely confined to fruit and vegetable farms, in which they soon developed a greater proficiency than the native American farmer. When the California Legislature deprived Japanese residents of the right to own or lease land a large number of them were driven to the cities, where they offered just as efficient competition to the industrial worker and small trader. The Japanese immigrants thus aroused the opposition of practically all classes: farmers, merchants and organised workers, the latter being most persistent and irreconcilable in the demand for the total exclusion of Japanese immigration. In vain did the opponents of the measure point to the insignificant number of Japanese in America and to the fact that, under the new immigration law, the Japanese quota would only admit a few hundred immigrants annually. The supporters of the exclusion policy conjured up the vision of the four hundred million Chinese and Japanese struggling for life in their overcrowded countries and looking to the rich American continent for their salvation. They cited the experience of Hawaii, in which the Japanese, under a system of unlimited immigration, within a comparatively short time increased to the point of constituting more than 40 per cent. of the entire population and practically dominating the island. They recalled the importation of negro labour in the early days of the country, and the inextricable problem created in the United States by the presence of ten million unassimilable citizens of African descent. Nothing short of absolute exclusion of all Japanese immigration would satisfy them, and Congress finally yielded to their demand.

The action was taken against the express warning of the Japanese ambassador that such discriminatory legislation would wound the national sensibilities of the Japanese people and might lead to grave consequences in the relations between the two countries.

The Japanese people considered the law as a deliberate and gratuitous insult to their pride; the Japanese press protested against it in vehement terms, and the general public resentment in Japan is by no means allayed.

American imperialism differs but slightly in substance and methods from the imperialism of other great capitalist powers. It is somewhat more menacing at this juncture of the world's history only because of the great economic preponderance of the country.

Nor is the whole body of the American people any more imperialist than the population of any other country. In the public and political life of the nation there are large elements opposed to the policy of foreign

aggression, and as the militarist psychology, engendered by the war and artificially kept alive since the war, is gradually receding, the voices of protest against our imperialists and warmongers are growing in volume and strength.

The Socialist Party of the United States has at all times taken a consistent and militant attitude against the newly developed imperialist policy of the government. It has never failed to make public protest against its aggressions in foreign countries, and to point out the criminal character of the "dollar diplomacy" and its fatal tendency towards war. The American Socialists opposed the Spanish-American War, and were practically the only politically organised group of American citizens who publicly objected to the entry of the United States into the world war. Throughout the duration of the war the Socialists urged the conclusion of an immediate and democratic peace in the face of a public sentiment lashed into savage fury by an intense official and unofficial propaganda of war hate. The Socialist Party has condemned every act of armed intervention by the United States in the Central American republics, and vigorously combated all war propaganda directed at Mexico and Japan.

This clear-cut anti-imperialist and anti-war attitude of American Socialism has not been without salutary effect, but, unfortunately, the Socialist movement of the United States is as yet too weak to exercise a determining influence on public opinion.

The organised workers of the country, represented principally by the American Federation of Labour, have not always taken as definite an attitude against war as the Socialists, but to their credit be it said, they have consistently opposed the imperialist policy of the government and, because of their numbers and importance, their opposition has been effective and in some instances determining.

If the American workers have led the campaign for the exclusion of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants they have done so solely in defence of what they considered to be their vital class interests. Rightly or wrongly they believed that their struggles to maintain and improve their standards of life were seriously impaired by the actual and potential influx of cheap oriental labour. They fought for the exclusion of such a ruinous competition on purely economic grounds, but did not go beyond it. They carefully refrained from joining the militant anti-Japanese agitation on the basis of racial and national antagonism.

American Labour has also made emphatic protest against American participation in the international spoliation of China.

But its most effective work for peace was done in the Latin American countries. While American capitalists were busy fomenting war sentiment against Mexico in aid of their sinister design to appropriate Mexico's wealth and to enslave the Mexican people, the organised American workers boldly extended a hand of friendship to their fellow workers across the Rio Grande and established solid ties of international solidarity between the working classes of both countries. It is no exaggeration to say that the courageous stand of American Labour and its determined opposition to the propaganda of American concessionaires in Mexico have on more than one occasion largely helped to avert war between the countries. (Applause.)

It was the American Federation of Labour also that brought into being the Pan-American Federation of Labour, a body composed of chosen representatives of the Labour organisations in a number of American countries, who meet periodically in international conventions to discuss measures of common interest. American workers have thus succeeded in the task in which their government has signally failed, *i.e.*, gaining

the confidence of the South American people. The Pan-American Federation of Labour is a potent factor for the preservation of peace on the American continent. (Applause.)

On the whole, however, the struggles of the American workers against the danger of war are not as effective as those of their fellow workers in Europe, and that for two principal reasons: their abstention from working-class politics and their aloofness from the International Labour Movement. The Labour movement of the United States stands practically alone in shunning direct political action and dividing its forces in the support of the middle-class political parties. In the recent Presidential elections, when practically the entire Trade Union Movement made common cause with the Socialists and other progressive political elements in the support of the late Senator La Follette, it seemed that a beginning towards independent working-class politics had been made. But the end of the campaign was also the end of the progressive political block and, at least for the time being, the workers of America have returned to their sterile "non-partisan" policy of old. After the war the American Federation of Labour withdrew from the Trade Union International and it has since remained without international affiliation.

The national isolation of American Labour tends to make it somewhat insensitive to the dangers of world imperialism, while its policy of political abstention weakens its direct power for the prevention of wars.

Oddly enough the entry of the United States into the League of Nations is opposed by many American Liberals, even pacifists, on the ground that membership in the League would tend to embroil the country in the intrigues and conflicts of war-torn Europe. As a matter of practical experience America's non-participation in the councils of the League has not availed to keep the country free from international political entanglement, but has served to lessen the power of the League to repress international conflicts. For the peace of the world it is imperative that the United States join the League of Nations, provided that the League is widened by the admission of Russia and Germany, and that its constitution is thoroughly democratised. (Applause.)

But above all it is important that the great body of American workers be brought into closer contact with the economic struggles and pacific aspirations of their fellow workers on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, and that they acquire greater political power and influence at home. For after all the most realistic hope of an era of universal peace and international goodwill lies in the advent of Socialist Labour Governments in the important countries of the world. If England, France and Germany will be simultaneously and permanently governed by Labour the peace of Europe will be largely assured. If Labour would at the same time control the political destinies of the United States, international wars on a large scale would be rendered impossible. The present-day race between war and peace is at bottom only one of the final phases of the age-long class struggle: the struggle between competition and co-operation, production for profit and production for use, Capitalism and Socialism.

I listened with great attention to the speeches of my distinguished predecessors yesterday. I noticed particularly Comrade Hilferding's statement when he cited the eloquent expression of Vandervelde at the Stuttgart Conference that Capitalism is war and Socialism is peace. Comrade Hilferding said this was not fully proved to-day, but I join issue with him on that. The words of our Comrade are as true to-day as ever they were—indeed more true. Far be it from me to deprecate practical efforts for the maintenance of peace under the capitalist regime to-day. On the contrary, we should support energetically, enthusiastically, with

all the means at our command, every step tending to secure or maintain peace—peace propaganda, peace education, international arbitration, international understanding; but, my Comrades, let us not forget the lessons of 1914. Let us not forget that without economic pressure when international economic rivalry assumes an acute point, as it did in that year, all institutions for international peace fall like a house of cards before a tornado; all Pacts are torn up like scraps of paper; all ideals of brotherhood and international solidarity give way to hate. We have lived to see that in 1914, and if there is one conclusion we can draw from it, it is this, that after all there is a certain limit to endeavours to maintain peace under the capitalist regime. Absolute peace, world peace, lasting peace can only be achieved under the Socialist regime. What distinguishes us from the middle-class pacifists is just the recognition that the question of war or peace is not primarily an ethical, or a religious, or an educational concept, but an economic concept; that Capitalism is wedded to international competition and international economic conflict, which are bound to lead to armed conflicts sometimes. Socialism stands for co-operation, economic co-operation, which is the only solid basis for international solidarity. If to-day the Governments of Great Britain, France and Germany were permanently in the hands of the Labour and Socialist Parties in those countries, that would offer a better guarantee of peace than any Protocols or Pacts of Security (Applause), and if the United States had a Labour-Socialist Government, the peace of the world might be considered assured. That is why I say that while we should support all the temporary measures of international politics and diplomacy leading to peace, our main aim must be to prepare the way to free the whole world from the Capitalist war-making classes under a universal Labour and Socialist Government. (Applause.)

The Congress then adjourned.

FOURTH SESSION.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25TH, AT 4 P.M.

In the Chair: FILIPPO TURATI (Italy) and R. ABRAMOWITSCH (Russia).

VERIFICATION OF CREDENTIALS.

A. CRISPIEN (Germany) said that as Rapporteur of the Committee for Credentials for the Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International, he had to communicate that 31 countries were represented, and 40 parties, the total number of delegates being 422, of which 60 were women. Therefore one-seventh of the delegates were women. The Committee for the verification of credentials proposed that all these mandates should be confirmed. Moreover, there was one representative present from the International Socialist Women's Committee, one delegate from the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, one from the International of Socialist Youth, one from the International Education Organisation, and one from the International Labour Office at Geneva. There was, therefore, a total of 427 delegates. There was a new party to be registered, viz., the Socialist Party of China, who had applied for admission, which the Executive had agreed to. (Applause.) The Congress would be asked to ratify the decision of the Executive. The admission of the Chinese Socialists would establish a new connection with the East.

Further, there had been a demand for admission by the newly founded Socialist Labour Party of Hungary, but the Committee were unable to negotiate with the representatives of that party because they had only arrived that day. The Committee of Credentials would, therefore, have to deal again with that matter. Also the Socialist Federalist Party of Georgia had asked for admission. With regard to their admission a letter had been received from Comrade Tsereteli reminding them that the Committee for Credentials at Hamburg had to deal with a similar request from Georgia, and at that time the Social Democrats of Georgia opposed the election because the Socialist Federalist Party represented so small a number of voters that it would be impossible to give them one of the three votes of the Georgian delegation. But after the meeting at Hamburg an agreement was reached, by the terms of which one seat within the delegation was to be given to the Socialist Federalist Party on the condition that the Social Democratic Party would dispose of all three Congress votes, and that the Socialist Federalist Party would not put in a request to have a consulting voice. The Credentials Committee was of opinion that by this arrangement, the request of the Socialist Federalist Party should be considered as withdrawn and simply asked the Congress to take note of the communication.

There was further a request from the so-called German Labour Party in Poland, but this was settled as the Party meanwhile had joined the German Socialist Party in Poland.

Finally, there was a request from the Jewish Workers' organisation, "Zeire-Zion," but this request had been disposed of by the fact that the

organisation in question had meanwhile joined the Jewish Labour Federation, "Poale-Zion." This was an example to be imitated by other parties.

ABRAHAM CAHAN (U.S.A.), speaking on the report, said he came to the Congress with a message from 300,000 Jewish working men organised under the Red Flag as well as under the American Flag. It had been said that a Jew was either a banker or a Bolshevik, but that was not entirely true. There were a great many Jews who were neither bankers nor Bolsheviks, and he stood there in the name of these 300,000 organised Jews whose hearts went out to this Congress. He had been asked to convey their greetings and their enthusiastic loyalty to this International. They were organised under the form of Trade Unions within the American Federation of Labour. They voted for the candidates of the Socialist Party of America whose delegates were present at the Congress, and of whom he had the honour to be one. They also had in many States what was called "Yereinigte Jüdische Gewerkschaften" (United Hebrew Trades), a term borrowed from the Germans at the time when the Movement was primarily German in the United States. They also had an organisation about 90,000 strong enrolled for mutual aid, and at the time of the recent Steel Strike in Pennsylvania, those Jewish working men contributed \$200,000 to that struggle. He was glad to have the opportunity of speaking in the name of all these people, and of conveying their greetings to the Congress. These 300,000 Socialist proletarians were heart and soul in the International Movement.

The report of the Committee of Credentials was then unanimously adopted.

GREETINGS TO PAUL AXELROD.

A. BRACKE (France) suggested that the Congress should send a telegram of congratulation to Paul Axelrod on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

R. ABRAMOWITSCH (Russia) said he wished to thank Comrade Bracke for the proposal he had just made. Axelrod was the connecting link between that heroic period when the Socialist International, full of the ideas of Marx, was founded, and the present International Socialist Movement. Together with Plechanoff, whose widow honoured the Congress with her presence as a friendly visitor that day, he broke away from Bakuninism, which at that time usurped the Russian Revolutionary parties. In 1883 he formed the group of the Liberation of Labour, a group that was full of the ideas of Marx and which formed the bridge to the modern workers' movement. At a time when Marx was still in doubt as to whether capitalism would develop in Russia, Axelrod and Plechanoff had no doubt. They saw that the phases of capitalist development would not be escaped by Russia, but that, through those phases would the Russian Workers' movement be stimulated and the Czarist regime overthrown. In a letter addressed to a Congress in Paris, they said that the Russian Revolution could only conquer if it fought as a workers' revolution. The party of Axelrod was from the beginning in favour of Labour's independent fight for Socialism. In 1903, when Leninism was founded, and in 1917 when it officially came to victory, there was a deadly hatred of Axelrod.

Continuing, he said that this year in Russia there would be no demonstration, there would be no fête in honour of Axelrod; there would only be insulting articles in the Government Press. Only in the places hidden away from the persecution of the Tcheka, and only in the Russian prisons would the memory of Axelrod be celebrated. And among

those would be the 90,000 Socialists who were in prison, a number which might be increased by those who dared to celebrate his memory outside prison. Concluding, he hoped that Axelrod would live long enough to see Russia become free, democratic and Socialist.

The PRESIDENT announced that a telegram would be sent to Axelrod as suggested by Bracke.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

TOM SHAW (Great Britain), in moving the resolution prepared by the Commission on point 3 of the Agenda, said: Comrades, I have been entrusted with the duty of reporting on the Eight-Hour Day and the Washington Convention. It is well known to all Labour and Socialist men and women that the demand of the workers for an Eight-Hour Day originated in England, where, over 50 years ago, the workers had the saying that their demand was for "8 hours' work, 8 hours' play and 8s. a day." Since then the Eight-Hour Day has been a demand made in every country in the world where the workers have organised as independent trade union or political bodies.

With the exception of a few special trades, however, it may be said that the Eight-Hour Day did not obtain in any country before 1914. The end of the Great War, however, saw a tremendous move forward on this question by the Labour and Socialist organisations of the world, and the position to-day shows a great advance on this important industrial question.

The Treaty of Versailles marks the first international government recognition of the desirability of a 48-Hour Week for the workers. The following quotation will show the new spirit laid down for the first time in a treaty. The Treaty contains the following words:—

And, whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled, &c., &c., &c.

Never before has a treaty of peace concerned itself with the condition of the workers, and the declaration in that bad conditions of labour involve injustice, hardship, and privation, likely to disturb the peace and harmony of the world, is unique. In addition to this general declaration the High Contracting Parties definitely laid down as a principle that efforts should be made towards "the adoption of an Eight-Hour Day or a Forty-eight Hour Week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been obtained." What is known as the Labour Charter provides definitely for International Conferences to be held, at which labour conditions and hours of work shall be discussed with a view to arriving at International Conventions which will improve the condition of the workers. The first of these International Labour Conferences was held at Washington in 1919, and amongst other matters the hours of labour were discussed. I had the honour of being chairman of the Commission that dealt with the question of the Eight-Hour Day or the Forty-eight Hour Week. I can speak unhesitatingly with regard to the Labour representatives on the Commission when I say that none of us ever dreamed that if a Convention were agreed to there would be any hesitation on the part of the governments represented to carry the terms of the Convention into effect. Particularly were the British Labour representatives justified in this opinion because the British Government representatives had certainly played a leading part in the framing of the Labour Charter, and Britain ought to have been the first country definitely to ratify any arrangement arrived at.

Over and over again during the discussions the Labour representatives consented to modifications in points of detail to meet the desires of the British Government, and finally the Convention was agreed to in good faith by the workers. The same good faith has, however, not been shown by Governments, and the number of absolute ratifications has been intensely disappointing. (Hear, hear.) The Convention itself was not consented to without a great deal of discussion by the workers' representatives. They desired to see an Eight-Hour maximum per day, which meant that if the free Saturday afternoon—generally known on the Continent of Europe as the English week—was still to operate, the working week would be about 44 hours. However, they agreed, in order to reach an arrangement, that a maximum of 9 hours per day should be worked in order that the 48 hours per week might be secured and the possibility of a free Saturday afternoon maintained.

I do not desire to deal in detail with the provisions of the Convention. They are familiar enough to the delegates at an International Labour and Socialist Congress. It is well known that exceptions were made for workers engaged in preparatory work, for cases of *force majeure*, for industries which by their nature must be continuously carried on, and for industries where working in shifts is in operation. These are, however, comparatively minor points in comparison with the tremendously important point that commercial workers, agricultural workers and seamen are not included in the Convention at all. The seamen were left out on deal with their question. Again there was no doubt in the minds of the Labour representatives that the principle of the 48-Hour week was agreed to for sailors and that the conference was merely intended to deal with the technical details of the application of the 48-Hour week to seamen's work.

It will be seen from what I have said how far the Convention itself falls below the Labour demand for an Eight-Hour Day for all workers. Many countries in Europe took steps to pass laws dealing with the hours of labour, but the one country more pledged than any other, *i.e.*, Britain, has, to this day, never ratified the Convention or passed a Bill for the 48-Hour week. This is the more astonishing as the hours of labour in England are probably less, generally speaking, than in any other country in the world. In Germany, owing to the collapse of the exchanges, a very retrograde movement with regard to hours of labour has taken place. The German Trade Unions are recovering their strength, however, and a vigorous propaganda will probably restore much of what the workers have lost.

It was with a view to coming to some common understanding between Germany, France, Britain, and Belgium, that, during the term of the mentioned met in Berne to discuss the question of the Washington Convention. The result of the meeting was highly satisfactory, and at the end of it a declaration was made to the Press "that the Conference closed with the unanimous feeling that common ratification of the Convention is possible."

The advent of a Conservative reactionary government in Britain has, however, prevented the negotiations from fructifying, and the British Government has quite definitely refused to ratify the Convention. A Bill had been prepared by myself during the term of the Labour Government and had been submitted to Parliament. The fall of the Labour Government, however, prevented the Bill becoming law, but it has been

re-introduced during the term of the present Government, when it was defeated by Conservative members by a majority of 223 to 128. The Bill was the Washington Convention turned into the language used in British legislation.

There are tentative proposals for another meeting between the four Ministers, but it is impossible to say what the definite result will be.

The present position of affairs is that the Washington Hours Convention has been ratified unconditionally in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Greece, India, Roumania, and Latvia. It has been ratified by Austria conditionally on its being ratified by the chief industrial powers and by the States adjoining Austria, and by Italy conditionally on its being ratified by Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium and Switzerland. In the following other countries legislation exists which, it is claimed, is equivalent to the Convention:—British Columbia, Belgium, Chile, Yugo-Slavia, Spain, Sweden.

On the 8th July, 1925, the French Chamber of Deputies discussed the ratification of the Convention, and, by 545 votes to nil, decided to agree to the Convention provided that the German Government also ratified. A Socialist amendment in favour of the unconditional ratification of the Convention was put down by our Comrade Lebas, deputy, and Mayor of Roubaix. This amendment was, however, defeated by 420 votes to 151. The ratification of France, therefore, will depend on ratification by Germany.

In Belgium the Government has declared its readiness to ratify as soon as the chief European powers do so.

In Germany a Bill is stated by the Government to be in preparation. In Hungary the National Assembly has recommended the Government to reconsider the possibility of ratifying when the political and economic situation permits. In Switzerland there is a 48-Hour Act, but it does not apply to small industrial undertakings or to railways. The Danish Government has expressed a hope that Danish ratification may be possible. The Japanese Government claims that the practice in Japan shows a marked improvement, though still some way from the standard of the Convention. The possibility of ratification is under consideration in Canada. In New Zealand and Australia it is held that the present methods of working are fully equivalent to the standard of the Convention. In the United States about 48 per cent. of the workers are now said to be working a 48-hour week, or less.

There is no doubt that the two principal obstacles to general ratification are Great Britain and Germany, although employers' organisations very often refer to the position in America. It is safe to say, however, that so far as Europe is concerned, if Great Britain and Germany would ratify, there is not an industrial country of any importance that is not prepared to follow.

There have been many excuses made in Germany for non-ratification, such as the impossibility of ratifying whilst reparations have to be paid, &c., &c. In Britain the excuses are so paltry and empty that one is forced to the conclusion that the British Government does not want under any circumstances to legislate for fixing the hours of labour. This is particularly regrettable in view of the fact that the British Government representatives agreed to the Convention in Washington, and even the employers' representatives agreed. It shows the reactionary nature, not only of the present British Government, but of the Coalition and Conservative Governments which have been in power since the War.

I suggest that an intensive campaign should be carried on in every country, particularly by the Trade Unions, for the immediate ratification of the Washington Convention. That ratification will be the first step towards our great ideal of the Eight-Hour Day for all the workers. The Movements of Britain and Germany ought specially to concentrate on this demand, as unless they are prepared to ratify the convention, they give an excuse to every other Government, particularly in Europe, not to ratify.

It is universally admitted by the workers of every country that of all the improvements the workers have ever gained the reduction of hours to 48 is the greatest and the best. There is only one way of arriving at the result we wish for and that is by intensive propaganda, by determined political action, and, if necessary, by industrial action if the hours of labour are threatened. If it were possible in collaboration with the Trade Union International of Amsterdam to arrange for a continuous world-wide propaganda for the Eight-Hour Day it would form a happy beginning of the intensive national propaganda which is needed in all countries.

And so I come to the resolution unanimously agreed on by the Commission, the important parts of which, so far as I have not previously spoken of them, I will rapidly sketch. The resolution demands a maximum Eight-Hour Day with a free Saturday afternoon, or a corresponding concession to meet the case of Asiatic or other countries where Sunday is not regarded as in European countries. That would mean less than forty-eight hours per week, and present-day Labour and Socialist thought, and economic development, fully justify our demand. We demand that less than eight hours should be worked in specially arduous and unhealthy trades. In a Labour and Socialist Congress the mere mention of mining and some branches of chemical work will be enough to justify that part of our resolution.

We ask that all Labour and Socialist representatives in national parliaments should lose no opportunity of pressing the ratification of the Washington Convention as a step towards our ideal. And when we speak of the Washington Convention we mean it to be applied to its fullest extent. We should be prepared to offer the most determined opposition to any attempts that may be made by Governments to apply the Washington Convention in a reactionary way, or by any Protocol of interpretation to weaken the clear and distinct clauses of the Convention. We call attention to the special efforts needed in Great Britain, Germany and America, and call for special efforts from our comrades in those countries.

Now let me point to a present danger with regard to the Convention itself. Those countries that ratified the Convention early have already exhausted several of the ten years' guarantee. When the ten years come to an end, if ratification by other countries has not taken place, then there will be an inclination towards de-ratification by those countries which are now definitely pledged for the ten years.

I also desire to call attention, at the request of some of my colleagues on the Commission, to the danger of conditional ratification. Conditional ratification, if carried to its extreme point, means that so long as one country hesitates to ratify, every other country will be justified in non-ratification. Every movement, therefore, should seek to get its own Parliament to ratify without any condition whatever in order that we may the sooner obtain our ends. Then in our resolution we ask that every hour the worker is requested to be at the service of an employer should be counted as an hour of work.

Finally, as you will see, we ask that the Executive Committee should help in every possible way those movements which are trying to give the workers an opportunity of using the leisure time given by shortened hours of labour for their physical, intellectual, artistic and moral development. I heartily ask you to support the resolution by unanimous and enthusiastic assent.

And now, as this may be the only occasion when I shall have the opportunity, may I say a personal word of thanks for the kind words of the Chairman regarding myself. It is with a feeling of pain that I leave the International. I shall never forget the honour done to me when I was first allowed to take part in the work formerly carried on by our departed, and if I may so say, still living giants. Most pleasant of all my memories, however, will always remain the warm personal friendships I have made. I shall always cherish the friendship of the hundreds of good comrades with whom it has been a proud privilege and a pleasure to work. I move the adoption of the report of the Commission and the resolution suggested. (Applause.)

G. HABRMAN (Czecho-Slovakia), speaking to the resolution, said that in Czecho-Slovakia the Eight-Hour Day was already in force, it having been enacted by law in December, 1918. The Convention of Washington was ratified by the Czecho-Slovakian Parliament shortly afterwards, and he was glad to be able to say that the Eight-Hour Day would be maintained—that it represented an abiding conquest of the working class in his country, thanks to the political power of the working class in Czecho-Slovakia, and particularly to the Social Democrats. But, of course, the maintenance of this reform would be very difficult if large industrial countries did not also decide to ratify the Convention and put it into force by appropriate laws. He hoped, and indeed he felt convinced, that comrades in those countries that were represented at the Congress, and particularly the working classes of those countries, would do everything they could towards the realisation of that object. The delegates would be glad to know that the Czecho-Slovakian Parliament had recently passed other social laws of great importance. The first concerned the insurance of all salaried persons in the event of unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age, whilst the second concerned working people who were not salaried; that was to say, small artisans and peasants, while small shopkeepers were also brought under the benefits of the social insurance. A third law would be voted upon in a few weeks, which would bring within the range of benefits those people who were too old to come under the other Act. He was convinced that the Congress would appreciate their efforts in this direction, and he hoped that in every country social progress would find, as soon as possible, its completest success. The Czecho-Slovakian delegation would unanimously vote in favour of the resolution presented by Comrade Tom Shaw.

C. MERTENS (Belgium) said not merely as a Belgian delegate but also as a member of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, he felt it necessary to say a few words on the report which had been presented by Tom Shaw. The first remark he wished to make was that quite a number of States that were members of the League of Nations were affiliated to the International Labour Organisation, and by the terms of Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles they were pledged to submit the Conventions to their Parliaments for ratification. Quite a number of States had neglected to comply with that provision. Six years, for instance, had passed since the Washington Convention, and yet many countries had not done what the Treaty of Versailles obliged them to do, and it was for this Congress to remind those States of their duty. Comrade Shaw had alluded to one very

important point, and that was that the first States that ratified the Convention, would, in a few years, be in the position of having to consider the re-ratification of the Convention, and they would be tempted not to do so unless ratification became more general. With regard to Belgium, he was glad to say that their present Government intended to bring before Parliament a Bill proposing ratification without any conditions, but it might be difficult to persuade Parliament, seeing the attitude taken up in other countries. Conditional ratification in other countries was very often made an excuse for not applying the provisions of the Washington Convention. For instance, they might say they would only ratify on condition that other countries surrounding Belgium ratified, including Germany and Great Britain. That meant they would not ratify the Convention at all. Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles demanded ratification without such conditions.

Comrade Shaw had spoken of a conference which had recently taken place between the four Ministers of Germany, France, Great Britain and Belgium. In a few weeks there would be another such conference, but unfortunately not a conference when efforts would be made towards ratification. On the contrary they would try to find a way to evade ratification of the Washington Convention by applying conditions, and at that conference it would not be Tom Shaw who would represent Britain—Tom Shaw who was a member of the Washington Conference—but a reactionary Minister. The Congress must protest against the possibilities that threatened the eight-hour day from that quarter.

The last part of the resolution dealt with the leisure of the workers, and he wished to say that at a recent Conference of the International Labour Office, when the leisure of the workers was dealt with the employers voted against the proposals. Why? Because the workers had proposed that a provision should be inserted obliging employers to pay sufficient wages to enable the workers to enjoy their leisure without having to hunt for some other work in order to earn sufficient money to make use of their leisure. In January last a meeting took place between the Bureaus of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam Federation, and it was then decided that the Socialists in the various Parliaments should put questions concerning the attitude they wanted their Parliaments to adopt when France ratified the Washington Convention. He warned the Parliamentarians present not to let any opportunity pass for putting such questions and urging their governments to take action. It was also necessary that the various governments should send as their representatives to the Administrative Body of the International Labour Office people who were not reactionary and who would not vote with the representatives of the employers. A proposal was recently rejected concerning the Eight-Hour Day for the Merchant Marine by the Council of Administration, owing to the fact that some government members voted against it. Therefore the workers in the Merchant Marine would have to wait one or two years before there would be a possibility of discussing their position in the International Labour Office. They wanted the benefit of the Eight-Hour Day to apply to the sailors, the workers on the land, and to commercial employees. It was also necessary that there should be more factory-inspectors, as there were not at present sufficient men for the work they had to do. That also was a claim they must not lose sight of.

J. JANECEK (Austria) said that in Austria the Eight-Hour Day was completely applied, not merely theoretically, but practically, through legislation. In Austria, the working-class was strong enough to maintain it, but their position would be very much eased if the Convention were ratified by great industrial countries. There was a

terrible economic crisis in Austria at the present time, and the employers were always saying that this was partly due to the fact that other countries were working more than eight hours a day. This made the position very difficult in Austria. Therefore they thanked their French comrades for having scored a new success for ratification which had already eased the position in other countries; they asked the Germans to do the same, and they would be very glad if other countries would follow suit.

H. DIAMAND (Poland) said that Tom Shaw had omitted to speak of the situation in Poland. By the first government after the revolution—the government of workers and peasants—a Bill was introduced enacting a 46-hour week. At that time Comrade Ziemiński, who was a delegate at this Congress, was Minister of Labour. The forty-six hour week had not only been maintained, but had recently become law.

The resolution was submitted to the Congress and unanimously adopted.

The Congress then adjourned.

FIFTH SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26TH, AT 3 P.M.

In the Chair: EMILE VANDERVELDE (Belgium) and GUSTAV MÖLLER (Sweden).

The CHAIRMAN, VANDERVELDE, in opening the proceedings, said that before he called upon Comrade de Brouckère to speak on Unemployment, he wished to offer a few words. It was known that the regulations provided that whenever a member of the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International entered a Government, he automatically ceased to be a member of the Executive; but in the same way as Comrade Möller from Sweden continued to be a member of the International although not a member of the Executive, he also would continue to be a member of the Labour and Socialist International. He wanted to thank those who had quoted some words he had spoken on a previous occasion. Hillquit reminded the delegates of the words he had used at Stuttgart, that "Capitalism means War, and Socialism means Peace," and Hitlerding had mentioned that even though he (the speaker) occupied some other post, he still continued to work for the emancipation of the people. When he was appointed Foreign Minister in his own country some members of the opposition expressed the opinion that those functions were hardly compatible with his position as a member of the Labour and Socialist International. He felt, however, as his country was essentially pacific, and did not have any imperialist tendency, there was really an identity with the objects pursued by the Labour and Socialist International. It was in this spirit he would preside at this meeting; it was in this spirit he would continue to work for peace, and at the same time for Socialism, and for their International. (Applause.)

UNEMPLOYMENT.

I. DE BROUCKERE (Belgium) submitted the resolution on Unemployment on behalf of Commission No. 2.

The resolution, he said, was a rather lengthy one, but he would try to make his report as short as possible. As Chairman of the Commission he was partly responsible for its length, but that would be understood if they realised the complicated nature of the problem and how entirely it was bound up with the worries and miseries of the working class. Unemployment constituted a fundamental and characteristic evil of the capitalist organisation of society. Unemployment in capitalist society not only meant that wages were not received, but that there was no bread, and it also meant a loss in the *morale* of the unemployed individuals, who, by and by, got into an abyss from which it was difficult to escape. But it was not merely unemployment, but also the constant fear of unemployment, which had to be faced, which was to many workmen a perpetual menace. They had, as a matter of fact, the paradox that the more intense production became, the more goods were thrown on the market, then, owing to the increase of machinery, the more the workers were thrown out of work. This state of affairs showed the sterility of capitalist society, and would bring about its own downfall, in the same way as the sterility of society in former times brought about the abolition

of slavery. He would not attempt to show how capitalism was bound up with the periodic industrial crises from which the world suffered. If they were to exhaust completely that point of view, if they were to say everything that could be said on that point, the report would be far longer than it was. He would not attempt to depict once more the ever recurring capitalist crises which were immanent in the capitalist system. But if capitalism and unemployment were inevitably linked together, he might remind them that unemployment existed even before the capitalist system. This form of unemployment was created by natural calamities or wars; and in the situation they were facing to-day they found both the capitalist and the pre-capitalist form of unemployment. Once more vast areas were devastated and hundreds of thousands driven from their soil, wandering as refugees and out of work. Once more through the destruction of international relations the channels of commerce had been dried up. Once more they saw in some countries factories standing idle while at the same time in other countries thousands and even millions of agricultural workers were lacking the instruments with which to produce. If they had attempted to deal completely with this situation and to enumerate all the means of fighting against it and all the things that exercised an influence upon it, the resolution, instead of occupying two pages would have occupied two volumes, and the number of those who were willing to read it would have diminished accordingly. It had only been the intention of the Commission to frame something in which they could clearly express what ought to be the daily activities of the Socialist International.

The first point was that compensation should be paid to the unemployed. But even although the benefit might be adequate, more and better means were required to reorganise economic life in order to stop unemployment. These measures might at present only be attempts, they might only be an essay, but they had to direct their activities in that direction. It was in the interests of the State, even on financial considerations, to diminish unemployment and therefore to organise the Labour Market; but a satisfactory control of the labour market could only be obtained if it was exercised through the Trades Unions, and this would necessarily lead to International control, because in some countries there might be unemployment whilst at the same time in other countries there was a shortage of industrial workers. Therefore it was an industrial international organisation that ought to look after unemployment. Emigration could do much to render the problem less acute, and by this means a useful and more accurate distribution of work could be obtained. National selfishness must be brought to an end, so that where there were large and unoccupied territories with the comparatively small populations extending over whole continents, barriers should not be erected which prevented the overcrowded population of one country going into another. They had to condemn that national egotism just as they condemned capitalist organisation. This meant tackling a highly difficult problem, and he suggested that the Labour and Socialist International should try to combine with the International Federation of Trade Unions in order to find a solution which was most urgently needed.

But who could expect control of the Labour Market to operate effectively while the market for commodities remained in complete anarchy? Therefore, control of labour markets must be combined with the control of trade in commodities. They ought to fight against every form of protection which at present constituted barriers against the reconstruction of industrial countries. Regulation of the labour market had already been attempted by the railway companies placing their orders

at times when there was little work. Attempts had also been made to regulate the marketing of production by regulating credit. In this way even the capitalist economists recognised that the free play of competition was no longer sufficient. By these attempts, the great railway companies, the great trusts, the great bankers had in fact assumed social duties which, however only pointed to the conclusion that they, too, must now be placed under control. This, he thought, was a new and solid argument in favour of nationalisation.

But any attempt to regulate the trade was doomed to failure if they were to attempt it in times of fluctuation of exchanges or in countries where currency was unstable. This led them to face the monetary problem which again was an international problem and could only be settled by a competent international authority. Here the financial organisation of the League of Nations should step in. This organisation had already achieved success. But it must be said at once that countries which had been helped by an intervention of the League of Nations had often been placed under a control which amounted to a dictatorship and even interfered with the democratic institutions of these countries.

There were still other problems connected with unemployment. There was the problem of Reparations and the problem of the Peace Treaties, and the difficulties created by them. A good international organisation would regulate the hours of child labour and control industries carried on in the homes, and that would do much to solve the problem. He only mentioned this, and did not want to go into these questions in detail.

There was also the question of whether anything could be done to maintain the standard of workers who suffered from the competition of goods produced under sweated Labour conditions. Some members of the Commission had suggested that this could be done by prohibiting the importation of goods that were not produced under Trade Union principles. The Commission had not thought it wise to settle this question, which was a very difficult one and needed a great deal of study, but they asked the International Executive to prepare a report upon it so that they could deal with the subject at the next Congress.

Resolutions, hitherto, had been generally framed in the following way: first to proclaim the Socialist ideal and then, in the second part, to describe what measures they should demand in the meantime while they were waiting until Socialism came. They did not think they should follow that line. They did not think they should state what they wanted to be done while they were waiting, but what they were going to do while they were working. (Applause.) It was no use waiting until the revolution came. They had got to work for it, for Socialism now. They must replace the production carried on for the profit of private individuals by production carried on for social purposes. Then they would create the conditions in which there would be no more unemployment because, when output was increased by the use of new machinery or other things, it would not mean that more people would be thrown out of work, but rather that people would have more leisure, and in that way they would arrive at a state of society in which there would be no more under-consumption, no more unemployment, but in which there would be greater happiness for everyone. (Applause.)

J. PANKEN (America) said: It strikes me that the resolution in itself does not meet the problem of unemployment squarely. In the first place the problem of unemployment is one which is bound up with the capitalist system. There is no possibility of solving the problem of unemployment until we have been able to establish a system in which

we shall produce for use rather than for profit. That is the one thing that ought to be stressed by the Socialist parties throughout the world, and it is the one thing which should be stressed particularly by this International Congress when it makes a pronouncement upon the problem of unemployment. We must not, under any circumstances, lead the working classes of the world to believe that there is a possibility of solving the problem of unemployment under the capitalist system. But, as Comrade de Brouckère has said, we are confronted with the problem of unemployment, and the results of unemployment, and we must do something to meet the situation even within the capitalist system. I find that the resolution, among other things, states that the Congress supports the demands of the Trades Unions for the prohibition of child labour and for the general institution of the eight-hour day in all countries. I listened with a great deal of interest to Comrade Shaw yesterday. With merited pride he referred to the fact that fifty years ago the British workers first raised the cry for an eight-hour day, but I want to add one thing to what Comrade Shaw said. Fifty years ago, when the workers began to ask for an eight-hour day, the situation in which they found themselves was quite different from what it is to-day. During the last fifty years there have been introduced all kinds of labour-saving devices and labour-saving machinery, and if the eight-hour day was a measure capable of coping with the situation fifty years ago, it is no longer sufficient to deal with the situation as it exists to-day. I want to call the attention of the Congress to this fact that in Great Britain and in the United States of America, in many industries we are no longer talking of a forty-eight hour week, but we have already established a forty-four hour week in those industries. We have even gone beyond the forty-four hour week in the United States. We have acquired for ourselves the forty-hour week. While it is true that there is not a capitalist on the American Continent who admits the claims of labour beyond eight hours, it does seem to me we should not be satisfied with merely standing by the eight-hour day, but that we ought to go out boldly to the working classes and ask them to fight for a further reduction of hours of labour. I know that even a forty-hour week would not solve the problem of unemployment, but it would, at any rate, provide additional work for a certain number of people. I voice the opinion of the American delegation when I say it is about time that the Socialist Movement, in conjunction with the International Trade Union Movement, abandoned the cry for an eight-hour day and went for a systematic and scientific reduction of hours to meet the new conditions as they arise in the various industries.

Let me point out another thing which seems to me to be of great importance in connection with the problem of unemployment. We talk about the prohibition of Child Labour. What do you mean by Child Labour? When is Child Labour permitted? Is a child of fourteen years of age sufficiently strong and sufficiently developed intellectually and spiritually to be sent into a shop, or should we stand for an increased age limit? In the State of New York we have already a law which provides that no child under the age of sixteen shall be employed, and that law also obtains in many other States. At the same time, in order to meet the unemployment problem, we think that the child should be removed as a competitive factor in the labour market. Let us, therefore, boldly ask for a higher age limit. As far as Child Labour is concerned we can very readily ask that no child under the age of sixteen should be employed in industry throughout the world, and sixteen, in my judgment, is not too old to start work.

Now I come to another proposition in this resolution which I think ought to be considered seriously by this Congress. In paragraph 4 the

Commission suggests that by the withholding of contracts for railway improvements we can, in a measure, solve the problem of the recurring periodical unemployment crises. It seems to me, if we go to the working classes with a proposition of that kind we shall not be fulfilling our duty, for by the withholding of contracts during prosperous years you are merely hastening the crisis which you want to avoid, because there is that amount of work to it, there is that amount of labour to be performed, and if you withhold part of that labour you are hastening on the period of crisis. I think, therefore, we should boldly say to the working people that the problem of unemployment cannot be solved by withholding contracts, but it can, in a measure, be met by constantly reducing the hours of labour and raising the age limit for the employment of children.

That brings me to another point which I want to stress. It seems to me that this International Congress ought, in unqualified terms, to accept the principle which we in America are now following. We believe in the United States—and we are branching out in that direction, we are following that path, we are following that trend—we say in the United States that the workman has a vested right in his job, and that no employer should have the right to discharge a workman until the charges preferred against him have been dealt with by an impartial committee and his dismissal declared to be justified. We believe the workman is the integral part of industry, and we should make the demand on capitalist society that workmen have the right to choose the conditions under which they shall give their labour to industry. In the United States we have already established that principle. We do not permit an employer to discharge a workman, if that workman has been employed for two weeks and has proved himself to be a competent worker, unless the reasons for his discharge have been gone into and upheld by an impartial committee. That is also a way of meeting the problem of unemployment in a measure, because that principle carries with it the proposition that in times of slackness, in slow seasons, there should be no opportunity to discharge the worker, but the work should be divided amongst all the workers so that the burden of unemployment is carried by the whole of the working class. And when the working class, as a whole, is compelled to carry the burden of its unemployment, the working class will become conscious of the need to meet the unemployment problem by a change in the system of production from that for profit to that for use. (Applause.)

P. J. DOLLAN (Great Britain). In the name of the British delegation I desire to move an amendment to the report on unemployment presented by Comrade de Brouckère. The amendment is that the following words should be inserted in the preamble, namely:—

That the problem of unemployment caused by capitalism has been aggravated by war conditions, notably reparations, war debts, fluctuating exchanges and dislocation of international commerce. It is, therefore, important that International Socialist action should be taken in accordance with the resolution of the Frankfurt Conference with the French, Belgian and German parties for the cancellation of the Allied and Associated Powers' war debts, and the revision of the Peace Treaty with a view to the restriction of reparation payments to the minimum necessary for the restoration of the devastated areas of France and Belgium.

We desire that that amendment should be included in the preamble, and we wish to state at the outset that the statements which have appeared in the French newspapers to-day regarding a difference in the Commission yesterday between the British delegation and other comrades, are very inaccurate and do not represent exactly what took place. In that Commission what actually took place was that the following amendment was carried by a majority of 11 to 7, namely:—

That the problem of unemployment due to capitalism has been aggravated by post-war conditions, notably reparations, war debts, fluctuating exchanges and the dislocation of international commerce. It is, therefore, imperative that International Socialist action should be taken to have the Peace Treaties revised with a view to the abandonment of all indemnities, the mutual cancellation of war debts, stabilisation of exchanges, and the abolition of protected boundaries.

That amendment was carried to be inserted in the preamble of the statement on unemployment, but the Chairman and other delegates demurred to its inclusion, and as a result difficulties arose which made it impossible for an agreed formula to be put into the statement. The British delegation now bring up the amended form which I have read out and asks this Conference to authorise its inclusion in the report. The reason why we ask you to include this in the report is that we believe no International Socialist Congress can issue a statement on unemployment without giving a lead to the organised workers of Europe as to how they are to deal with indemnities and war debts in relation to unemployment. We believe that war debts, indemnities and reparations in a modified form are undoubtedly one of the minor causes of unemployment in Europe, and we would point out that in our own country of Great Britain, partly as the result of the Dawes Report which provides for the payment of certain annuities to Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy, at the present time there are no less than 300,000 miners out of work with no possibility of getting early employment, and the fact that these miners are out of work is being used by the mineowners of Great Britain as an argument to reduce wages and increase the hours of work, and it is also being used by Continental mineowners for the purpose of worsening the conditions in France, Belgium, and Germany, and setting the miners in competition with each other in order to play the capitalist game in worsening the conditions of the working classes in every part of Europe. We, therefore, say that we regard with horror the very suggestion that the International Socialist Congress should accept the present scale of reparation payments and should accept the Dawes Report as a permanent settlement, but that it is the duty of Socialists to agitate for a co-operative settlement based on International Socialist principles, and that we ought not to support capitalist governments in their manoeuvres to keep the working classes of each country fighting with each other in order to worsen their conditions. But not only is the mining industry of Great Britain affected in that way. I have also referred to the reaction of the mining industry of France and Germany, where miners in Germany are being used in competition with our miners in Great Britain.

We also ask you to consider very seriously the problem as it affects other industries. Take, for instance, the shipbuilding and engineering industry. The shipbuilding and engineering industry of Great Britain is one of the most important key industries of the country, and it has been semi-paralysed for the last two-and-a-half years. In the area from which I come—the Clyde area—there are no less than one hundred thousand men who have been unemployed for three years as a result of reparations on shipping. You find the same thing in the engineering industry and the same thing in the textile industry. In fact you have the same thing in every key industry, and while it may be the case that in certain countries of Europe you have not yet felt this problem so acutely as we have in Great Britain, if you are not careful your time will come. If you do not profit by our experience you will find your workers in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy will be crucified on the cross of reparations in the same way that our workers have been, and the whole working class of Europe will be thrown into the morass of slavery, from which it will be difficult to save them.

We are meeting here as International Socialists, actuated by a consideration for the welfare of all workers, and if we are meeting in that spirit, it is our duty to give a lead to the whole of the European working class—and to the American workers as well—and to say to them that reparations and indemnities, apart from those agreed upon at the Frankfurt Conference, are being used as an instrument to lower the conditions of the working classes, and that the only way in which we can get towards a Socialist Europe is by approaching this problem in the co-operative spirit. We realise that the interests of the workers in Belgium are identical with the interests of the workers in Great Britain, that the interests of the workers of Germany are identical with those of the workers in France. We are apt to come together merely as Socialists and not to look at these problems through national spectacles, thus helping to maintain the capitalist domination of the working class. The time has come when the whole International Socialist Movement should give a lead on this question and, quite apart from reparations, should seek in each country to get a real Socialist government—not Coalition governments, but Socialist governments—which will carry out the Socialist policy in national and international affairs.

We say also that what is true of indemnities is equally true of war debts. Take the conditions in Europe at the present time. So far as war debts are concerned, you cannot separate them, however much Comrade de Brouckère may think it is a matter for another Commission. They are bound up the one with the other and you have the position at the present time that, because of these separate negotiations in regard to war debts, one country is getting more favourable terms than another. In the long run it is the working classes of the country who pay war debts. They have to bear the burdens of the countries which receive these war debts. It is the working classes who are affected by unemployment and low wages because of wealth going into countries for which no payment is made in the form of service. For example, the workers of Great Britain are paying to America thirty million pounds worth of goods, and those goods are being dumped in America with the result that American workers are being thrown out of employment. The same thing applies to France, Belgium, Germany, and so on. These also are affected by currency and International exchanges. We are told in Great Britain, when our workers are agitating for better wages and shorter hours, that they have to accept lower wages and longer hours because in France and Germany the wages are lower and the hours are longer. It is quite clear, therefore, that if we are going to settle this problem, we must settle it in an international manner. Socialism knows no national frontiers. It is world-wide in its operation, and therefore, we who come from Great Britain ask you delegates to re-dedicate yourselves to your Socialist principles, and to keep in mind the internationalism of Keir Hardie, of Jaurès and of Bebel. Those men were always Internationalists in outlook. Their spirit is still with us, and if you accept this amendment in the spirit of Keir Hardie, in the spirit of Bebel, in the spirit of Jaurès, and in the spirit of Eugene Debs, it will be carried by an overwhelming majority and will make clear to the workers of Europe that this Congress does stand for International Socialism and pledges itself to do all in its power to secure a co-operative settlement of the war, such as will render the payment of indemnities and war debts, which are causing us much devastation and havoc at the present time, impossible. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (VAN DER VELDE) said that before he called on other speakers he wanted to make a remark on a question of procedure. An amendment had been proposed by the British delegation asking for a cancellation of inter-Allied War Debts and for a revision of

the Treaty of Versailles, as far as reparations were concerned. He did not intend to express any opinion on the substance of the amendment, but from the point of view of procedure he wanted to make the following remark. The amendment dealt with a question which had been taken at in long discussions and on which a unanimous vote had been taken at Hamburg. The British amendment brought again before the Conference that problem in a way that was not in full conformity with the solution found at Hamburg. He thought it was impossible for the Congress incidentally to take up a debate on an important political question which was not in very close relation with the problem under discussion. He suggested that the British amendment should not now be discussed but should be referred to Commission No. 1, which was dealing with International peace. Otherwise an International political question would be grafted on to an economic question.

He proposed, therefore, that the discussion on the amendment should not be proceeded with and that the Congress should consider the Majority report only, and refer the amendment to Commission No. 1.

R. DISSMANN (Germany) said that for a number of years the consequences of the war and unemployment had made the position of the workers very difficult. In the resolution they enumerated some of the means by which they thought they could help to diminish their sufferings. Of course they all understood that these were only means to deal with the situation to-day and did not offer a permanent cure for the trouble. In this sense the resolution could only be accepted from a general point of view and he could not undertake to be responsible for every detail. He thought that in every country they would have to work out a practical way to apply those means. The real cause of unemployment lay in the capitalist organisation of production, which had been aggravated by the world war and by the policy of force that had been pursued since then. At present they were confronted with an impoverished Europe, and they had also to realise that the centre of gravity had shifted, particularly towards America. The situation had been further aggravated by the fact that in Europe there were 30 States, large and small, that had erected barriers through which persons and goods could not freely pass. At the same time productivity had been increased by the further introduction of machinery, but the masses had less power of consumption. In mining countries the mines were being closed one after another, and in the engineering trade unemployment had increased, so that—looking at the position of these key industries—they could not hope that they had yet reached the peak of the crisis and that they would soon see better times. He was afraid the crisis was going to last. As a matter of fact the problem was becoming more and more aggravated; production was increasing, technical progress was being made but the masses were not able to buy the goods. What had capitalism done to meet the crisis? The only thing it could do was to impose high protective tariffs. But the consequences of that policy were to increase the cost of living and create international complications.

Wherever Capitalism had applied, either nationally or internationally, some measures of organising the production by way of regulating the output or by forming rings, this was not done in order to help the people, but in order to dictate prices and cut down the wages of the workers. Low wages and longer hours—such were the only remedies capitalism was going to apply in all countries. What were they (the workers) to do against that? From this Congress there should go a call to the workers of the world to unite in their Trade Unions and Socialist Parties for Labour's organised fight against organised Capital. And he would suggest to his friend, Comrade Dollan, that they must particularly beware

of allowing the workers of one country to be put against the workers of another country. British employers often spoke of German workers as competitors who diminished the earnings of the British workers, and in the same way the German workers were being misled by their employers, who spoke of Italian, Belgian and French competition, in an endeavour to reduce wages. They had to fight against such attempts. Comrade Dollan had spoken about the crisis in the British shipbuilding industry, but he could assure the delegates that the crisis was not confined to the British Islands; it existed all over the world. If they compared the number of workmen engaged at the present time in the German shipbuilding industry with the number employed four years ago, they would find it was only one-third. The same was the case in the mining and engineering industries. Therefore, in this Congress, they must endeavour to find the means of combined action.

The Chairman had suggested they should not discuss the British amendment, but refer it to Commission No. 1. He quite agreed with this procedure, but he would like to explain to the delegates that on the previous day in the Commission they had voted for the amendment that had been proposed, because they recognised that reparations and war debts were also responsible for the crisis of unemployment from which they were now suffering, and they wanted the Commission to say a word about that. He would like, however, to warn the delegates against the misunderstandings that were frequent abroad—as if in Germany not only had the eight-hour day been completely abolished, but as if the German workers were working at coolie-wages. Certainly, wages in Germany were insufficient; but he was glad to be able to tell the Congress that in their fight the German Trade Unions had succeeded, since the Congress that in of the German mark, in increasing wages by 50 per cent. Unfortunately, the fight for the eight-hour day had been partially lost, and only 40 per cent. of the German workers were still enjoying the eight-hour day, but here also they were regaining ground every day.

He wanted to assure the Congress that they would not diminish their struggle, because they considered it not merely a national but an international duty to try to recover the eight-hour day. When there was a conflict in any one country, solidarity must operate. Thus, in the present strike in the Belgian engineering trade, the Metal Workers' International had recently decided that international solidarity should not only be expressed in words but also in deeds, and there was an understanding that the strikers would be helped by contributions of money, because they knew that if the employers were allowed to secure a victory in Belgium, that victory would have an international effect. Generally speaking, they must leave no stone unturned in order to oppose capitalist anarchy, but in their Socialist organisation they had to rally their army and lead it to final victory. (Applause.)

F. VARLEY (Britain): I do not intend to continue the discussion on the Majority report, nor do I intend to discuss the merits or demerits of the British amendment. On behalf of the British delegation I have merely risen to say that we cannot accept the suggestion of the Chairman that the British amendment should be referred to Commission No. 1. In making his suggestion, the Chairman said he could not see any close relationship between the British amendment and the subject matter upon which the Commission was asked to report. In that we profoundly disagree. We were asked to report on Unemployment and the conditions of life of the people, and there is nothing—especially in Great Britain—which has affected the life of the people or which is contributing to the misery of the people so much at this moment as is this question of unemployment, and we consider that our

unemployment problem, if not entirely due to, is, at any rate, considerably aggravated by the question of reparations, war debts, indemnities, &c. Therefore we cannot accede to the proposal that this matter be referred to Commission No. 1. We would far rather it formed part of the report upon the subject of unemployment. We want to present to the peoples of the world a correct picture of what are the reasons for their unemployment, or rather the reasons for their miserable conditions of life, and we hold that if we are to interest the people in Socialism, if we are to gain adherents to our ranks, we must bring home to them how enormously their condition is related to this matter of world politics. I do not know whether the Congress is aware of it or not, but in a few months' time the British taxpayer will be called upon to face a contribution of probably, thirty million British pounds to subsidise the miners in England. When the British taxpayer becomes aware of the total amount of his contribution to the wages of the miners, we cannot believe that that will bring adherents to the ranks of Socialism, or, indeed, to the ranks of the Labour cause.

How enormously it is related to unemployment is seen at a glance. At the time of the introduction of the Dawes report, during the time of the occupation of the Ruhr, unemployment in British coal mining was somewhat less than four per cent.; to-day it is 26 per cent., and originally and normally it is about 8 per cent. or 10 per cent. Therefore we say that reparations, in their effect, are the very antithesis of what our English poet, Shakespeare, said about the quality of mercy—"It blesteth him that gives and him that takes." Reparations curseth him that gives and also him that takes.

Therefore we ask this Conference to take a straight vote on the floor of the Conference and instruct the Socialist International to do all in its power, especially having regard to the question of unemployment, to seek the revision of the Treaties and to get rid once and for all of the question of war debts and reparations.

L. DE BROUCKERE (Belgium), in replying to the discussion, said he had listened with the greatest interest to the various delegates who had spoken on the resolution. Some of them had criticised the report, but only one speaker had put his observations in the form of an amendment, namely, that in the name of the British delegation. The main idea of that amendment was common to all socialists, and if their British friends asked them to say that one of the causes of the misery in the world lay in the imperfect treaties of peace, they would all agree. But their British friends went further and proposed a definite solution—a new solution, different from that which the Labour and Socialist International had previously adopted. Those who had attended these meetings knew very well that the solution on which agreement had been reached, had not been reached without much difficulty, but after long discussions. The problem was not a simple one; it was of a very serious character, embracing, not only the interests of the nations, but especially the interests of the working classes of the various nations concerned. They had considered the question in a spirit of determination, and at the same time of prudence. Their deliberations had been long and sometimes very difficult, but they had always succeeded in coming to a unanimous agreement. They had now, however, to face a new British proposal asking for new remedies. The solution that was proposed was, perhaps, a good one, but it was impossible for them now, in full Congress, to settle the thing and to give a definite answer. He therefore asked the British delegation to give them time to think over it, and the only way in which a Congress could do that was to send the amendment to the Commission, which had to deal with the post-war situation. He hoped that the British

delegation, bearing in mind the seriousness of the situation, would accept the suggestion of the Chairman. Their British friends had reminded them to be good internationalists, but he thought that real internationalism consisted in harmonising the feelings of the various national delegations. Therefore he asked that they should not be requested immediately to say "Yes" or "No" to the British proposal.

ROBERT WILLIAMS (Britain): The British delegation now agree that, in view of the spirit of give and take manifested by the Chairman of the Commission, and in view of his realisation of the points of view put so eloquently by my two comrades on behalf, as we think, of the entire British working-class movement regarding the injurious effect upon us—and not only upon us but upon the working classes generally, by reparation payments—that in the spirit of the Chairman's suggestion, we agree that the amendment should be referred to the Commission which is dealing with the settlement of European problems.

THE CHAIRMAN said that after the declaration just made by the British delegation the Congress might consider it unanimously accepted that the British amendment would be referred to Commission No. 1.

SOCIALIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

ADELMERD POPP (Austria) submitting the resolution drafted by Commission No. 4 on "Aims and Methods of Socialist Propaganda amongst Women," said the Congress had to deal with other problems of very great importance, and therefore she did not propose to take up much time in introducing the resolution. There was nothing stated in the resolution which had not already appeared in Socialist programmes and formed part of the Socialist policy pursued in the various Parliaments. Certainly all women present would be proud to know that there were at present 800,000 women affiliated to the Socialist Parties within the I.S.I. When they realised what important work had been done in order to recruit this enormous army they would know that the propaganda had not been carried out by men alone, but also by women. They recognised that men had been their teachers, they had put before them the ideals of Socialist emancipation, but after the women had learned from them, they had themselves become fellow soldiers, and they now wanted to fight side by side. They were anxious to struggle for the ideals they had imbibed. The proposal they now made was that in order to promote the aims and methods of Socialist propaganda amongst women there should be an International Women's Advisory Committee, and this Committee should consist of women representatives of Socialist parties with the special duty of advising the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International, and assisting to organise International Conferences of Labour and Socialist women, to be called together at the same time as the International Congresses. This Committee should be constituted on the same basis of representation as the Executive Committee, and should meet at least once a year. From this proposal delegates would see that they were far from wanting a separate organisation, but they wanted to create an advisory organisation placed under the Executive. Someone might ask why it was necessary to have a special women's organisation, seeing that women were already represented by the men members, but the tasks of the International were so great and the collaboration of women in the special task of recruiting their working sisters would be so useful that she thought the Executive work would be facilitated. She wished to emphasise the fact that it was not their idea to have a separate organisation for women. When women should be members of the Executive the time might arrive when one could question the utility of this International

Women's Advisory Committee, but for the present she did not think anyone could doubt its utility. She hoped, therefore, the Congress would unanimously accept the resolution she had the honour to place before it. (Applause.)

No one spoke to the resolution and, on being put to the Congress, it was carried unanimously.

THE FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM.

J. DEUTSCH (Austria) on behalf of Commission No. 6, submitted the resolution dealing with the Fight against Alcoholism.

He said the question was one of very great importance to the working classes. The drinking habit had already been condemned by the medical profession, who said that alcohol was dangerous to health, because it weakened the organs and particularly the brain. It was harmful, not only to individuals, but also to the community. There were not only large sums spent directly on alcohol, but a very large indirect expenditure was incurred through alcoholism on asylums, prisons, &c. Alcoholism, in fact, was a great danger to civilisation. But what the working classes were particularly concerned about was that alcoholism retarded their movement, and what they ought to do was first to try to educate the masses, and especially the children, and get the youth organisations to fight against alcohol. But as soon as education had reached a certain point, then they would have to take legislative measures also in order to get a diminution in the consumption. He wished here to mention that their Danish friends were not in favour of legislation, and had opposed this part of the resolution in the Commission, but the representatives of all the other parties had decided to uphold it.

The resolution also dealt with the question of smuggling alcohol into Prohibition States, and urged the Socialist Parties to oppose these methods of drink capital. They should also oppose the attitude of certain governments which when they were negotiating Commercial Treaties with "dry" countries tried—under the influence of capitalist interests—to extort modifications of the prohibitive laws.

For the working classes the fight against alcohol was not merely on the ground of health, as it was in the case of the middle-class abstainers' movements, but alcoholism was a fetter on the workers' arms, and one they could get rid of at once. The fight against alcoholism was part of the workers' fight for freedom. (Applause.)

W. WALTHER (Denmark) said that the Danish delegation was against the resolution. Employers very often reproached workers with drinking too much, and now it was suggested that the Congress should pass a resolution which would back the employers' argument. He moved that the resolution be referred to the Executive, and that the Executive should study the conditions in different countries and later on bring a report before Congress. In addition he thought that in the International Socialist and Labour Congress they had sufficient problems to deal with without discussing alcohol.

The motion to refer the resolution to the Executive was carried.

TUBERCULOSIS.

E. ETCHEGGIN (Argentine) submitted the resolution on the Social Problem of Tuberculosis. He said that the resolution had been prepared by an expert on the question, a Belgian comrade, with the co-operation of three doctors. The evil of tuberculosis was very serious, particularly

for the working classes—much more serious for them than for the possessing classes. When anyone with plenty of money gave a few pounds for the endowment of a bed in a hospital, a preventive home, or a sanatorium, everyone knew of it; but doctors knew how few beds there were really at the disposal of the sick, and they were constantly in the position of having to refuse admissions to hospitals. They also knew how little was done for that particular illness. There were, unfortunately, more cannons than hospital beds in every State, and more explosives than hospitals. The governments told them that they could not do otherwise because the people asked them to maintain national honour, but was it not an item of national honour also to treat equitably the tubercular victims of the war? It would only be possible to solve the problem of tuberculosis when there was more bread, more justice, and more light. (Applause).

The resolution was agreed to and the Congress adjourned.

SIXTH SESSION.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27TH, AT 10.30 A.M.

In the Chair: M. ELDERSCHE (Austria) and F. M. WIBAUT (Holland).

THE CHAIRMAN announced that a telegram had been received from Paul Axelrod thanking the Congress for its message of congratulation and fraternal wishes, and expressing the hope that the Congress would give a new impetus towards the internationalisation of Labour's fight, and would be a step on the way to the victory of Socialism.

A letter was also received from Mario Bergamo, Secretary of the Italian Republican Party, who was attending the Congress as a guest.

A telegram had also been received from the Social Democratic Party of the Saar Valley, the only territory which was now under the control of the League of Nations. The Party complained of the way in which they were ruled and protested against the fact that only a small part of the population had the right to vote for the Provincial Parliament. They hoped the Socialist Parties represented at the Congress would join with them in their demand for a democratic regime.

A telegram had been received from victims of the war asking the Congress to support the demand for "No More War."

ALTERATIONS TO CONSTITUTION.

DR. F. ADLER (Secretary) presented the report of Commission No. 5, which had dealt with Organisation and the Levy Scheme.

He referred to article 6 of the Constitution which states that an International Congress should be held once in three years, but should at an earlier date. The French delegates had proposed to hold a Congress every two years, but, after a lengthy discussion, it was decided not to put that in the rules, but to leave it as proposed in the resolution. On the other hand, the Congress would be asked to decide by a separate resolution that the next Congress should be held in 1927.

There was an alteration in article 8 which said that the maximum number of delegates for any one party should be 60 instead of 50. The next alteration was to the effect that the maximum number of votes for any one party should be 40 instead of 30.

Then there was a paragraph concerning the constitution of the Administrative Committee, which was rendered necessary by the transfer of the headquarters to Switzerland. Therefore provision was being made for comrades of different countries to be members of the Administrative Committee.

With regard to levies, the present system was very complicated, but it was sufficiently explained in the document in the hands of delegates. The only remark he wished to make was that while certain categories of countries were maintained, alterations had been made in certain others. Germany had volunteered to go from the second category to the first, and pay higher contributions, because she considered that her economic

position now permitted her to do it. The same thing applied to the Argentine, which would now come into the first category instead of the second.

DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

With regard to discussions which had taken place in the Executive during the last two years, he said they had now succeeded in developing the organisation of the International. They were better informed as to the conditions in the various countries than ever before. The progress which had been made would be realised by a perusal of the report of the Secretariat, but he was fully alive to the fact that a great deal remained to be done. There was one problem of particular importance, and that was that the International, up to the present time, had been practically a European organisation only. The relations with overseas countries had been very poor and very difficult, and it had been suggested on many occasions that the organisation of the International should be transformed. It was one of their most important future tasks, he thought, to develop a form of organisation by which Continents should receive certain autonomy. This was a question that would have to be examined carefully, but he could say that all the members were in general agreement with this idea. Another thing that was necessary was to improve the procedure at the International meetings. Difficulties arose mainly from the fact that the various countries had different customs of procedure. For instance, British Parliamentary procedure was very different from French or German Parliamentary procedure, and that gave rise to misunderstandings and long discussions. That was a thing which ought to be altered, and he hoped, in time, to be able to work out their own procedure. They would go on strengthening their International. Great progress had been made during the last two years, and he expressed the hope that the next two years would show a similar advance. (Applause.)

S. GRUMBACH (France) said that he recognised the great progress that had been made, and he was proud of it. Those who knew the International before the war realised that it was a far better organisation to-day in every respect. But they also recognised that much remained to be done. He sometimes envied the capitalist parties. They did not hold large public gatherings as this, where they could display their strength and their weaknesses as Socialists did in their Congresses. But they had means and institutions which worked effectively without the public knowing of it, and which paralysed the workers' efforts.

There were one or two suggestions he wished to submit to the Congress. First, he thought that the various Parties affiliated to the International should examine the possibility of appointing under-secretaries in the different national organisations, who would have special charges of the International work and would maintain relations with the International Secretariat. In England that had already been done. Mr. Gillies was in charge of that department, and was, in fact, secretary for Foreign Affairs, and it worked very well. That might be done in other countries. At the present time the ordinary secretaries had too much work to give proper attention to the International side of the Movement.

The second suggestion he wished to make related to Parliamentary action. There again the relations between the Parliamentary groups of various countries were very imperfect, and very often absolutely nothing was known of what was being done in other Parliaments with regard to financial questions or even Labour legislation. An exchange of legislation ought to be organised, so that every Parliamentary group, when it pro-

posed to introduce a Bill should send a copy of it immediately to the International secretary, and he should circulate it amongst the various Parliamentary groups as rapidly as possible.

The third suggestion he wished to make was with regard to the organisation of the Press. A Press Conference had been held on the previous day, where this question had been discussed. Germany had a very fine Socialist Press service. Its correspondents were in practically every capital of the world, but the German Party stood alone in this respect. The Press service of other Socialist Parties was very defective, and especially poor when compared with the great machinery of the Capitalist Press. It was an urgent necessity of the times that that should be remedied, and he asked the Executive to consider this matter very carefully.

REPORT OF PRESS CONFERENCE.

ROBERT WILLIAMS (Great Britain) said: I have been asked by the sub-committee which was appointed by the Press Conference to make a very brief report with regard to the business that has been transacted. I am sorry the time at our disposal has not permitted us to present a detailed report to the Secretariat, so that it could be properly translated and distributed. I am sure, however, that there is a consensus of opinion, if not practical unanimity, with regard to the desirability of increasing our Socialist Labour Press. In Great Britain, for instance, at the last General Election, the Labour Party was able to secure, in the teeth of the most formidable opposition, 5½ million Socialist and Labour votes, but, unfortunately, the circulation of our official daily paper—*The Daily Herald*—is less than half a million. It therefore behoves us in England to strengthen our Press influence, so that the Capitalist Press, through their machinations, shall not destroy the courage and virility of our working-class movement. There are difficulties in other countries. In the Commission yesterday we received a very encouraging report from our Comrade Sollmann, who is associated with the Socialist Party Press in Germany. They have 167 separate Socialist dailies, with a total circulation of 1½ millions, probably reaching to 5 million readers. In a small country like Denmark they have 61 daily newspapers. Therefore, with the traditions of the working-class movement as we have it in Great Britain, I am not going to be satisfied unless and until our figures can compare favourably with the Socialist Press of Germany. We hear, moreover, that in countries where repression is carried on—Spain and Roumania—it is difficult in the last degree to conduct a Socialist and Labour Press at all. Therefore it behoves us to give every encouragement to what is taking place in those countries.

The sub-committee and the Conference are going to recommend that an advisory committee should be set up, with the co-operation of the Parties associated with this Labour and Socialist International, to deal with the matter because, in the first place, we want the Bureau to institute a system of syndicated articles. There are great men in our movement, men with an International reputation, whose thoughts on political crises, industrial crises and grave situations should be made known, not only to their own countrymen, but should be broadcast throughout the whole International. For instance, Hilferding, Arthur Henderson, Ramsay MacDonald, Turati, to mention only a few names, could supply the Bureau with an article, an interesting story, a commentary on passing events, which could be translated into different languages and appear simultaneously in different countries. Not only that, but we want to establish an International Socialist Labour News

Agency, which shall be as effective as Reuter, Wolff, Havas, and the Exchange Telegraph Coy. is to the bourgeois and capitalist Press. I may be told I am propounding a formidable scheme, but it is our duty to establish means of communication between one another. It should be known in London at 4 o'clock this afternoon what is transpiring in Marseilles at 11 o'clock this morning. That can be done if we set ourselves to overcome the task of establishing a competent International Socialist Labour News Agency.

We are addressing a questionnaire to the directors and editors of the various important Socialist newspapers. We want to know exactly how they are carrying on their business, and we will, in turn, tell them how we are carrying on our business. I think, according to our friend Tom Shaw, this is the first formal conference of the kind ever held in connection with the Labour and Socialist International. I can see the commencement of great things, and I want the Congress to adopt this report so that we can give you an infinitely better Labour and Socialist Press than exists to-day.

The report was unanimously adopted.

The Congress then voted on the resolution on Unemployment, the discussion on which was taken on the previous day.

The resolution was adopted, and the Congress then adjourned.

SEVENTH SESSION.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27TH, AT 4 P.M.

In the Chair: Paul FAURE (France) and Arthur HENDERSON (Great Britain).

LABOUR'S PEACE POLICY.

F. M. WILBAUT (Holland) submitted the report of Commission No. 1 on "The International Labour and Socialist Peace Policy."

He said that the resolution had been adopted unanimously by the Commission. They had been able to obtain this result because every member was desirous of securing unanimity. Many divergences had manifested themselves in the course of the discussion, partly on theoretical aspects and partly on the tactics to be adopted. He hoped these divergences would always continue, because the world would be very uninteresting if everybody held the same opinion on such important questions as they had had to discuss. It was their duty towards the proletariat of all nations to examine the causes of war and try to eliminate them in the future. At present there was hardly any difference between the victorious nations and the vanquished nations in their sufferings in consequence of the war, and if he were asked who were now better off economically, the victors or the vanquished, he would hesitate to answer. Great Britain, in particular, had great economic difficulties to overcome. He might say war was a game in which every one lost, but it was the workers who had everywhere to bear the brunt of the sufferings, and that was why International Socialists must find methods for avoiding future wars. He would not speak of the new scientific and technical methods of war that had been devised. It would fill them with horror in their contemplation of the terrible consequences, but he would confine himself merely to the economic consequences.

In order to avoid wars they must do away with the causes of wars. The resolution gave, he thought, a complete programme from the Socialist point of view with regard to dealing with those causes. The first was a *résumé* of their whole Socialist theory with regard to capitalism and war. In Part II. they spoke particularly of the League of Nations and showed how it could become an instrument of peace provided it developed in certain ways. They particularly wanted, in addition to the International Labour Office, the economic organisation of the League of Nations which existed already, to be transformed into a real international Council for collective economics, and in this Council there should participate the Workers' Trades Unions and Co-operative organisations. This Council should deal with many vital problems, such as international communications, and particularly the distribution of raw materials. In this way they would eliminate many of the causes of war.

They were also anxious that education should be transformed in such a way as to become an instrument for peace. They were demanding that the League of Nations should call a Conference to secure steps which would finally lead to general disarmament. They had also inserted in their resolution the British amendment on Reparations which had yesterday been referred to Commission No. 1, and which now appeared in the text in a slightly modified form.

The third part of the resolution dealt with special treaties that might be concluded between nations, and clearly defined their attitude towards this problem. It set up conditions and indicated the line which Socialists had to follow in order to influence these pacts in such a way that they did not become obstacles to any permanent scheme of disarmament and the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

In the last part of the report they spoke about the action of the Labour and Socialist International. To prevent wars was one of the most important problems, and unless they succeeded in this they would lose all hope for the economic and moral improvement of the proletariat. (Applause.)

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P. (Great Britain): Comrades, a few minutes will suffice for me to put before this Congress what I have to say on this subject. The purpose of my rising is to express, on behalf of the British delegation, our satisfaction that so great a measure of agreement has been achieved in connection with the First Commission. Now it would be misleading on my part if I sought to convey the impression to the Congress that in our work in the Commission and on the sub-committee we were not confronted with some very serious difficulties. Divergent views and interests were represented and they had to be recognised, but I rejoice to say that, after proper discussion, they were successfully harmonised. Whatever differences of opinion existed amongst us as to method, there was absolute agreement as to the great objective which we in the Committee—and I believe the entire International—constantly kept before us. What is the work which in this Congress we are endeavouring to do on such problems as were referred to Commission No. 1? I think I might put it in a sentence. We desire, and we are determined to secure, that world peace will become a reality; that world peace must be placed upon a firm and enduring foundation.

In this document I think we aim at two great essentials:—(1) the democratisation of an all-inclusive League of Nations, and (2) the establishment of a new international order resting upon justice and goodwill. Comrades, this International must never be satisfied until it has so fixed international relations that there will be no danger of perpetuating injustice by force, but where those international relations will rest permanently upon reason and consent.

On one more—shall I say one immediate?—question we have reached what can only be described as a temporary and tentative decision. I refer to the proposed Pact between a limited number of Powers. If you examine the resolution you will find that we have clearly laid it down that there are certain conditions which any restricted Pact must contain. But instead of coming to a final decision we have included a decision, referring the matter, when we know the final concrete proposals contained in the Pact, to a joint Conference of all the countries immediately concerned with the Pact and the Executive of the International. We hope when we meet to consider these concrete proposals, that it may be possible to reach a decision with the same degree of unanimity that characterised our decisions yesterday and the day before—decisions consistent with the fundamental principles for which this Congress stands. In my judgment such a decision may have very far-reaching consequences upon the future, and even the existence of this great world organisation. That is the only thing I want to say with regard to that question.

There is one aspect of the resolution that gives me exceptional satisfaction, and that is its defence of the Protocol; in fact its demand that our national organisations shall do everything in their power to make

THE FIGHT AGAINST REACTION IN LATVIA.



On February 15th, 1925, Comrade Massak was shot in Riga during a riot between Workers and Fascists.



The Answer of the Latvian Workers:—A Group of Workers' Guards.

that Protocol or its principles the fundamental basis of our future international relations. My friends, the Protocol is not dead. The principles of the Protocol, in my judgment, cannot die. They are consistent with both the ideals and spirit for which the International has stood from the beginning. Having said that, it is essential I should appeal to all of you to continue the fight for the settlement of international differences by the application of the principles contained in the 21 clauses of that instrument. There have been certain references to the position of the British Labour Party, and I want, just in a word or two, to show you that our position to-day, both with regard to the Protocol and in regard to the Pact, is exactly the same as it has been for many years past. Let me give you one single quotation from the declaration by the British Labour Party on 28th December, 1917, in the War Aims which it then promulgated at a great Conference in London :—

“Of all the war aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs the peoples will have lost”—and this is the point of my quotation—“the peoples will have lost unless some effective means of preventing war can be found.”

Comrades, we approach every proposal, we examine every instrument with that ideal, to which I have referred, always before our eyes. And though since 1917 we have taken great steps forward in the direction of that ideal, we have not yet fully attained to it ; and British Labour—and I believe this entire International—will never rest satisfied until that ideal has been made the fundamental position of all our international relations.

There is another part of this document which also gives me immense satisfaction, because I believe it is at the beginning of a new movement which will assist very considerably in the attainment of the ideal to which I have referred. On page 2 of the resolution and in paragraph 2 you will find these words :—

“The workers demand that the League of Nations be made all-inclusive and democratic”—and here is the point of importance—“and that the machinery for the revision of the Peace Treaties under Article 19 of the Covenant should be elaborated and made effective.”

I repeat, comrades, that, in my judgment, that is the most important pronouncement made by this International, and made, in my judgment, not a moment too soon, and I am glad to think that the great nations—the Socialist parties of all the great nations that were involved in the world war—have with unanimity decided to ask this Congress to make that declaration. We want Article 19 of the Covenant elaborated and made more effective. In other words we decline any longer, as an International, to be committed to the perpetuation of injustices by force, and we are determined, if possible through the League of Nations, to have the reconsideration and the re-examination of the Peace Treaties under reason, under conciliation, under goodwill in the interests of the masses of the people whom this great International represents.

Finally, I want to admit that this resolution is not a world-Socialist programme. We were not entrusted with the formulation of a world-Socialist programme. We were asked to deal with the dangers of war. We were asked to deal with the Protocol and the proposed Pact, and I again repeat that, in the name of the British delegation, I am gratified by the immense improvement represented, the real significance represented, by the marked degree of unanimity with which this resolution is submitted to you. We have a long way to go before our Peace ideals are attained. We are far away from the goal, but we are getting nearer to it, and what we want to do is to be faithful all the time to our ideals, to our spirit and to our declarations ; but with this faithfulness forthcoming, I believe we shall march more steadily in the future than we

have done in the past to lay the solid foundations of future peace in the world. It is because I believe these things that I give a hearty welcome to this resolution in the name of the British delegation and of the British Labour Party, and I hope it will be received with cordial unanimity. (Applause.)

RUDOLF BREITSCHIED (Germany) in supporting the resolution in the name of the German delegation, said that that did not mean that they were in entire agreement with every detail. There were several things they would have liked to have added, and there were passages or paragraphs they would like to have had deleted. But they were willing to forego their special wishes in the desire to see this resolution adopted unanimously in the plenary meeting as it had been adopted unanimously in the Commission. He was not going to examine the details of the resolution, but would limit himself to some general remarks. The first impression they had got from the discussions was that there was a fundamental difference in the character of the resolution they were now asked to adopt from the kind of resolution they had adopted before the war. Before the war they were satisfied simply with acknowledging general principles in the Socialist programme, but now they took up a definite position with regard to the political and economic problems of the day. Did that mean that they had deserted their principles? He did not think so. If they spoke less of very general aims, it should not be assumed that those general aims were less important, but they could now afford to speak less of these matters because the organisation had become stronger and because these principles had become the very flesh and blood of the International organisation. In addition, they were always desirous of remembering the responsibility they now had towards the electors, because the ideas they expressed they might be called upon at any time to put into practice as responsible members of Governments. Therefore their theory must be in harmony with the policy positions. But this general situation should not be allowed to create a policy of opportunism. On the other hand, they should not refuse to collaborate with any Government even though that Government might not be altogether Socialist, providing that by that collaboration they could take a step forward in the realisation of their programme.

In the first part of the resolution they stated once more that capitalism meant war, and he wished particularly to draw the attention of the delegates to the passage where they said that Socialism was the great power to bring peace, and that the victory of the workers was the best guarantee for hastening world peace. They also spoke in the resolution of the League of Nations, but that must not be taken to mean that they entirely approved of the League of Nations as it was at present constituted. If the League of Nations was all that they desired they could then cease their work, because the League of Nations would be the proper organisation to continue the activity of the Socialist International. That, however, was not so. Their attitude towards the League of Nations was determined by the fact that they recognised that, under present circumstances, it was the only organisation possible for concerted action amongst the various States. They must endeavour, however, to improve the League of Nations by making it more democratic and more universal. They had no intention of identifying themselves with the League. They knew that the League was an institution born out of capitalist agencies, and they did not lose sight of this fact.

In the resolution they had not put forward any programme which they thought could not be realised, because they did not want a resolution that would become a dead letter—merely a scrap of paper—but one which,

in the future, could be made a reality. He said they might have accepted the amendment proposed in the Commission asking for an immediate revision of the Treaties—and the German delegates might have been the first to welcome such a demand—but they understood that it would be impossible to carry out such a request, and they therefore preferred to have a programme which could be put into force rather than something which they knew would remain a dead letter.

They had also approved of the Geneva Protocol, not because it was the best expression of their views, but because they thought that by its ratification they could take a step forward towards the realisation of their ideals. The Geneva Protocol was by no means Utopian. All the Powers that were assembled at Geneva in 1924 accepted it, and if, in the meantime, while capitalist reactionary Governments had risen up to fight against it, it was all the more their duty to fight for its realisation, and to prepare the way for it by getting nations to agree to treaties of arbitration. If they (the Germans) were to refuse treaties of arbitration simply because they were not the full realisation of the Geneva Protocol, then they would be adopting a policy which was not practical.

It had been relatively easy to come to an agreement in the Commission, and agreement had been obtained without friction. They had certainly attained agreement more speedily than agreements were attained when the diplomatic representatives of capitalist States met together. It might be said that they were able to come to an agreement because they represented one class, but if that argument were true, he did not see why the official representatives of States should not also come to speedy agreements because they, too, only represented the interests of one class—the interests of the capitalist class. But here representatives of France and Germany had been able to arrive at a complete harmony of view, and that showed they were animated by a spirit of reconciliation. The peace of the world would become a reality as soon as the ideal of the Labour and Socialist International became a reality. (Applause.)

LEON BLUM (France) said that the French delegation was unanimous in supporting the resolution, and he wanted to express his gratitude to the other members of the Commission who had shown such a spirit of conciliation as had enabled it to come to a unanimous vote. In the Commission, Buxton, Hilferding and Renaudel had shown a great deal of patience and forbearance. As Comrade Breitscheid had said, this resolution made unity of action on the part of Socialists possible with regard to present political and economic problems, and he hoped there would be the same unity when the text of the Pact of Security was known. He wished to express his thanks to Comrade Henderson for having strengthened their view in this respect. It was a great joy to them to see that the International, which had recently been reconstituted, had shown in this way its force and its wisdom. Whilst nations were still living in a spirit of mutual distrust, following upon the war, it was very gratifying to see the Socialist International work in a spirit of agreement, concord and harmony. This was a most reassuring guarantee both for their work for the immediate realisation of peace and for the ultimate realisation of a new social order.

F. TURATI (Italy) said he wanted to make a short declaration in the name, not only of the Italian Unitarian Socialist Party, but also the Socialist Party of Austria, the Social Democrats of Russia, the German Socialists of Czechoslovakia, the Independent Socialist Party of Poland, the German Socialists of Poland, the Lithuanian Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Roumania, the Hungarian Socialists in Czechoslovakia, and the Socialist Party of Greece.

Those parties were not quite in agreement with the general terms of the resolution. In spite of that they were going to vote in favour of it in order to exhibit the spirit of harmony that prevailed in the Labour and Socialist International. He thought that the framers of the resolution had stressed the idea of analysis, and the parties he had mentioned would have rather preferred a short statement in the spirit of Marxian Socialism. For, if there had been a certain divergence of opinion with regard to the Pact and the Protocol, one thing was certain with regard to both, and that was that their real value would only be in proportion to the power developed by the working classes in their struggle. (Applause.) They ought to be on their guard against sentimental bourgeois pacifism. That was why he thought it would have been better to have made instead of an abstract diplomatic statement a real appeal to the organised force of the proletariat. Why, he asked, had the Protocol received so much approval from Labour? Simply because it was the outcome of the collaboration of the British Labour Party and the French Socialists and had not been worked out in the bureaucratic offices of Governments. Why not protest vigorously against militarism? Why not repeat their condemnation of the peace treaties? It was militarism and capitalism that had made the war, and they were fighting for peace, for bread and for freedom: that is, for Socialism.

In conclusion, he wanted to say two personal words to Comrade Breitscheid. He recognised that it was better to have an egg-to-day than to have a hen in a few weeks, but they were sometimes afraid lest the ultimate ideal they must strive to realise should be too much submerged in matters of detail in their resolutions. There was too much detail in this resolution, which seemed to dull its colour and weaken its force. In spite of that they would vote in favour of it.

L. DE BROUCKERE said he rose in order to give the enthusiastic support of the Belgian delegation to the resolution. Their support was enthusiastic, first because the resolution had the unanimous approval of the Commission, which they appreciated all the more when they remembered what divergent views existed at the beginning; and, secondly, because it was a resolution of action. Since the war, in the course of tremendous changes that were taking place, many things had come to the surface which were hidden until then, some of them ruins of the past, and some germs of the future. Labour was playing its rôle in the reconstruction of the world. It was now a matter of reality that the workers were taking in hand the political and economic organisation of peace. Capitalism, it was true, was still strong, but intellectually it was sterile and had to borrow its ideas for the organisation of peace from the Socialists. It was applying these ideas in an often stupid and always inadequate way; but this should not prevent Socialists from recognising what was virtually their own ideas. Some said they should keep aloof from all these imperfect bourgeois institutions; but he thought they should use these instruments, however unsatisfactory, and try and weld them into really effective weapons.

Turati had spoken in the name of what he himself had called the smaller parties and had defined their attitude. Now he (the speaker) asked Comrade Turati to realise their position. They had come to the point where they could not any longer say to the workers what they would do if they had power. Political power was already partially in their hands and they had got to use it.

The League of Nations and the International Labour Office were still imperfect organisations, but for all that they might serve for the realisation of important aims. As proof of this he quoted the Protocol. Some

might say that that was only a hope of one day, and it had not been realised. But though not ratified, the Protocol still existed, and they would continue to fight for its realisation. It was not true, as had been said with regard to the Pacts of Security, that some of them were ready to continue the old system of alliances, for those Pacts of Security were different from the alliances that prevailed before the war. Neither was it true that the British Labour Party's attitude was: the Protocol or nothing. The difference was that their British friends were more sensitive to certain dangers of the Pact which, they feared, might bar the way to the Protocol, whilst the Continental Parties were more aware of the advantages. Now agreement had been reached. There was unity in theory, but to-morrow when they faced the facts, he was sure that there would be unity of action, and unity of action was a necessary condition if peace was to be made secure. But peace would not come as a gratuitous gift. It would depend upon their will to bring it about. It must be as Anatole France had said: "like unto the will of the tree that will green in the Spring."

F. M. WIBAUT (Holland) said he desired to thank Comrade Turati and the parties for which he spoke for their acceptance of the resolution. He appreciated this all the more because their attitude had been critical. If they were able to make a reality of the programme set out in the resolution, he was sure they would do more against capitalism than if they had used stronger language in protestation. They would destroy militarism by putting the organisation of society on a different basis, and in this way they would work also towards the realisation of Marx's Socialism. He hoped that the resolution would be carried unanimously.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously. The Congress then adjourned.

EIGHTH SESSION.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27TH, 9.30 P.M.

In the Chair: ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P. (Great Britain) and
PAUL FAURE (France).

THE WAR IN MOROCCO.

J. BESTEIRO (Spain) submitted on behalf of Commission No. 1
the resolution on Morocco.

He said it was now fifteen years that the Spanish people had been suffering from their adventures in Morocco and from a war which they had been forced to embark upon against their own will, forced by their Government and by treaties Spain had concluded with foreign powers. The Spanish Socialists had succeeded in coming to an agreement with the British and French Socialists at a conference which took place in Paris on 28th July, and the Commission in submitting the present resolution, asked the Congress to range itself in line with that agreement. The resolution had been carefully drafted, and he hoped the Congress would show its confidence in their British, Spanish and French friends by adopting it.

There was a certain difference between the French and the Spanish point of view in the matter, but they had tried to look at the matter not from a national but from an international point of view. One could say that for Spain the position was certainly more painful, but on the other hand, he admitted a solution could more easily be found from the Spanish than from the French side. It was clear from the combined action of the two Governments that it was not the nations who were to decide the future of Morocco, but that the destinies of that country were left in the hands of generals who stood for national prestige and completely defied the ideas of humanity and the independence of nations.

Therefore, their first act must be to protest against the action of the Spanish and French Governments and the secret character of the decisions taken at the last diplomatic conference in Madrid. Peace proposals had been sent to Abd el Krim, but up to now they had been kept secret. The British Government had some responsibility because, although Great Britain had not sent troops to Morocco, there was an impression that the British Government induced France and Spain to go to war with Morocco. They had to protest also against the British Government which secretly supported the war.

The Morocco problem had been of an international character since 1880, and its international character was increased in 1905 when the treaty of Algeiras was signed. It was therefore for the Congress to treat this problem from an international point of view. In the first place they claimed the suspension of all military operations and the entering into immediate negotiations for peace. They asked for a pacific settlement of the Riff problem by the League of Nations. The delegates might perhaps say it would be too hard a task for the League of Nations, but he claimed that if the League were to become what they hoped it would

become, they should not prevent it from testing its strength. They should not treat it like one of those young men of the upper classes who were carefully kept aloof from real life and natural development and therefore remained weak characters, incapable of sacrifices and of action. The League had got to justify their hopes that it would be capable of settling future conflicts; it should also take action during actual conflicts. For that reason he hoped that the Congress would unanimously pass the resolution and thus help to stop the wastage of blood and energy from which the Spanish people were suffering against their own will. This unfortunate war had had many bad results; but it had at least contributed to strengthen the will for peace. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

L. PIERARD (Belgium) moved the following resolution:—

That the Colonial Question be put on the Agenda for the next International Congress.

He said that this proposal which had been dealt with in the First Commission was a very short one, and he was the author of it. He thought it was a necessary addition to what the Congress had already accepted. They had adopted a resolution on the dangers of war; need he remind them what dangers of war loomed behind the Colonial problems? Nobody amongst them could agree with the solution recommended by Communists, who wanted the whole of the nations simply to evacuate the territories they had colonised. The Commission, therefore, suggested that the Colonisation question should be thoroughly discussed at the next Congress in two years' time. They had not discussed it this time. But they had seen it appear at every turn in the discussions they had had. The Colonial problem existed; they could not evade it. And for those Socialists at least who believed in the League of Nations there was also the question of the policy with regard to Colonial mandates.

At Stuttgart twenty years ago the Colonial question was discussed, and they might perhaps remember the attitude which was taken by the late Van Kool on that occasion. He did not suppose anybody would be prepared now to stand up and defend the resolution then adopted. They could not any longer take merely a negative and critical attitude, and it was sometimes necessary to revise opinions they had formed in the past. He was glad to learn that the French Party had decided to put the Colonial question on the agenda of their next annual Conference. As Socialists, they knew very well how in the early occupation of overseas territories many abominable things took place. They knew how, behind the great word "civilisation," there are hidden bankers' interests, and they knew what horrors have been the regular features of the so-called pacific penetration of overseas-territories. Nevertheless they must recognise that there were problems for which they were anxious to find a solution. There was the problem of raw material and the problem of emigration. He wanted here to say that with regard to Germany it was ridiculous, absurd and inequitable that she should be deprived of all Colonies. And there was the moral problem which Socialists could not avoid: whether even under the capitalist system with all its evils which they denounced and tried to restrict, it was not possible to bring certain advantages to savage tribes by undertaking public works, teaching them hygiene, and establishing schools.

He simply wished to put this question before them. He would not attempt to answer it. He knew there would be a very animated

discussion in two years' time, but it was necessary to discuss it, for as Jaurès had said "Socialism cannot remain outside any problem—Socialism must penetrate them all."

The resolution was carried.

THE DANGERS OF WAR IN THE EAST.

OTTO BAUER (Austria), (greeted with hearty applause).

The resolution which I have to submit to you on behalf of the Commission for Eastern European Questions is the outcome of days and nights of labour, of a very lengthy and arduous, indeed at times violent, struggle between opposed views within the Commission itself and within the Sub-Committee. The difficulties with which the Commission had to wrestle lay in the subject-matter itself. We see before us in the East of Europe a whole series of new states rising on the ruins of the Empires which have been overthrown. In a whole group of these states we see the middle-class newly-risen out of the great victory which it has achieved in the setting up of the new states, eagerly renewing to-day those very methods of oppression, of which only yesterday they were themselves the victims. We can see how in a series of these new states that spirit of violence to which the war has given rise everywhere, is reinforcing middle-class reaction. In Finland and other states this reaction finds a living embodiment in armed organisations. Its whole existence and endeavour at home and abroad is inspired by the purpose of holding down the masses of its own country under domination by main force, whilst ill-treating and depriving of their rights the large minorities of different race. We can see how this same spirit of violence is now extending from home to foreign affairs, and how between a group of these states and their neighbours there are thus arising antagonisms pregnant with dangers of war. We have seen how as a result of the treaties of peace whole territories of Europe have become "Balkanised." In a certain sense it is true that, if the war of 1914 started from the Balkans, to-day the most formidable threats to peace issue from this new enormous "Balkanised" zone. And if in themselves these dangers are very great, we cannot ignore the fact that they are being gravely aggravated by the attempts of the great Powers to East and West alike of these territories, to misuse these newly-formed states as their pawns in their great game of war.

The real background which we had to survey, if we meant to investigate earnestly and thoroughly the problems of Eastern Europe, had to be viewed in the light of this fact, that in the background of the East of Europe there are events of world-importance, which are coming to fulfilment still further to the East. We see how capitalism has now really and literally shot to pieces the "great wall" in China; we see the vast multitudes of the Asiatic countries and of the Mediterranean coasts, in these most over-populated regions of the world, where masses of people live more and more densely herded together on a soil incapable of sustaining them; we see how these enslaved, despised multitudes are now beginning to awaken. (Applause.) If the history of the nineteenth century was determined by the fact that from Finland, Latvia, Lithuania to Czechoslovakia, and further still as far as Yugo-Slavia and Greece, nations without history have awakened and through a series of revolts ultimately conquered their liberty, to-day we see the first beginnings of this process unfolding on an enormously enlarged scale in the Mohammedan, Indian and Chinese world. We know that this process of the awakening of the obscure nations in the nineteenth century could only reach its culmination through a cycle of revolutions and wars; we therefore

A PARTY MEETING IN THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS.



The Annual Congress of the Socialist Party of Carpathian Russia at Uzhorod (November, 1924).

know what a peril to peace has come into being in this great evolution in the Far East.

This peril is already before our eyes. Influencing this mighty process of the awakening of peoples there are two great forces pitted one against the other, on the one hand the Imperialist Powers of the West, on the other hand the Soviet Union. We know the guiding policy of the Soviet Union in these matters. Bolshevism is by its nature the militant variety of Socialism. Just as it is convinced that liberation at home can only be won by a bloody civil war, so it is equally convinced that ultimately liberation abroad also can only be secured through a war of bloodshed by the revolutionary nations against the capitalist nations. Its policy over there in the East, in its initial stages at least, is determined by this conception. On the other side we see how the capitalist Powers, who hitherto have been able to dominate this eastern world, and draw from it a toll of wealth at their pleasure, are now beginning to tremble for this ascendancy of theirs. And we see how these movements in the Indian, Chinese and African world exert an immediate reaction upon Eastern Europe. In these new Balkan states it is indeed so easy, so very tempting, when it is desired for the sake of the mastery in Asia to lead an attack upon the Soviet Union, it is so easy to set these small peoples in motion, and to let Polish or Roumanian peasants shed their blood in the cause of imperialist rule in the East. (Hear, hear.)

On the other side we have had the experience of the events in Georgia and Armenia. We are acquainted with the tactics of preparing *coups d'état* and then exploiting them as a pretext when any particular strategical point is required. Thus on the other side the same danger; namely, that as a result of the political antagonisms, heightened as they are through the Asiatic developments, the Soviet Government may be induced to plan the fate of Georgia for the new states on its western border. And in addition, comrades, what is perhaps worst of all, this quite certain fact—that if out of all this welter of conflicts a war should break out anywhere over there in the East, there exists the terrible danger of Western and Central Europe being immediately implicated in such a war. We are quite aware that we have not yet fully overcome those extreme reactionary circles among the German nationalists—(hear, hear)—who hold that a Russo-Polish war would be an excellent opportunity to pay off German scores against Poland—(hear, hear)—and, equally, again, that there are milieux in France who consider that in the event of a Russo-Polish war Germany's function would be to serve as a passage for their armies, and who therefore consider it a matter for daily discussion, whether in such a case France would be justified in repeating against Germany the crime which Germany committed against Belgium. (Hear, hear.) Such is the array of conflicts, to indicate only the most crucial ones, which we have before our eyes. It was the business of our Commission to have its say on all these matters.

I will not conceal a single one of the difficulties with which we had to contend; and so it must be said that these difficulties revolved above all around the necessity for a clear and unmistakable unanimous attitude—unanimous not merely in words and ideas but also in feeling—towards the great problem of Bolshevism. The difficulties are intelligible on the face of things. There were sitting on the Commission representatives from the countries annexed by the Soviet Union, representatives from Georgia and representatives from Armenia; to expect from these comrades in face of the oppression of their countrymen the objectivity of a dispassionate historian, would be to make a harsh and superhuman claim upon them. (Applause.) There were sitting there on the Commission

representatives of the states bordering the Soviet Union, who entertain a very natural dread that the freedom of their people, won by a century of countless supreme sacrifices, might be brought to nought by the policy of the Soviet Union; there were sitting there representatives from the great European Labour Parties of all the countries who have experienced the whole history of affairs since 1917, the whole history of communist manoeuvres, the whole history of daily falsehoods spread with the aim of splitting the Labour Movement to pieces—who have experienced the disruption instigated by the Communists, which has dealt such sore blows to the Labour Movement, not only by cutting in half the power of the working masses but by forcing them back into apathy. (Applause.)

In view of all this it is hard indeed to expect these comrades to assume towards Bolshevism an attitude of merely historical objectivity. But on the other hand there were present too, with a heavy responsibility on their shoulders, the spokesmen of the great Labour Parties in those countries which more than any determine the course of world-policy, such as Great Britain, and for these latter the problem wore quite another aspect. During recent years we have very frequently felt some uneasiness over the fact that the British Labour Party, or many of its members, were in our view lacking in the needful critical sense in their treatment of the Bolshevik problem. But just as I understand our comrades, especially those from Eastern Europe, in their feelings of resentment against Bolshevism which found voice in the Commission, so on the other hand I can fully understand our comrades from the West, in particular our British comrades, in their acute concern in face of a one-sided fanatical anti-Bolshevism. (Hear, hear.) Indeed I can grasp very clearly what a responsibility rests upon these comrades who fought against the British Government when it was supplying money and arms for the cause of counter-revolution in Russia; these comrades who after a hard struggle brought to pass the recognition of Russia; these comrades who well know and understand that the sharper the clash of interests becomes in the Far East, the greater is the danger that in the British ruling classes those elements may again get the upper hand who will be intent on defending their commercial profits, their sphere of exploitation, by all possible methods of warfare against the Soviet Union—and not necessarily only by the compromising method of subsidising a Kolchak. The comrades who are compelled to stand in defence of the Russian people and of world-peace against this counter-revolutionary and imperialist policy of their ruling classes, these comrades are quite inevitably in an altogether different frame of mind and it is an obligation on them, as against this counter-revolutionary peril, to defend the Soviet Union. (Cries of Bravo.) Thus, comrades, these differences in the situation between the Labour Parties in the East and in the West; these differences between the functions which they have to fulfil within our common struggle, these differences of past experience, these differences of perspective, are all sufficient in themselves to account for the acute conflict of opinions in our discussions. But, comrades, the Commission could not conclude one-sidedly according to one or the other point of view, it was bound to strive for the truly international verdict, rather than for anyone drawn from the particular situation of the working class in any one country. (Loud applause.) That is what we have attempted, that is what we have striven to find. And I venture to say, as my personal opinion, that in this we have not absolutely, but in a certain measure, succeeded.

Comrades! What is the substance of the resolution which we are submitting to you? In the first place, it takes a stand on the great problem to which I have just alluded, it seeks to define the attitude of

us all towards Soviet Russia, towards the Communist International, towards Bolshevism. And, comrades, it was on this, first and foremost, that we had to say a word which in view of the world-situation must needs take precedence of all else, namely, that any hostile policy on the part of the Governments towards the Soviet Union will encounter in us the most stubborn, the most implacable resistance. (Loud applause.) There has perhaps been a phase, in which it would have been unnecessary to dwell on this point, because that danger was not visible; there was a phase in which the imperialist governments appeared to be beginning, instead of attacking Russia, to do business with her. But, comrades, we cannot delude ourselves as to the fact that during the past year this tendency has again been considerably modified, that the fall of the British Labour Government marked a turning-point in it, and that for the future, especially, dangers, grave dangers may ensue from the development of affairs in Asia. Comrades, I desire not to exaggerate in any way. I do not belong to those who hold that this danger is an imminent one, a danger for to-day or to-morrow. But we can see this danger shaping itself out of the inevitable disturbance which the great awakening of the Asiatic peoples is bound to entail. And because we know that this danger is coming, we therefore lay down, not for to-day or to-morrow, but for the whole of our future as the chief and supreme guiding principles: "Hands off Soviet Russia!" (Loud applause.)

Of course this does not and must not mean, nor could it be so understood by any thinking man, that we have any idea of a surrender to Bolshevism. (Applause.) That is a wholly different problem. We view critically, very critically, both the domestic and the foreign policy of Bolshevism. We may perhaps have held various views as to the legitimacy of the dictatorship at the time when Russia was still in the throes of civil war. But from the moment when the crisis of the civil war in Russia was past, there can no longer be any controversy among us, that what the Russian people needs is what all peoples need, that is to say the possibility of free individual action, and therefore political freedom. (Applause.) We all heard, comrades, with keen emotion in the first session here, the warning of Comrade Turati against underrating what perhaps seems to us nowadays in the West an acknowledged possession, but is in reality a conquest of civilisation purchased in the course of centuries at the price of precious blood: that is, personal freedom, spiritual freedom, freedom for the organised mass struggle. We shall not fail, comrades, to uphold this freedom against the Russian dictatorship. Nor shall we fail either to maintain a critical attitude towards the foreign policy of Bolshevism. This whole notion of a solution of the social problem once for all by means of a revolutionary war, this it is, which at bottom more than anything else divides us from Bolshevism. Not that we are incapable of estimating as its true worth the historical significance, for revolutions, of revolutionary wars in the past, but because we know that the development in the technique of warfare has made war a very different thing from what it was at the close of the eighteenth century (loud applause), because we know that nowadays in the age of gas warfare, in the age of this enormously evolved military technique, any new war, though it were waged with the most revolutionary aims, would mean not the liberation of mankind from poverty and serfdom, but a relapse into the most frightful misery and the most frightful barbarism. (Loud applause.) We shall not fail therefore to emphasise sharply and uncompromisingly the line which separates us from Bolshevism. But, comrades, just because we must do this in the interests of the working class, in order to save it from the most dangerous errors of direction, for that very reason we must carefully distinguish, beyond the chance of any possible

misunderstanding, our attitude towards Bolshevism from that of the present capitalist and imperialist Powers, who in defence of their markets or of their ascendancy over the Asiatic peoples, may find themselves at odds with Bolshevism. (Hear, hear.) This point is included in our resolution. In it we do not stin, our criticism of Bolshevism; we demand with the utmost emphasis the democratisation of the regime in Russia. We declare our full solidarity with the struggle of our Russian comrades towards this democratisation, but we acknowledge no complicity in the capitalist and imperialist intrigues, manoeuvres and campaigns against Russia. (Loud applause.)

The second matter with which our resolution had to deal was that great process of the awakening of the nations of the East which stands in close connection with the danger of war in Eastern Europe. Comrades, in the East to-day the Chinese coolies, the Chinese workers, are engaged in a fight. Oh, we are not under any illusion. It is very far from being a modern trade union fight. We know that these workers, who perhaps to-day stand on a social and cultural level long left behind by the European workers; whose movement has, it may be, many features in common with the Luddite Movement in England; these workers will still have to go a long painful road, not exempt from reverses,—as to that we have no illusions. Yet, comrades, we must perceive that this is the first step along a road which is vitally important for the workers of the whole world. Do we not all know, do not industrial statistics show us, indeed does not the fact of unemployment in Europe, for example in the textile industry, exhibit to us with the utmost clearness how European capital, for whom the workers here have now become too strong, too self-conscious, too defiant, too assertive, has grasped the possibility of migrating over yonder in order to establish there its textile factories, there where cheap, docile, helpless workers are to be had, where Chinese children are at its disposal? Comrades, this is the significant point, that if the workers over yonder awaken, this last refuge will be closed against capitalism. What is happening over there is the first step in the great mutiny of the last great reserve army of capitalism. (Loud applause.) And that is why, comrades, what is happening there is our own intimate concern, that is why we mean to send our greetings to the workers over yonder—(applause)—and to express our hope that it may not be long before they will be waging in our common cause the fight for which they are only just beginning to train, but that they will wage it too in conscious co-operation with us. (Applause.) Comrades, this great process of awakening is beginning over there and there must be no possibility of doubt how we stand towards it. Oh yes, we know the dangers. I have just spoken of them; oh yes, we know if this movement of the oppressed peoples in the East from the Pacific to the Atlantic gathers strength, then the balance of power between the great Powers out there will be disturbed; and if the dominance of the great Powers there is shaken, we understand very well what a danger of war and consequently what a danger for the European workers may arise. Nevertheless, comrades, this process of awakening in those peoples cannot by any means be checked. It will run its course as triumphantly, as irresistibly, as did the process of awakening of the peoples without a national history in Europe in the last century; and it will set the world ablaze as this latter process has done, unless the European and American workers are strong enough to secure for these nations, by their own strength, the freedom for which they are wrestling, in order that they may not have to reach it by way of war. And hence the clear unmistakable line which we draw in this resolution, just because we do not, like Bolshevism, set our hopes on a world war, is the result of our belief that the more henceforward this process advances, the more it will become the historical task

of the European and American workers through their own struggle, through the struggle in the home countries of the rulers of these foreign peoples, to achieve for these latter their final emancipation. (Bravo!)

Comrades, we have thus outlined the world-political setting of the dangers in Eastern Europe, we have then proceeded to deal with Eastern Europe itself; and here we have given to one question priority over all others, and I believe that this procedure will receive universal assent from everyone acquainted with European affairs to-day, namely, the question of national minorities. We know how dangerous are those methods of national foreign rule over large populous minorities such as are practised in many parts of Eastern Europe, we know that grave dangers of war may spring from this very condition. I may say that I, as an Austrian, understand very thoroughly the embarrassments of the situation in which our comrades from the ruling nations in those countries find themselves placed. Oh we Austrians, who ourselves were once in this position—(hear, hear)—we have learnt how much courage is needed in a country where the perpetual national strife lets loose the spirit of Chauvinism, to stand for the cause of the subject nations while belonging to the dominant one. But we Austrians have learnt something else too, we have learnt that this very fact of Socialism not having been strong enough to secure the satisfaction of these subject nations and the establishment of peace in a state inhabited by various nationalities, that this very fact was the direct cause of the world war. (Hear, hear.) And because we have learnt this we are aware what an immense weight of responsibility rests to-day upon our comrades, especially those from the ruling races in these new national States, every one of which by its national structure, its Chauvinist mentality, the Chauvinist methods of its struggle, reproduces the old Austria, the Austria of the Hapsburgs. For this very reason, comrades, scarcely anything in the discussions we have held has seemed more significant to me than the following fact: that the demand for national self-government, for the grant of self-government to all the minorities dwelling in great enclosed territories within these States, the demand on behalf of disintegrated minorities for equality of rights and unfettered opportunity of development in respect of education and schooling, that this formula voicing our claims on behalf of national minorities, which I hold to be a step forward, was moved and put forward by no other than Niedzialkowski, the representative of the P.S.P., the Socialist majority Party in Poland. (Bravo!) Comrades, that was an advance. It must be added, indeed, that this formula marks an advance only on condition that words are followed by deeds and deeds by success. (Applause.) If that comes about, then, comrades, we are persuaded that one of the most fundamental dangers, one of the most fundamental causes of the standing antagonisms could be to a great extent mitigated, both for all Eastern Europe and thereby for the peace of all Europe.

Certainly, comrades, it goes without saying that not only the problems of national minorities are here at issue. Far more is at issue, and not least the complication and embitterment of all antagonisms by the rule of reaction over these States. We all know full well, that every dictatorship, every despotic rule carries in itself its own danger of war: we know full well that force at home and force abroad are close kindred—so it has ever been, so it still remains to-day. And thus in Eastern Europe our fight against the danger of war is bound up with our fight against the Fascist counter-revolution which prevails there under the most various forms. On this point also our resolution had to say a brief but definite word. Comrades, we see before us the disregard of the right to personal and political liberty; we see the political struggle conducted with methods

of the most brutal violence ; we see the brutal suppression by violence, nay, attempts towards the physical annihilation of whole opposition parties ; we see all this in the most varied forms within the different States. All of us—and about this no word of mine is needed—recognise it as proof positive of the negation of everything that we hold to be the natural basis of Socialism, when we hear that even now, at a moment when really the Soviet Government cannot urge the dangers of civil war, a man such as our Comrade Gotz is imprisoned merely for having addressed to Fimmen a letter expressing his own political opinion. We see similar methods at work in Italy and Hungary ; we read with repulsion and horror how in Poland, almost weekly, young lads are again and again being put to death, as though the Polish State were unable to defend itself by other means. But everything that is happening in these countries is far outdistanced by those unexampled orgies of barbarism, of which we read daily in the news from Bulgaria. (Hear, hear.) Comrades, this whole system of doing away with one's political opponents, whenever it can be done, by means of courts martial, and when this does not work, by setting fire to their houses and then letting them burn ; this whole system of the bygone middle ages is that of the blood-stained government of executioners in Sofia. If we raise a protest here against this regime of the gallows, we do so not merely on behalf of the workers in all countries, we do so on behalf of all who retain any shred of that which alone makes human civilisation worthy to exist. (Loud applause.)

Comrades, such are the guiding lines laid down in our resolution. It defines our relationship towards the Soviet Government, towards the great revolutionary process beginning to run its course in Asia, towards the concrete problems of Eastern Europe, especially those relating to national minorities, at least in their broad outlines, and also our relationship towards Fascist reaction in some of these Eastern European countries. I am aware, comrades, that much is lacking in this resolution, and every nation of which you read in it, will find this or that missing from it. I will not attempt to deny, comrades, that the cause of this lies not only in the fact that every problem cannot be dealt with in a single resolution, but also in this other fact that for certain problems we found ourselves still unable to formulate any solutions. Yet faulty as this resolution may be, I believe that on the main points it establishes the required unity of points of view, and that it therefore marks a progress. The framing of it was arduous, and I would beg all who have objections on points of detail to take into account the difficulty of the task we had to fulfil, and to realise that we could only include that on which to-day the Socialist Parties are, broadly speaking, at one, in order to lay the foundations for an ever-increasing unity of outlook. And so I ask you to adopt this resolution despite its shortcomings.

But, comrades, allow me to say yet another word, which may have a bearing on the spirit needed for tackling this problem, though indeed I cannot say it here as the rapporteur of the Commission, but perhaps only on my own personal behalf, in accord, however, with my own delegation. Comrade Turati has made a statement to-day in the name of a group of Parties here represented, and Comrade de Bronckère in allusion to it has said that a difference of opinion may readily arise from the circumstance that the Parties subscribing to this statement are further removed from the burden of responsibility than are the Parties in the West. Comrades, this may be in some measure true. Certainly as far as my own Party is concerned, we cannot be classed with those Parties here who bear the lightest responsibility in their own countries. We, too, have had some acquaintance with the burdens of responsibility. Yes, we dare to say, that we are still bearing such a burden to-day, although

we hold no place in the Government. However, comrades, we are, I admit, somewhat differently situated from the Parties in the West. We are Germans and count ourselves citizens of Central Europe and strive to share in its intellectual life. But geography has thrust us very far towards the East—(laughter)—and history has intertwined us very intimately with the East. From this cause, it may be, comrades, that our Party stands in a somewhat peculiar position. You see, we are, after all, sufficiently far towards the West to realise the whole of the difficulties and of the responsibilities of our Western comrades. I know why you wrestle, with such infinite toil and care, with these knotty problems of the Pact of Security and the League of Nations. I know, comrades, that you do so with the purpose, as it were, of clearing away the barbed wire, which everywhere has remained over as a relic from the trenches—(hear, hear)—and that now since attempts are being made to do so through the medium of international law, you are expending all your industry, your knowledge and your strength on the solution of this problem in the legal code between nations. We are well able to appreciate that to the full. We understand your motives and know how to value the significance of this work. But, comrades, if we are far enough towards the West to grasp that, we are likewise far enough towards the East to perceive the reverse side of the problem more clearly, may be, than many among you, for this reason, that this whole process of fermentation initiated by the war, which is pregnant for the time to come with fresh upheavals in the East, can be felt and observed more plainly in our part of Europe than in the West. Just consider, comrades, this whole effort over the Pact of Security, Geneva Protocol, League of Nations, what can it amount to ? Inevitably, of necessity it can only be a task of compromise among ourselves, of an arduous and laboriously attained compromise between that which we desire, and the still unalterable facts of the capitalist world and the existing social order, which as yet we are unable to do away with ; a task of compromise between our will towards peace, resting as that does upon arbitrary treaties which imply the negation of freedom for whole nations, and on the other hand the will towards freedom, itself circumscribed by our purpose of maintaining peace. Comrades, this toilsome daily compromise, I repeat, is necessary and vital, I agree that this barbed wire entanglement must be cleared away ; but comrades, let us not deceive ourselves in this, it requires so much cool judgment, so much wisdom, so much abnegation ! By the side of this we discern with the utmost clearness other necessities, which may not be left out of sight for the sake of that former task, important and needed as that may be. We see the necessity of instructing our younger generation in this mighty chapter of world history unfolding throughout the entire East and therewith of showing them our own historic mission, the mission of the workers in this process, and in the spirit of this mission of moulding the minds and hearts of the masses and setting them in motion. (Loud applause.) And we hold, comrades, that this is the counterpart of that other cool-headed, wise, self-abnegatory labour. Yes, indeed, that is necessary, the barbed wire must be got rid of ; but this other thing, this recognition of the great impending world upheaval and of our revolutionary rôle in it—that is what we need, the wide historical perspective and the gaze intent on the historical process evolving there—that is what we need, for that and that only can inspire in the rising generation of the working class the enthusiasm, which alone is capable of winning the world for Socialism. (Prolonged applause.)

L. DE BROUCKERE (Belgium) said he was certainly not going at this late hour to make a long speech or propose a modification in the resolution which had been presented, but he rose in order to make a

declaration in the names of the French Socialist Party, the Polish Socialist Party, the Socialist Parties of Georgia, Esthonia, Latvia, Armenia, Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Hungary, Finland, Belgium and Sweden. His declaration was in some way the counterpart of that which Turati was making here to-day. There were certain reservations they wished to make, but at the same time they wished to fall in with the general opinion, and therefore they would vote for the resolution.

Now, what were their reservations? They would have liked the French amendment to have been adopted because whilst it clearly denounced the danger from Western Imperialism, it showed greater confidence in the action and the influence of the Socialist Parties. In the resolution they expressed the idea that there was a conception amongst Bolsheviks that they could carry liberty to oppressed nations at the point of the bayonet. He thought it was very necessary they should stress that danger. There was an example in history when that same appalling illusion had led the armies of the French Revolution, the armies of Napoleon, to exhaust themselves in the vast plains of Russia.

The second point he wished to make was that they were in favour of recognising the Soviet Republic, but that such recognition should not be one-sided; that Russia should also recognise the community of Western nations by entering the League of Nations.

The third point was that they did not think it right to try to solve by an incidental remark the Colonial question. Comrade Pierard had asked them to put this matter on the agenda for 1927. The Congress had accepted that and therefore he thought it would have been better not to have touched upon it in the resolution. In spite of these reservations, they intended to vote for the resolution, because it expressed the right of self-determination of nations and also he thought it was the duty of the International to put itself at the disposal of oppressed nations whether they were oppressed by Western Imperialism or by any other imperialism, as was the case with Georgia and Armenia. And, secondly, because the resolution said with equal precision that not only must they express the wish that democracy should become universal, but they must also work for the victory of democracy. In looking round he saw sitting in this hall the Georgian exiles, the Hungarian emigrants who lived in Paris and Vienna, and also their Russian comrades who were denied the possibility to work in their own country. When he looked at them he felt not pity but shame that the International should not be able to prevent this injustice. It was their duty to see to it that those comrades should be free to return to their countries, and he urged all parties to put aside their particular queries and to rally behind the resolution.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously, the Social-Revolutionary Party of Russia abstaining.

CLOSING SPEECHES.

THE CHAIRMAN (Arthur Henderson, M.P.) said they could not bring this Congress to a close without expressing their warm thanks, first of all to the French Socialist Party for extending the invitation to the Executive for the Congress to be held in their territory, and secondly to the local party in Marseilles for their work in making the necessary arrangements. In this connection he specially wished to include the name of Comrade Leon Bon. They were also greatly indebted to the interpreters. They had had a very arduous task, and he felt he could not appraise their services too highly. Many of us, he said, were guilty of

making not only long, but frequent speeches. He had once taken the trouble to count the speeches which were made in Commission on one particular subject and he found that including the translations, the number amounted to 121. Now, what about the Eight-Hour Day for interpreters? Then what should he say about the staff? It had been his privilege to be in close association with Comrades Adler and Shaw since the Hamburg Congress and had seen something of the work of the staff. During these years they had had the advantage of the services of Dr. and Madame Pollak, and he hoped it would be possible for Comrade Adler, when the office was removed to Switzerland, to retain them at headquarters.

The Congress which was just closing had not been a great spectacular event, but he claimed it had been a useful Congress, because it had been a real practical demonstration of International working-class solidarity. In some respects they had improved upon the position for which they declared at Hamburg. They had not only declared that Capitalism and Militarism were the enemies of the people, but they had declared once more with considerable emphasis in favour of organising for world peace; for freedom, political and economic; for equality, and for fraternity. These they had declared to be the springs of their democratic faith, and the spiritual base upon which their International rested. In this spirit they would go forward into the period between now and the next Congress in 1927. The British delegation had asked him to say that they hoped an invitation would presently be forwarded to the Executive for the Congress to assemble in London two years hence. (Applause.)

PAUL FAURE (France) said it fell to him to say the final word. He would not attempt to draw the lessons from the work of this Congress, but he would say that they all had the feeling that the International had now been definitely reconstructed and that they were taking their place again on the stage of the world. They were all the more proud of this fact since they had only to look back a few years and they would soon realise what tremendous way they had recovered. It was one of the hopes of capitalism during the war to have drowned in the stream of blood the very idea of working-class solidarity. But to-day they stood reunited and if there was scorn in their hearts it was directed against their common enemy—capitalism, whom they held responsible for all the sufferings of mankind.

They were accused already of being dragged hither and thither by dissenting views, of looking partly to Geneva and partly towards Moscow. To this he would reply: International Socialism had no impetus to receive, but to give. It was impressing its mark upon events; but it was like one of those huge rivers flowing through great lakes without mixing their waters, but carrying with them part of the lake's own flood in their invincible course towards the sea.

They were now on the point of parting, but when they separated and the delegates would take their trains to carry them back into the various countries of the world, they should take with them the fraternal farewell and the smile of Socialist France, hoping for the day when they would all be united under the victorious red flag. (Applause. Delegates rising, sing the International.)

The Congress then terminated.

CHAPTER II.

DELEGATES AND COMMISSIONS.

I. LIST OF DELEGATES.

America (U.S.).

Delegates : V. L. Berger, A. Cahan, Th. M. Duncan, M. Hillquit, J. Panken, G. Roewer.

Fraternal Delegates : Vera Hillquit, Mrs. Malkiel, J. W. Padway, Ellen Persons, A. Shutkan.

Argentine.

Delegate : E. Etchegoin.

Armenia.

Delegates : L. Chant, V. Chouchanian, J. Haroutioun, A. Isahakian, Ch. Missakian, Petros, R. Ter-Minassian, S. Wratzian.

Austria : German S.P.

Delegates : O. Bauer, Marie Bock, Anna Boschek, R. Danneberg, J. Deutsch, F. Domes, M. Eldersch, W. Ellenbogen, Mathilde Eisler, Emmy Freundlich, M. Frithwirt, J. Hannak, J. Janacek, F. Jordan, L. Lesser, Cäcilie Lippa, H. Löwy, K. Mühlberger, A. Offenböck, Adelheid Popp, J. Pölzer, Gabriele Proft, Julie Rauscha, K. Renner, P. Richter, M. Robinson, J. Schorsch, A. Sever, F. Skarek, J. Smejkal, J. Witternigg.

Fraternal Delegates : Helene Bauer, Martha Hannak, A. Heinz, Louise Kautsky, E. Maurer, Louise Renner, Ida Sever, Anna Witternigg.

Czech S.P.

Delegates : J. Dolezal, A. Machat, A. Wawrousek.

Belgium :

Delegates : Marietta Adam, L. De Brouckère, J. Colle, Dejardin, Mrs. Dejardin, Egghem, Eckelers, van Eyken, van Eyndonck, Ernest, Fesler, Hannick, C. Huysmans, Janniaux, Lauwers, Leeuw, Lemaitre, Lombard, Mahlman, C. Mertens, Alice Pels, Pépin, Pépard, Plumet, J. van Koosbroeck, Saintes, Ségier, Serwy, Somers, Mrs. Spaak, Tijdgat, Toch, Trochet, E. Vandervelde, Vergeylen, Volckaert, Willemart.

Bulgaria :

Delegates : Rounewsky, J. Sakasoff.
Fraternal Delegate : Blaskoff.

Czechoslovakia : Czech S.P.

Delegates : R. Baunmel, St. Becvarovsky, W. Brodecky, I. Dérer, G. Habrman, A. Hromadka, V. Johannis, Betti Karpisek, J. Marek, F. Modraczek, J. Novak, F. Soukup, H. Spanyol, F. Stanek, J. Štávin, B. Šverák, A. Winter, G. Winter.

German S.P.

Delegates : L. Czech, O. Hillebrand, F. Kaufmann, E. Paul, A. Schäfer.
Fraternal Delegates : Lilly Czech, Marie Kaufmann, J. Kühnel, Gisela Paul, Julie Roll.

Polish S.P.

Delegates : A. Stefek, V. Sembol.

Hungarian S.P.

Delegate : A. Bauer.

Denmark.

Delegates : Alsing Andersen, Fr. Andersen, I. I. Bjerring, P. Christensen, Viggo Christensen, E. Carlsen, F. Dalgaard, H. P. Hansen, J. H. Hansen, M. Hoerdum, H. Jacobsen, C. F. Madsen, Axel Olsen, W. Rasmussen, W. Walther.

Estonia.

Delegate : J. Vain.

Finland.

Delegates : I. W. Keto, J. Helo, R. Syntorjetsky, K. H. Wilk.

France.

Delegates : L. Blum, L. Bon, Bouret, A. Bracke, Cabannes, Chaillé, Compère-Morel, Eyraud, Paul Faure, Fontanille, Foulleiron, Grandvallet, S. Grunmbach, Kahn, Lamarque, Marthe Lévy, J. Longuet, Marguet, Mount, Osmin, Poisson, Renaudel, Sahuc, Louise Saumonneau, Sévéric, Signoret, Théobretin, Waltz, Zyromski.

Georgia.

Delegates : R. Arsenidze, D. Charachidze, N. Jordania, N. Ramichvili, N. Tschidze, I. Tsereteli.
Fraternal Delegates : Aiollo, Pirzhalava, Tiznadze.

Germany.

Delegates : A. Arzt, E. Auer, H. Becker, F. Bender, A. Bergholz, K. Beechel, R. Breitscheid, H. Cohn, A. Crispin, R. Dissenmann, W. Dittmann, M. Felgentraube, G. Feil, P. Gerlach, A. Henke, C. Hermann, Paul Hertz, R. Hilferding, O. Hünlich, Marie Juchacz, W. Keil, F. Klupsch, W. Kröger, W. Krüger, F. Künstler, J. Lau, M. Leutert, R. Lipinski, P. Loebe, C. Ludwig, K. Miss, J. Moses, Anna Nemitz, G. Reinbold, Johanna Reitze, P. Röhl, P. Scheidemann, M. Schinabeck, K. Schreck, G. Schumann, H. Schulz, Tony Sender, M. Seydewitz, W. Solmann, E. Stahl, J. Stelling, F. Ullrich, W. Verdieck, H. Vogel, F. W. Wagner, W. Weber, O. Wels.
Fraternal Delegates : Marie Arning, Elise Bartels, I. Birnbam, Clara Bohm-Schuch, E. Fischer, A. Faust, O. Haese, W. Hofmann, P. Junke, B. Kuhn, Paul Levi, Anna Matschke, Kurt Rosenfeld, Adele Schreiber, G. Simon, J. Simon, M. Simon, Anna Stegler, Mathilde Wurm, Antonie Wohlgemuth, Anna Ziegler.

Great Britain : Labour Party.

Delegates : Mrs. F. H. Bell, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Miss M. Carlin, C. T. Cramp, R. J. Davies, Mrs. A. Dollan, W. Gillies, A. Henderson, W. Lawther, Dr. Marion Phillips, F. O. Roberts, Tom Shaw, F. B. Varley, R. Williams.

Fraternal Delegates : Mrs. Bell-Richards, Tom Myers.

I.L.P.

Delegates : Clifford Allen, W. Ayles, Margaret Bondfield, A. Fenner Brockway, C. R. Buxton, P. J. Dollan, F. W. Jowett, Ben Riley.

Fraternal Delegate : Dorothy Jewson.

Greece.

Delegates : J. Joannidis, D. Stratis, N. Yannisos.
Fraternal Delegate : Minerva Yannisos.

Holland.

Delegates : J. W. Albarda, J. E. W. Druys, Suse Groeneweg, A. B. Kleerekoper, J. H. Schaper, W. H. Vliegen, C. Werkhoven, F. M. Wibaut, Mrs. Wibaut.

Fraternal Delegate : Mrs. Vliegen.

Hungary : Social Democratic Party.

Delegates : J. Büchler, E. Breszowsky, E. Györky, Anna Kéthly, J. Peidl, K. Peyer.

Fraternal Delegate : Serene Buchinger.

Emigrants' Group : "Világosság"

Delegates : W. Böhm, A. Garbai, S. Kunfi.

Italy.

Delegates : G. Canepa, S. Barro, L. Basso, Frontini, N. Levi, E. a Frato, C. Treves, F. Turati.

Yugo-Slavia.

Delegate : Z. Topalovic.
Fraternal Delegate : Milica Topalovic.

Latvia.

Delegate : Paul Kalnin.
Fraternal Delegate : Klara Kalnin.

Lithuania.

Delegates : K. Bielinis, V. Bielskis, Mrs. L. Purenienė.

Luxemburg.

Delegate: H. Clément.

Norway.

Delegates: K. Fostervoll, M. J. Halvorsen, O. Just, A. Magnussen.

Palestine.

Delegates: Ben-Zevie, M. Jarblum, P. Sokal.

Poland: P.S.P.

Delegates: Mrs. Budzinska, C. Czapiński, H. Diamand, T. Holowko, Holzgreber, Dora Kluszyńska, M. Niedziałkowski, S. Posner, A. Prager, Sophie Prauss, J. Stanczyk, A. Szczekowski, B. Ziemiński, S. Zulawski.

Independent S.P.

Delegates: B. Drobner, J. Kruk, Z. Mierzynski.

German S.P.

Delegate: S. Glücksman.

Portugal.

Delegate: H. Ribeiro.

Roumania.

Delegates: J. Flueraş, I. Moscovici, J. Pistiner, S. Voinea.

Russia: Social Democratic Labour Party.

Delegates: R. Abramowitsch, D. Dahn, Th. Dan, A. Dubois, P. Garvy, Gornov, A. Jugow, B. Nikolajewski, O. Rosenfeld.

Fraternal Delegates: M. Berenstein, Lydia Dan, Mrs. Domanijska, M. Mandelstam, Mrs. Plechanow, B. Skomorowsky, M. Zborovsky.

Socialist Revolutionaries.

Delegates: I. Brouchevid, J. Lazareff, O. Minor, L. Rossel, G. Schneider, M. Slonim, E. Stalinsky, V. Suchomlin, V. Tschernoff.

Spain.

Delegates: J. Besteiro, F. Largo-Caballero, F. de los Rios, A. Sabotit.

Sweden.

Delegates: H. Akerberg, A. Akesson, S. Backlund, P. Bergman, A. Engberg, P. A. Hansson, K. Hovberg, J. O. Johansson, Th. Karlsson, Lindberg, Ch. Lindley, R. Lindstroem, J. A. Lundgren, G. Moeller, A. Oestlund, J. P. Persson, E. Rosen, O. Thorsing, A. Vingt, E. Wallin, E. Wigforss.

Ukraine.

Delegates: O. Bezpalko, H. Boczkovsky, B. Matjuschenko, Maria Matjuschenka, I. Mazepa.

International Federation of Trade Unions

J. Oudegeest.

International of Socialist Youth.

P. Voogd.

International Committee of Socialist Women.

Adelheid Popp.

Socialist Educational International.

Max Winter.

International Labour Office.

J. De Roode.

2. COMMISSIONS AND CONFERENCES.

COMMISSION ON POINT (1) OF THE AGENDA:

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIALIST PEACE POLICY.

Chairman: F. M. Wibaut (Holland).

Members:

America: M. Hillquit, V. L. Berger. Argentina: E. Etchegoin. Armenia: L. Chant, C. Missakian. Austria: German S.P.: O. Bauer, K. Renner; Czech S.P.: A. Machat. Belgium: L. De Bronckere, C. Huysmans, L. Pétard, Bulgária: J. Sakasoff. Czechoslovakia: Czech S.P.: J. Stivin; German S.P.: L. Czech. Denmark: Fr. Andersen, A. Andersen. Finland: J. W. Keto. France: L. Blum, P. Renandel, J. Zyromski. Germany: R. Breitscheid, P. Scheidemann, W. Solttmann. Great Britain: A. Henderson, C. R. Buxton, A. Fenner Brockway. Holland: J. W. Albarde, F. M. Wibaut. Hungary: J. Petli. Italy: F. Turati, C. Treves.

Latvia: Paul Kalnin. Norway: Arne Magnussen. Palestine: P. Sokal. Poland: P.S.P.: H. Diamand, M. Niedzialkowski. Roumania: S. Voinea. Russia: S.P.: Th. Dan, (P. Garvy); S.R.: V. Suchomlin. Spain: J. Besteiro. Sweden: A. Engberg, P. A. Hansson. Ukraine: O. Bezpalko. Poland, Independent S.P.: Engberg, German S.P.—Jugo-Slavia: B. Drobner. Greece—Világosság—Czechoslovakia, Hungarian S.P.: N. Yantos. Estonia—Lithuania: V. Bielskis.

COMMISSION ON POINT (2) OF THE AGENDA.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE OF THE WORKERS.

Chairman: L. De Bronckere (Belgium).

Members:

America: G. E. Roewer, J. Ranken. Argentina: E. Etchegoin. Armenia: V. Chouchanian. Austria: German S.P.: F. Domes, P. Richter; Czech S.P.: J. Doleral. Belgium: Troolet, Hannick. Bulgaria: I. Rounewski. Czechoslovakia: Czech S.P.: I. Dérer, German S.P.: O. Hillebrand. Denmark: L. A. Hansen, Axel Olsen. Finland: K. H. Wiik. France: Cabanes, Challe, Osmi. Germany: R. Dissmann, F. Ulrich, J. Moses. Great Britain: F. B. Varley, F. O. Roberts, P. J. Dollan. Holland: J. F. W. Duys, Mrs. Wibaut. Hungary: K. Rober, N. Levi. Latvia: Klara Kalnin. Norway: M. J. Halvorsen. Peyer. Italy: N. Levi. Latvia: Klara Kalnin. Poland: P.S.P.: B. Ziemiński, J. Stanczyk. Roumania: Palestine: Ben-Zevi. Poland: S.P.: A. Jugow; S.R.: I. Rossel. Spain: A. Sabotit. J. Flueraş. Russia: S.P.: A. Jugow; S.R.: I. Rossel. Sweden: A. Sabotit. Sweden: E. Wigforss, Ch. Lindley. Ukraine: B. Matjuschenko. Poland, Independent S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Jugo-Slavia: Z. Topalovic. Greece—Világosság—Czechoslovakia, Hungarian S.P.: A. Bauer. Estonia—Lithuania: J. Vain.

COMMISSION ON POINT (3) OF THE AGENDA:

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION AND THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Chairman: Tom Shaw (Great Britain).

Members:

Austria: German S.P.: J. Schorsch, M. Frühwitt; Czech S.P.: A. Wawrousek. Belgium: C. Mertens, Delardin, (L. Pétard). Bulgaria: I. Rounewski. Czechoslovakia: Czech S.P.: G. Habrman; German S.P.: F. Kaufmann. Denmark: Carl F. Madsen, H. Jacobsen. Finland: K. H. Wiik. France: Thénard. Brethn, Evard. Germany: F. Bender, H. Becker, Tony Sender. Great Britain: Tom Shaw, R. J. Davies, W. Ayles. Holland: Suse Groeneweg, J. H. Schaper. Hungary: Anna Kéthly. Italy: G. Canepa. Latvia: Paul Kalnin. Palestine: Ben-Zevi. Poland: P.S.P.: S. Zaleski, Sophie Prauss. Roumania: I. Moscovici. Russia: S.P.: A. Dubois; S.R.: G. Schneider. Spain: F. Largo-Caballero. Sweden: J. O. Johansson, H. Akerberg. Ukraine: H. Boczkovsky. Poland, Independent S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Jugo-Slavia: S. Glücksman. Greece—Világosság—Czechoslovakia, Hungarian S.P.: N. Yantos. Estonia—Lithuania: K. Bielskis.

COMMISSION ON POINT (4) OF THE AGENDA:

REPORT AND PROPOSALS OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Chairman: Marie Juchacz (Germany).

Members:

Austria: German S.P.: Emmy Freundlich, Gabriele Proft. Belgium: Marietta Adam, Mrs. Delardin (J. van Roosbroeck). Bulgaria: I. Rounewski. Czechoslovakia: Czech S.P.: Betty Karpisk; German S.P.: Lily Czech. Denmark: I. I. Biering, E. Carlsen. Finland: R. Sventozerski. France: Louise Saunnonneau, Marthe Lévy. Germany: Marie Juchacz, W. Dittmann, Anna Nemitz. Great Britain: Mrs. Bell, Agnes Dollan, Dorothy Jewson. Holland: Suse Groeneweg, Mrs. Wibaut. Hungary: Anna Budzinska, Klara Kalnin. Poland: P.S.P.: Tylicka Budzinska, S.R.: E. Lazareff. Spain: I. Moscovici. Russia: S.P.: Mrs. O. Domanijski; S.R.: E. Lazareff. Sweden: F. Largo-Caballero. Sweden: E. Rosen, E. Wallin. Ukraine: Maria Matjuschenka. Poland, Independent S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Jugo-Slavia: Milica Topalovic. Greece—Világosság—Czechoslovakia, Hungarian S.P.: Minerva Yantos. Estonia—Lithuania: Mrs. L. Pirentine.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Chairman: Paul Loebe (Germany).

Present:

PRESS CONFERENCE

Chairman: Friedrich Adler (Secretary).

Present :

COMMISSION FOR

Chairman: Friedrich Adler (Secretary).

America: A. Cahen, J. Tanken. *Armenia*: R. Ter-Minassian, S. Wratzian. *Australia*: German S.P.: O. Bauer, W. Ellenbogen. *Belgium*: Servery, Volckaert, (Leuven). *Bulgaria*: J. Saksaoff. *Czech-Slovakia*: Czech S.P.: F. Soukup; German S.P.: L. Czech. O. Hillebrand, A. Schäfer. *Denmark*: H. P. Hansen, W. Rasmussen. *Finland*: R. Sventorzeitski, K. H. Wilk, J. Heio. *France*: J. Longuet, Kahn, Fontanier. *Georgia*: I. Tsereteli, N. Jordania, N. Tschidze. *Germany*: O. Weis, H. Schulz, A. Henke. *Great Britain*: C. R. Buxton, Margaret Bondfield, C. T. Cramp. *Holland*: C. Werkhoven, A. B. Kleerlooper. *Hungary*: J. Buecher. *Latvia*: Paul Kalim, Klara Kalim. *Norway*: O. Just. *Poland*: P. S.P.: M. Niedzialkowski, C. Czapsinski. *Pakistan*: M. Jarblum. *Poland*: P. S.P.: I. Moscovici, S. Voinea. *Russia*: I. Th. Holowko. *Roumania*: C. Pishner, I. M. Niedzialkowski, C. Czapsinski. *R. Abrahamowitsch*, Th. Dan, P. Gavry; S.R.: V. Tschernoff, V. Stuchomil, E. Stalinsky (M. Slonim). *Spain*: F. de los Rios. *Sweden*: O. Thorsting, J. P. Persson. *Ukraine*: O. Bezpalak, I. Mazepa, E. Matjuschenko. *Poland*: Indepbmann. *Greece*: Vilagossg. *Czechoslovakia*: Hungaricum S.P.: S. Krufn, S. Glucks-A. Bauer. *Esthonia-Lithuania*: K. Bielskis, V. Bielskis, J. Van, (Mrs. L. Purenene).

Chairman: Compere-Morel (France).

The Conference which met on August 23rd and 26th, was attended by numerous delegates of all parties.

PRESS CONFERENCE

Chairman: Friedrich Adler (Secretary).

Present:

3. CONGRESS-SECRETARIAT, INTERPRETERS, &c

Congress-Secretariat:

Dr. Friedrich Adler, Dr. Oskar Pollak, Mrs. Marianne Pollak, Mrs. Edith Kemmis, and several assistants.

Local Committee:

Léon Bon, and several assistants

Interpreters:

In Plenary Meetings: Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid, S. Grunbach, Louis Pétard, Dr. Oskar Pollak, Dr. A. Veleman.

On Commissions and Conferences: In addition to the above-named: Mrs. Emmy Freundlich, Dr. Aline Furtmüller, Dr. Carl Furtmüller, Berstford Kemmis, Paul Lazarfeld, Miss Alice Pels, Joseph Saxe, Miss Tony Sender, Marc Sommerhausen, Mrs. Mathilde Wurm.

Report and Publicity:

One title necessary.
In English: W. W. Henderson, J. Macintosh, Miss Marguerite Louis; In French
H. Rouby, Mlle. Dusson; In German: Dr. S. Marmorek, Dr. F. Brügel
Mrs. Eugénie Brandl, Miss Käthe Aschkenes.

CHAPTER III. RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLUTIONS ON POINT (1) OF THE AGENDA:

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIALIST PEACE POLICY.

I.

CAPITALISM AND WAR.

The Congress of the Labour and Socialist International declares again that the competitive economic system is a standing source of conflicts between the capitalist groups of the various nations for raw materials and markets, for the exploitation of the working masses, the accumulation of capital and financial domination.

This system is and remains a fundamental cause of the danger of war.

In pursuing at one time a policy of narrow protectionism and national egoism, and at another an aggressive free trade policy which takes at times the form of dumping, the rival capitalist groups bring about a "Balkanisation" of the world, characterised by unemployment, high cost of living, monetary instability, and economic and financial crisis.

Production, consumption and exchange are exposed to all the disorder and danger of competition, and the working class has to bear the brunt of the resulting misery.

Socialism alone is fully capable of putting an end to this state of things.

Socialism aims at co-ordinating the distribution of raw materials, at abolishing class antagonism by preventing the exploitation of man by man, at organising production on the basis of need instead of profit, at substituting everywhere in the economic sphere collective organisation for the chaotic struggle in which the stronger absorbs or crushes the weaker.

It would harmonise, instead of opposing to one another, the general and legitimate interests of the nations.

Thus Socialism is the great force tending towards the final pacification of the world, and the political victory of the working classes in all or at least the principal countries will be the best guarantee of lasting world peace.

II.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The working class is fighting for the lofty ideal which would combine the triumph of labour with the sovereign power of democracy and the security of nations.

The working class is already so strong as to be able to exercise on the Governments enough pressure to lead the world towards peace.

The workers realise that the causes of the danger of war are aggravated by certain stipulations of the Peace Treaties in which national problems are badly or imperfectly solved, and especially by certain other stipulations in which the lot of national minorities has not been equitably settled.

They also realise that the Covenant of the League of Nations itself does not fully provide for the necessary limitation of the sovereignty of States as demanded by the solidarity of modern peoples, that it has not unreservedly taken from the Governments the right of declaring war, and that concerted action against the aggressor is still insufficiently organised.

The workers adhering to the I.S.I. have given their approval to the foundation of the League of Nations, but they declare that it will not fully accomplish its task unless it includes all the peoples, admitted with equal rights and obligations, unless it fully recognises the necessity of the peace programme outlined above, and unless the international organisation is based on a sound economic foundation.

The workers therefore demand that the League of Nations be made all-inclusive and democratic, and that the machinery for the revision of the Peace Treaties under Article 19 of the Covenant should be elaborated and made effective.

They demand that side by side with the International Labour Office, the existing economic organs of the League be transformed into a real International Economic Council, with the active participation of trade union and co-operative Labour organisations.

It should be the duty of this Council to deal with monetary policy, with the problems of production and consumption, with the supervision of international means of communication, with assuring to each nation an equitable share of the common stock of raw materials and produce, with combating protectionism and economic nationalism, and with unifying or harmonising the legislation of the various countries on these subjects.

All disputes without exception, including all disputes concerning the interpretation or observance of the Treaties of Peace, must be referred to impartial arbitration.

The workers further demand that any state which resorts to war after refusing to submit to arbitration or arbitral award, no matter under what pretext or circumstances, should be considered an aggressor, an enemy of its own people and of mankind; and that in no case should hostile action be allowed, except in case of resistance to acts of aggression, or when such action is taken in agreement with the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Congress draws attention to the aggravation of unemployment by the many still unsolved problems associated with the mistaken policy of undefined payments of reparations, and the refusal to cancel inter-Allied debts; and recommends that action should be taken to secure a solution of these problems which would be in harmony with International Socialism.

Finally, they demand that the education of the children shall be permeated with the spirit of peace, and shall lay a sure foundation for moral disarmament and the disappearance of hatred.

It is by means of untiring perseverance in the class struggle that the workers will pursue and attain these objects. Each political victory gained, each increase in their organised strength, will necessarily find expression in greater and more effective influence upon the work and achievements of the League of Nations.

The workers would establish peace on a basis of arbitration and of general, complete and universal disarmament, effected within the framework of the League of Nations.

It is for this reason that the Labour and Socialist International demands that the League of Nations should organise a Conference to devise substantial measures which should eventually lead to complete and universal disarmament.

III.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND SPECIAL PACTS.

It is in the light of these considerations and in the spirit of these principles that International Socialism calls upon the workers to conduct their daily propaganda, and to act in their Parliaments in approaching the problems arising from time to time.

Already the National sections of the International have played an important part by arriving at common agreements with regard to reparations, which have subsequently been adopted in part by the Governments.

They must continue their efforts in this direction, and the International counts on the activity of its American sections, in conjunction with its European sections, to work out Socialist solutions on the subject of international debts.

In connection with the problem of security, the International rejoices to note that some of its sections, such as those of Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden, have either secured, or made proposals for, total disarmament or a sweeping reduction of armaments. It rejoices also at the efforts that have been made by some other sections to give to the Covenant of the League of Nations effectiveness, strength and life. It is in this sense that it has supported every step to induce the Governments to accept the Geneva Protocol. The latter is in its opinion nothing but the

practical application of the Covenant itself. It is the most definite step taken in the direction of disarmament.

The International Socialist Congress in this respect ratifies the declarations adopted by its British, German, Belgian and French sections at the conferences held in London and Brussels. It notes that

"the present difficulties between the Powers could have been avoided if all the Governments concerned had adhered to the proposed Protocol drawn up last September in Geneva,"

and it urges the Governments of Great Britain and of the British Dominions to accept the Protocol without delay.

The Congress affirms that if at the present time the diplomatic action of the nations proposes to resort to special Pacts of Security and guarantee, the responsibility rests on those who would refuse to seek in the League of Nations the application of a general Pact, extending to all peoples with equal rights and duties.

Such Pacts are defective because they do not contain provisions for disarmament. They must not contain any secret clauses. They must provide for a system of Mutual Guarantee having a general character, controlled and supervised by the League of Nations within the framework of its Covenant; a system which will never lend itself to being turned against any other Power or group of Powers, and which consequently will not lead to a possible revival of a false balance of power; a system which will not permit any Power automatically to apply sanctions. These must only be applied under conditions provided for by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Special Pacts should not be used to hinder measures of arbitration or any measure of disarmament established under the control of the League of Nations.

The limited Pact suggested in the exchange of Notes between Germany and certain other Powers is not yet before us in its final form. We do not, therefore, know its scope, or its exact meaning. When its final form is known, it should be carefully examined by the Parties in the countries concerned, in joint conference with the Executive of the International.

The International Socialist Congress further ratifies the declaration of the conference of its sections held in Brussels,

"that even yet it is possible to eliminate the present difficulties by the simple application of the Covenant of the League of Nations, on the sole condition that Germany enter the League with rights and duties equal to those of other nations, seeing that the Covenant itself in effect provides, except in the case of recourse to war regulated by Article 16, that it is not within the province of any Power to decide for itself whether there has been a violation of treaties equivalent to an act of force, and that the treaties or arbitration or guarantee could not confer on any of them greater rights or stricter obligations than those contained in the Covenant itself."

And further:

"that the apprehensions manifested by public opinion in Germany and Russia about the manner of the application of Article 16 of the Covenant, in the event of conflicts to which Russia might be a party, would lose a great deal of their justification if Russia herself would join the League of Nations."

The I.S.I. therefore calls on all affiliated workers to bring pressure to bear upon the Governments of Germany and Russia, which are most directly concerned to secure their admission to the League of Nations, and at the same time it calls upon the workers of other countries who already belong to the League to fight for the Geneva Protocol, and to scrutinise carefully the Pacts of Security which will be submitted for the approval of the Parliaments.

IV.

THE ACTION OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

In the Parliaments and in public propaganda the representatives of the International, while urging the insufficiency of partial Pacts, will denounce the blind egoism of the reactionary Parties and of the Governments which, by suppressing the liberty of peoples, deny them the right of organising themselves for peace, the liberty of warlike revenge or brutal reaction, these Governments paralyse the dreaming of warlike revenge or brutal reaction, these Governments paralyse the real development of peace.

These representatives will also resolutely maintain the conception of the International in opposition to the conception of Bolshevism, which substitutes a dream of blind destruction for the constructive purposes of Socialism. This would only delay the hour when the working class, master of its own destiny, will be able to realise in prosperity and liberty its complete emancipation.

To secure the success of the policy outlined above, the Executive Committee of the I.S.I. is instructed to continue the efforts it has hitherto made, and to encourage contact both between the sections chiefly concerned, and between itself and the I.F.T.U. Whenever any important event in international life takes place, with a bearing on the peace question, it should meet together to decide the course of conduct to be followed, and to lay down for Socialists the lines on which their concerted action can best influence the organisation of peace.

THE DANGERS OF WAR IN THE EAST.

At the moment when the international situation in Western Europe begins to become more peaceful under the steady pressure of the working class, in Eastern Europe the position is fraught with the worst dangers, and demands the most earnest attention of the I.S.I.

Since the fall of the British Labour Government the opposition between the Capitalist Imperialist Powers, especially the British Empire, on the one hand, and the Union of Soviet Republics on the other, has become dangerously intensified.

Within the Capitalist Imperialist States those forces are growing which, in alarm at the nationalist revolutionary movements in China, India, and the Mohammedan countries, are urging on the policy of hostile attacks upon the Union of Soviet Republics.

The Communist International propagates the illusion that the emancipation of the workers can be won at the point of the bayonet by the victorious Red armies, and that a new world war may be necessary in order to bring about the world revolution. It encourages revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa, hoping with their support to deal a death blow at capitalism by war.

From these opposing tendencies arises the danger of another world war.

The States bordering Soviet Russia between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and the Balkan States, are exposed by this danger to a serious menace. The setting up of these new States of peoples freed from the yoke of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns, signifies a real victory for democracy. But this victory is diminished, as the frontiers of some of these States have been defined under the influence of imperialist Powers according to their own interests, and in many cases the right of self-determination of the peoples and the rights of national minorities have been disregarded. The constant unrest which exists in Eastern Europe, in consequence of this and in consequence of political reaction in some of these new States, is augmented by two facts. On the one hand these States are liable to *coups d'etat* which are organised under the Communist International as a pretext for inflicting on them the fate of Georgia and Armenia. On the other hand, these States may be exploited by the Capitalist Imperialist Powers as their tool against Soviet Russia. These circumstances are all the more threatening as every conflict in the East may set the whole world ablaze.

In view of these dangers the Congress declares:—

1. The Labour and Socialist International stands for the right of newly-formed States to a free and independent existence. It declares once again and with the greatest emphasis that it is the duty of all Labour and Socialist Parties, especially of the Parties of the great Powers and of the States bordering Soviet Russia, to resist any aggressive policy directed against Soviet Russia, and to help forward the restoration of peaceful political relations and normal economic intercourse with Soviet Russia.

This Congress welcomes the improvement which has taken place in the international status of the Soviet Union since the last Congress in Hamburg, due largely to the action of the I.S.I. The *de jure* recognition of the Republic by Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Austria, France, Japan and many other nations, has ended the diplomatic boycott which the Capitalist Powers attempted to impose.

This gives the right to the I.S.I. to call upon the Russian people to strive towards full political and industrial freedom, and to oppose every policy of aggression and annexation on the part of its own Government, and all propaganda which has as its aim interference by force in the internal affairs of other countries.

The I.S.I. realises that the danger of war would be considerably diminished if any decision in Soviet Russia as to peace in Europe were in the hands, not of the dictatorship, but of the peoples themselves. Therefore, the International supports the utmost emphasis the endeavours of the Socialist Parties in Soviet Russia towards the democratisation of the regime in the Soviet Union and the establishment of political liberty.

2. The I.S.I. hails the awakening of the great working masses of the Chinese, Indian and Mohammedan world. The I.S.I. is aware that another world war can only be averted if European and American democracy itself recognises unreservedly,

and realises in the teeth of European and American imperialism, the right of self-determination of all peoples. Consequently the L.S.I. urges upon all Socialist Parties to wage a continuous and energetic fight for the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations of Asia and Africa.

It expresses its entire solidarity with the Chinese workers, and as regards China especially, demands the abolition of external control and of the system of extra-territorial rights and the immediate introduction of modern industrial legislation for the protection of the exploited Chinese workers.

3. The L.S.I. demands the right of self-determination for the nations subjected to foreign rule by Peace treaties since 1918 and the decisions of the Conferences of Ambassadors, as well as for the nations of the Soviet Union who have obtained their independence as States during the Revolution, such as Armenia, Georgia, the Ukraine and others.

The L.S.I. urges all affiliated Parties to defend energetically the rights of national minorities and to demand autonomy for the national minorities on compact territories, whilst asking for equal rights and freedom in the use of their language. The International asserts that lasting peace can only be assured if the system of international law—in the spirit of Article 19 of the Covenant—is systematically developed towards making possible a revision of the system and the frontiers of States on the lines of self-determination of nationalities by the peaceful method of arbitration and plebiscite, so that the oppressed peoples will not be driven to hope for their liberation through new wars. The International asserts however, that the application of this principle to the East of Europe is dependent upon and necessitates the entry of Russia into the League of Nations.

4. The L.S.I. views with horror the deeds of violence and terror in various countries, especially in Bulgaria, and appeals to all Socialists strenuously to oppose all deeds of violence and to demand the abolition of all terrorism.

THE WAR IN MOROCCO.

The Congress protests vehemently against the military operations now taking place in Morocco, and resulting in fresh bloodshed, and adopts as its own the decision which the Parties of England, Spain and France affiliated to the L.S.I. reached on the 28th July, 1925. The Parties in the International demand from the Governments concerned immediate and decisive action for the restoration of peace.

They demand the publication of the peace terms agreed upon between Spain and France. They demand that these terms shall be communicated immediately and directly to the leader of the Rifis, Abd el Krim, and they require from him a clear answer as to the possibility of immediate negotiations and understanding. They are convinced that the best way to secure peace is to put these negotiations unreservedly under the control of international public opinion.

These negotiations must first and foremost take into consideration the following points :—

1. The independence of the Rif territory to be recognised by Spain ;
2. Spain and France to agree upon a new frontier, in order to facilitate indispensable arrangements for the provisioning as well as the economic organisation of the Rif country.

The Congress demands further that military operations shall be suspended immediately peace negotiations begin. It declares that in the event of disagreement over any essential point, Spain, France and Abd el Krim should agree to submit the case in dispute to the arbitration of the League of Nations. It is also desirable that the Peace Treaty as soon as it is signed, should be registered with the League of Nations, which the Rif State shall be free to join should it so desire.

The Congress further declares that it regards the Moroccan question as one which falls within the duties of the League of Nations. In the meantime, until peace is signed, the League of Nations should superintend the observance of international conventions. These concern the free movement of medical missions in the war zone, the application of decisions against certain excesses of warfare in as the use of poison gas, and the humane treatment of prisoners and wounded.

In the future the League of Nations should provide for the application of a regime analogous to that of the international mandates it has already instituted. Bound up with the problems which arise in this connection is that of the internationalisation of the Straits, which alone can harmonise the general interests of the peoples and enable them to avoid dangerous competitive struggles for prestige and economic advantages. The economic system of the world requires, as regards both organised production and the distribution of raw material that in order to counter-

act capitalist greed and its deadly consequences, the League of Nations should concern itself with these economic problems, without whose solution permanent peace is impossible.

THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

The Congress decides :
That the Colonial Question be put on the agenda of the next International Congress.

RESOLUTION ON POINT (2) OF THE AGENDA :

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Since the War the problem of Unemployment has become more acute and has assumed more dangerous aspects.

The tremendous world conflict has thrown out of order the whole mechanism of economic life. A considerable part of the equipment of industry, commerce and transport has been destroyed ; an enormous number of consumers have to a great extent lost their purchasing power ; important markets have been closed ; regions producing food and raw materials are unable to export. All the ordinary channels of world traffic have been profoundly disturbed, and the persistent hostility between nations has aggravated still further a situation rendered critical by so many disturbances, amongst which are the unsolved problems in regard to the Peace Treaties, the inter-Allied debts and reparations, as well as the limitations to the free traffic of commodities resulting from protectionism. Thus political troubles intensify those that prevail in the economic sphere. To the causes of unemployment resulting from the ordinary working of the capitalist regime are added all those which arise out of the greatest catastrophe of modern times, for which capitalism has such a heavy responsibility.

These circumstances make more imperative the duty of the International to pursue with all possible energy its action on behalf of national legislation and international co-operation, the lack of which involves an insecurity of livelihood as unbearable as actual misery, and which hinders to the gravest extent the progress of working-class civilisation.

The Congress draws the particular attention of the affiliated Parties to the following points :—

1. It is essential that laws should compel all Governments to assist the unemployed ; the labour market in each country should be organised through the creation of employment bureaux. The filling of the places of workers looked-out or on strike should be prohibited. Boards for vocational instruction and also for assisting skilled workers to take up an alternative profession should also be created. The system of legal maintenance of unemployed and its organisation must be as far as possible under trade union control.

The Congress is resolutely hostile to capitalists who try to solve the economic crisis by increasing the hours of labour, decreasing wages and exploiting human labour more ruthlessly. Such methods are bad for the economic conditions of the country, and only bring about an intensification of the crisis.

The Congress supports the demands of the trade unions for the prohibition of child labour and for the general institution of the eight-hour day in all countries.

2. Statutory and administrative measures on a national and international scale can to a great extent remedy the evils arising from seasonal unemployment ; for instance, by encouraging in a particular country the starting of compensatory work, so that the period of maximum activity in the one place may synchronise with the slack season in the other. The important experiments which have been carried out, particularly in the clothing and building industries, have proved how far organisation of the market and technical improvements can help to stabilise the course of production and to eliminate dead seasons. The Congress emphasises the danger arising out of repeated exemptions from the laws on the eight-hour day, granted to certain industries on account of their seasonal character. These exceptional provisions often place an actual premium on conservatism in technical matters and on incompetence.

3. The Congress cannot at this moment devote itself to a thorough study of the problem of immigration and emigration. Nevertheless it cannot refrain from recalling here that no serious solution of unemployment problems can be reached if attempts should be made to hinder the necessary emigration of surplus population in poor, impoverished or calamity-stricken countries towards wealthy countries offering good chances of employment. The claim of limited populations to the exclusive possession of extensive and rich districts is irreconcilable with the establishment of the international system towards which all the efforts of our organisation

tend. Moreover, this claim if maintained would lead to a new and dangerous cause of war. The Congress does not mean to assert that the stream of migration should be left to the hazard of individual interests; it holds, on the contrary, that these shiftings of population should be organised on a broad international basis. The agreements which the various States will have to make in this regard, should secure for immigrant labour the same terms and conditions of employment as are obtained by the national workers of the country. The Congress resolves to ask the International Federation of Trade Unions to undertake in common with the I.S.I. a thorough study of the problem, so as to reach concrete and definite lines of action.

4. There have been drafted recently many schemes for alleviating the recurrence of economic crises by instituting far-reaching plans for public works, by a suitable arrangement for orders of railway stock and for orders of other public utilities; by the regulation of the main branches of production; and by the regulation of credit. These endeavours deserve the close attention of the workers' parties. But it is clear that they cannot succeed if they are carried out under the control of capitalist organisations, for which the profits to be made during the boom would always have an attraction which the fear of a slump will not be sufficient to counteract. The new functions devolving on the trusts and the banks under the system in question give new and convincing ground for placing them under effective social control.

The Congress calls the attention of the Executive to the need of putting an embargo upon all goods manufactured under conditions contrary to the provisions of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day. It asks the Executive to study this question together with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to report on the matter to the next Congress.

5. All plans for stabilising the world market would be doomed to certain failure if the instability of currency should persist in so many places. The Congress believes that a return to sound conditions of currency should receive more and more of the attention of the Financial Commission set up by the League of Nations, and that the powers of this Commission should be extended, so as to enable it to give effective help to the countries with a depreciated currency to recover financial stability. The Congress insists that this help must not depend on conditions which would involve the cessation, suspension or relaxation of democratic government, or the establishment of a real dictatorship by the banks.

6. The establishment of a stable and extensive world market is incompatible also with the protectionist system which is now tending to grow so dangerously, and which is endangering both prosperity and peace. Our aim here must be a system of organised exchange.

The Congress demands that the economic regime of colonies, and especially of territories under mandate, shall not be left to the egoism of the home governments, but shall be placed under a really international authority within the control of the League of Nations. Social legislation should be extended to these colonies and territories.

It demands further the establishment of a system capable of extricating the trade in provisions and in the chief raw materials from the grip of monopoly, which to-day is so widely dominant. It demands that a just distribution, at controlled prices, of these essential commodities be ensured by wide international organisations working in collaboration with the governments and under the direction of the League of Nations, and capable of linking up the producers with the consumers, and in particular with the workers' co-operative organisations.

7. The Congress notes that the steps proposed in relief of unemployment which have been mentioned above, all tend to ensure a larger measure of social control over economic activity. It points out that unemployment can only be ultimately overcome when this control is complete, and when the system of production for individual profit has been finally replaced by that of production for the good of the community.

RESOLUTION ON POINT (3) OF THE AGENDA:

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International, sitting in Marseilles in August, 1925, records the demand of the Labour and Socialist Movement for a maximum eight-hour day with a free Saturday afternoon for all workers. The Congress congratulates the Labour and Socialist forces whose efforts have led to the securing of the eight-hour day by legal enactment, and expresses the hope that our comrades will not relax their efforts until by inspection, administration and labour control, the eight-hour day exists in actual fact, and not merely in theory.

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee to approach the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam with a view to securing unceasing international propaganda for the realisation of the maximum eight-hour day, without the permissions of unjustified overtime which have rendered nugatory so many of the laws which have already been passed.

The Congress also realises that some trades are so arduous and unhealthy that eight hours' work is too long, and asks in such cases for the reduction of hours required by ordinary humanitarian considerations, and demands in such trades a substantial reduction below eight hours of work.

The Congress calls the attention of the world to the fact that the Washington Convention on the Hours of Labour has not yet been ratified by many of the principal industrial countries, and asks that the Parliamentary representatives of Parties affiliated to the International will lose no opportunity of constantly pressing the question in every possible way in their respective Parliaments.

The Congress calls attention to the fact that every country which signed the Treaty of Versailles is in honour bound to realise the eight-hour day by legislation, and demands that Governments which have not yet ratified the Washington Convention should do so at once.

The Congress realises how far the Washington Convention falls below the full demands of the workers, and is aware that in particular commercial workers, marine workers and agricultural workers do not come within its scope. Nevertheless, the Congress demands that the part of our demands represented by the Convention should at once receive the force of law in all countries.

The Congress, realising the tremendous importance of the position of Great Britain, Germany and America in this question, asks the Labour and Socialist Movements in those countries specially to show by the most determined efforts that the ratification of the Convention is a vital question in Great Britain, Germany and America.

The Congress asks all its affiliated Parties to insist that every hour the worker is required to be at the disposal of the employers shall be calculated as an hour of work.

The Congress recognises with joy the tremendous steps made by our respective Movements in the shortening of working hours and greets with satisfaction this most valuable of all the industrial improvements secured by the workers.

The Congress whilst recognising the fact that millions of workers have secured more leisure time by the shortening of hours is of the opinion that leisure is not enough, and that opportunities should be given by legal enactment to the workers, so to use these hours as to lead to higher physical, mental and artistic development.

The Congress instructs the Executive to help in every possible way those Movements which are fighting not only for the shorter working day but also for conditions which will make for the fuller and higher development of the workers and their organisations.

RESOLUTION ON POINT (4) OF THE AGENDA:

AIMS AND METHODS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AMONGST WOMEN.

For the accomplishment of Socialism it is necessary that the masses should be roused to assist in the active work of the reorganisation of society, and the masses consist of women as well as of men. It is therefore essential that the Socialist Parties in all countries should do their utmost to assist in the organisation of women within the Labour and Socialist Movement, and in order to accomplish this every Socialist Party should regard the complete emancipation of women as a primary aim of its policy. It is their duty to work for the full political equality of men and women, especially with regard to electoral equality, equality under laws dealing with the family, citizenship and marriage, and equality of rights between legitimate and illegitimate children. They must also demand full freedom for women to enter and administrative, professional and industrial life, together with economic equality with regard to wages, irrespective of their domestic position and whether or not they need to earn a living. As it is necessary that the policy of the Socialist Movement should be based upon the needs of women as well as men, Socialist Movements in all countries should have the right to discuss and formulate for themselves their views of social problems of interest to women.

The development of capitalist society has left women under many social and educational disadvantages, so that from a political and economic point of view their position is weaker than that of men, while the obligation and burdens of motherhood require that they should have special care and protection in industrial life. It is therefore necessary that the Socialist Movement should advocate all such measures

of protection and care as the workers, and especially the women workers, think requisite in order to secure the welfare of mothers and children.

Further, the Congress points out that, as the interests of the great mass of the women are centred upon the welfare of their homes and their children, so their interest in Socialism is mainly concerned with its power to secure them against war and poverty.

The Congress therefore urges that Socialist Parties in all countries shall take action against war wherever it occurs, and shall work out the best policy for combating the high cost of living and for ensuring that the international economic relationship shall be based on Socialist foundations.

In order to get full understanding about the aims and methods of Socialist women in the various countries, an International Advisory Committee of Women should be formed, consisting of women representatives of Socialist Parties, with the special duty of advising the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International, and of assisting to organise International Conferences of Labour and Socialist Women to be called together at the same time as the International Congress. This Committee should be constituted on the same basis of representation as the Executive Committee of the I.S.I., and should meet at least once a year.

The administrative work of the International Organisation of Women shall be conducted by the Secretariat of the I.S.I. in conjunction with the International Women's Committee.

RESOLUTIONS ON POINT (6) OF THE AGENDA THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF TUBERCULOSIS.

The Second Congress of the I.S.I., meeting in Marseilles in August, 1925, urges the Socialist Parties to demand that their Governments should take drastic action against tuberculosis, a disease which works its mischief almost exclusively among the working-class, and whose development has especially been aided in many countries by conditions of under-feeding during and after the war, and by an intensification of bad housing conditions among the workers.

The Congress wishes to emphasise that the problem of the fight against tuberculosis is even more an economic and social problem than a medical problem. If there exist as yet no medical means of curing this scourge there exist means of prevention, and it is in the programme of the Socialist Parties that we should find them clearly laid down: the eight-hour day, healthier factories, protection of the mother and the child, the provision of healthy homes for the workers' families, and a restriction of the consumption of alcohol.

If the social and economic conditions of the working-class produce tuberculosis, it is again in these conditions that we must look for the causes of the greater prevalence of disease and a greater mortality among the working-class as compared with other social classes.

For these reasons the Congress advocates (1) direct action by the workers in defence of their health by a systematic application, as far as possible, of hygienic rules; (2) the establishment of friendly societies for dealing with physical incapacity for work; and (3) political action on behalf of compulsory insurance to which both the State and the employers should contribute.

In this connection the Congress is glad to note the progress of Socialist policy in the matter of preventive measures and insurance especially since the war. It invites the Executive of the International to study the possibility of compiling a summary of the legislation in the various countries concerning the protection of the health of the workers, the share of the workers' organisations in this protection and in the legislation for shielding from destitution those workers unable to work by reason of sickness, invalidity or old age, and also their families in cases of premature decease.

THE FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM.

(REFERRED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.)

The Parties linked together in the Labour and Socialist International see in the regular and systematic fight against alcoholism an indispensable side of the fight for the emancipation of the workers. As the victory against the ruling order of society can only be won by a revolution in thinking, so must the social freedom of mankind be delayed through the use of alcohol, which is continuously dulling the brains of more and more millions of workers. Indeed, as Victor Adler has said, the world will not become rid of alcohol while it is not free, but it will all the sooner and all the more easily become free the more the fight for emancipation is waged by sober and sound minds.

Therefore, this Congress considers it the duty of all the Parties affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International to devote their attention to the workers' abstinence movements in their countries and to support these efforts as far as possible.

The fight must above all be waged through enlightenment of the wide masses of the workers.

One of the most effective methods in this fight is the education of youth in abstinence both in the State schools and in the workers' youth organisations; and teaching as to the mischief of drinking habits must be carried on with zeal and earnestness. But as soon as enlightenment and recruiting have reached a certain level there must also be restriction of the consumption of alcohol through legislation, the efficacy of which has been learned by repeated experiences in democratic States. The choice of methods and the rapidity of the development must be left to the individual Parties, who will have to adjust them to the economic, social and cultural circumstances of their country.

The Congress sees in the smuggling of alcohol on a large scale into the prohibited countries one of the methods of profit-seeking capital for serving its own interests without regard to the general welfare. It opposes, therefore, both these methods of capital in the alcohol trade, and also the attempts of the States exporting alcohol, instigated by their capitalists, to force other States in the commercial treaties concluded, by means of blackmail, to limit their legislation against alcohol.

The Congress records its conviction that a limitation of drinking would considerably contribute towards improving the physical and mental fitness of the workers for their fight. In their struggle against alcoholism the Socialist Parties are serving at once the interests of culture and those of the rising and conquering working class.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

The Conference on Agricultural Policy, held under the auspices of the Labour and Socialist International at the International Congress in Marseilles, considering that it is necessary to carry on a systematic, co-ordinated and general propaganda amongst the landworkers, instructs its Chairman, Comrade Compe-Morel, to request on its behalf the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International to place the land question on the agenda of one of the next Congresses of the I.S.I.

Meanwhile, the Executive shall submit to the International a summary of information concerning agricultural legislation, the position as regards property and the conditions of life of the land-working population in the various countries.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST EDUCATION.

The Conference on Socialist Education called under the auspices of the Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International at Marseilles declares it to be indispensable for the progress and the final victory of the working class that special organisations should be formed—where these do not already exist—with the object of exerting influence on the education of children in the spirit of the socialist view of life and of transforming education in accordance with the interests of the working class; this work among the children of the working class should be started as quickly as possible, especially the exchange of European children, which is an important means of bringing them together and through them, the nations.

The Conference considers that for the existence of these organisations, which will certainly be composed not of children but of adults, large funds are necessary. The expenses involved cannot in full be met by the members of the organisations. In view of the fact that these organisations will be of assistance not only to the parents linked together within them, but also that they will provide valuable preparatory work for the development of adult organisations, the Conference declares it advisable that in order to raise the necessary means an educational tax (children's pence) should be levied, which, if at first on a moderate scale, would have to be paid by every member of the trade union, political or educational organisations affiliated to the Socialist Labour Movement for the children of their class.

DECISIONS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

The Conference heard reports from the representatives of numerous countries on the position of the Socialist Press and the News Services in the individual countries. It decided, in order to continue the exchange of mutual information, to set up a Sub-Committee, which was deputed first of all to work out a questionnaire, which should be circulated to the Press of all affiliated Parties, and which should serve as the basis of a further inquiry.

The Sub-Committee consists of:—Robert Williams (Chairman) and Hamilton Hyde (*General Secretary*), W. Solmann and A. Faust (*Germany*), J. Braunthal (*Austria*), W. Beckers (*Belgium*), E. a Prado (*Italy*), A. Vought (*Scandinavia*), Adler (*Secretary*).

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

CARRIED IN HAMBURG, MAY 23RD, 1923.

REVISED IN MARSEILLES ON AUGUST 27TH, 1925.

(4.) THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

(1) The Labour and Socialist International (L.S.I.) is a union of such parties as accept the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination, and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth as their object, and the class struggle which finds its expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organisations as a means of realising that object.

(2) The object of the L.S.I. is to unify the activities of the affiliated parties, to arrange common action, and to bring about the entire unification of the International Labour and Socialist movement on the basis of this Constitution.

The parties associated in the L.S.I. undertake not to affiliate to any other political international.

(3) The Labour and Socialist International can only become a reality if its decisions in all international questions are binding on its affiliated bodies. The resolutions of the International will therefore imply a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the affiliated organisations.

(4) The L.S.I. is not only an effective instrument in peace, but just as absolutely essential during war.

In conflicts between nations the International shall be recognized as the highest authority.

(5) The carrying out of this task is entrusted by the L.S.I. to (a) The International Congress, (b) The Executive Committee, (c) The Bureau, (d) The Administrative Committee, (e) The Secretariat.

(B.) INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES.

(6) Should the Congress not decide upon the time of the next Congress, the convening of this is to be done by the Executive. The Congress shall be held at least once in three years. Should political events require it, the Executive can convene the Congress for an earlier time than was decided by the last Congress.

The Executive will publish the time and place of the Congress at least four months before it takes place, unless urgent reasons make it impossible. The Executive must convene as speedily as possible an International Congress on being requested so to do by at least ten affiliated organisations, which must represent not less than one-fourth of the total number of Congress votes.

(7) Only such parties as are affiliated to the L.S.I. are entitled to attend the Congress. The Executive shall decide upon applications for affiliation to the L.S.I., but such decisions shall be subject to confirmation by Congress.

(8) The Executive Committee will allot to each affiliated Party a certain number of Congress votes. The basis of this number of Congress votes is the membership of the Party, and the total strength of the organised working class in the respective countries (trade unions, co-operatives, number of electors, party press, etc.). The maximum for each party is 40 votes.

If 30 delegates representing at least five different countries make a demand for a vote to be taken by Congress strength instead of by show of hands, the demand must be complied with.

(9) The first Congress vote entitles a party to five delegates, each further vote to three delegates. The maximum for any party is 60 delegates.

(C.) THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(10) Members of the Executive Committee will be appointed by the affiliated parties, and their number will be determined by their representation on international congresses. In countries where there are different nationalities with national organisations, each organisation will be dealt with separately. In the case of small national groups in a country the Executive shall decide how they shall be dealt with.

(11) Countries (nationalities) which are entitled to more than 20 votes may appoint three members to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) which are entitled to from 11 to 20 votes appoint two members to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) entitled to from 3 to 10 votes may appoint one member to the Executive Committee.

Countries (nationalities) entitled to less than 3 votes may combine into groups, and such groups shall have one representative on the Executive for every 3 votes. In countries (nationalities) where there are more than one affiliated party the number of members of the Executive Committee will be determined by the Congress votes, and will be allotted proportionally. Where one member only is allowed, the party with the largest membership will make the appointment.

(12) The Executive shall perform the functions of the Congress when Congress is not in session. Appeal may be made to Congress against any decision of the Executive.

(13) If at least one-fifth of the Executive members make a demand for a vote to be taken by Congress strength and not by show of hands (§8) the demand shall be complied with.

(14) Parties are allowed to send a substitute for any member of the Executive who is unable to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(15) If any member of the Executive Committee joins a Government his membership of the Committee shall cease automatically. If he leaves the Government his organisation can again re-appoint him a member of the Committee.

(D.) BUREAU.

(16) The Executive Committee shall appoint nine of its members to form a Bureau which can be called together quickly on urgent matters and can deal with the necessary preparations for the full Executive meetings. These nine members should represent as many countries as possible, but due regard should be paid to being able to get them together quickly. This Bureau shall report and be responsible to the Executive Committee.

(17) When matters are to be discussed which concern a country which has not a direct representation on the Bureau, the Administrative Committee (§19) shall invite a representative from that country to attend the meeting.

(E.) THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE AND THE SECRETARIAT.

(18) The Executive Committee shall decide the country where the Secretariat shall be, and appoint either one or more secretaries and a treasurer.

(19) The Executive sets up an Administrative Committee, consisting of the President of the Executive, the Secretary or Secretaries and the Treasurer of the L.S.I., the members of the Executive in the country where the Secretariat has its headquarters, and a further number of members to be fixed and elected by the Executive.

Members of the Administrative Committee have the right to attend and take part in the deliberations of the Executive and Bureau, but the right to vote is confined to the members definitely appointed to the Executive and the Bureau.

(20) The Administrative Committee shall control the activities of the Secretariat, appoint any assistants who may be necessary, authorise the calling of meetings of the Executive and sub-committees, and in urgent cases take all preliminary steps for the discussion of the political situation.

(21) Duties of the Secretariat:

(a) The Secretariat shall make all arrangements for Executive and Bureau meetings and International Congresses.

(b) Shall facilitate communications between affiliated parties and give all necessary information, principally through a L.S.I. bulletin to be issued as required in three languages. This bulletin shall give special attention to reporting meetings of the Executive and Bureau, and record all important decisions and actions of affiliated parties.

(c) Shall prepare a periodical statement of income and expenditure, and present same to the Executive.

(d) Shall publish the reports of International Congresses.

(e) Shall create a reference library of the International Labour and Socialist movement.

(F) FINANCIAL.

(22) To defray the costs of the work of the I.S.I. every affiliated Party must pay a yearly levy. This levy will be in two portions, one based on membership the other on the number of Congress votes to which the Party is entitled.

(23) Countries will be divided into three groups according to their economic positions. The middle group will form the basis, and countries coming under Groups 1 and 3 will pay a fraction more and less respectively.

(24) With regard to the affiliation fees which are based on the number of members, there is a gradation according to categories of members, in such a way that the amount payable per head by a Party is reduced for the higher categories. A maximum membership for which fees have to be paid may be fixed.

(25) In countries where the Trade Unions are affiliated in a body to the Party only a certain percentage of the membership will be counted (for instance, 50 per cent.).

(26) The levy based on Congress votes will also be graded according to the groups of countries in the same way as indicated under (23).

(27) Parties with less than 5,000 members will pay only half the amount reckoned according to scale both in respect of membership and Congress votes.

(28) Parties in and from countries where a free party is not permitted by the Government, and which are unable to determine their membership, will pay, instead of the levy based on membership, twice the amount of their Congress vote levy.

(29) On the above system Congress decides: The basic figure for the various groups of countries; the classification of membership categories and the proportion of the basic figure which they will have to pay; the basic figure of the levy for Congress votes and the division of the countries in groups.

The Executive is entitled, in case of necessity, to change these figures and to make changes in the grouping of countries. In such cases the Parties in question must be notified of the proposal four months beforehand, and proposals can only be regarded as being adopted by the Executive if sanctioned by a majority of two-thirds and representing half of the full Congress voting strength.*

At present the distribution by groups of countries is as follows:—

First Group of Countries: Argentine, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Great Britain, Holland, Latvia, Norway, Sweden, U.S.A.

* The International Congress in Marseilles (1925) has decided:—

The amounts to be used as a basis for groups of countries are respectively: 1st, 1, or $\frac{1}{2}$ Swiss centimes. The category including 1-50,000 members pays threefold, the category 50,001-100,000 pays twofold, the category with over 100,000 members pays the single fee. Membership in excess of a million is not reckoned. The fee payable per Congress vote in the three groups of countries amounts respectively to 200, 160, or 120 Swiss francs.

We now have, therefore, the following scheme, reckoned in Swiss centimes:—

Groups of Countries.			
	I.	II.	III.
Affiliation Fee per Congress vote ..	20,000.	16,000.	12,000.
per member in Category 1-50,000 ..	$3\frac{1}{2}$	3	$2\frac{1}{2}$
" " 50,001-100,000 ..	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$
" " above 100,000 ..	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$

(An example of the method of calculation for a Party in the second group of countries, with a membership exceeding 100,000:—It will have to pay for the first 50,000 members 150,000 centimes, for the following 50,000, 100,000 centimes; but for further members only 1 centime per member. For instance, if a Party has 120,000 members it has according to this scheme to pay on this membership 270,000 centimes. If it has a right to 11 Congress votes, then it has in addition to pay 176,000 centimes.)

Second Group of Countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Spain.

Third Group of Countries: Armenia, British Guiana, Bulgaria, China, Danzig, Georgia, Greece, Italy, Yugo-Slavia, Lithuania, Austria, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Tcheco-Slovakia, Turkey, Ukraine, Hungary.

(30) In addition to the regular yearly levies the affiliated parties will contribute to the costs of Congresses by paying for each delegate they send an amount which will be fixed when the Congresses are convoked.

(G) RELATIONS BETWEEN THE I.S.I. AND THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

(31) The I.S.I. considers the unity of the Trade Union movement as it is represented in the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) to be absolutely essential for realising the emancipation of the working class.

The I.S.I. considers the unity of the Co-operative movement as it is represented in the International Co-operative Alliance (London) to be invaluable to the working class in their struggle for emancipation.

The I.S.I. will, therefore, maintain close connection both with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) and the International Co-operative Alliance (London). The I.S.I. is ready to call joint meetings and Congresses from time to time together with these International Organisations in order to discuss problems which are common to all.

The I.S.I. appeals to all workers to realise unity within the Socialist movement in each country and in the International. It is determined to work strenuously for the realisation of this unity on the basis of the decisions and resolutions passed by it. It appeals to the Socialists of all countries to give support to its efforts and making all endeavours to bring about a united front against capitalism and imperialism both in their own countries and in the international working class organisation.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONGRESS VOTES.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

(1) The maximum number of Congress votes which any one Party can have is 40.

(2) On the basis of their *Membership total* the Parties will receive votes according to the following scale:—

For Parties. Members.	Congress votes.
up to 5,000	1
5,001—7,500	2
7,501—10,000	3
10,001—15,000	4
15,001—25,000	5
25,001—40,000	6
40,001—55,000	7
55,001—70,000	8
70,001—85,000	9
85,001—100,000	10
100,001—150,000	11
for every further 50,000	1

(3) For parties to which Trade Union or Co-operative organisations are *collectively affiliated*, the purely political membership of the organisation will be counted in the aggregate only, the others will be counted as a percentage, which will correspond to the average of the relations of the Trade Union and political organisations in the other countries. For the moment *half* of the number of the organised will be the number reckoned.

(4) For those countries in which the number of the *poll at Parliamentary elections* received by affiliated Parties is more than three times the Party membership, there will be accorded for every 150,000 votes at the elections 1 additional vote for the Congress. In this case only those election votes will be considered which exceed three times the Party membership.

(5) In countries in which there is no *women's suffrage* the number of election votes which will be taken for a basis of calculation will be reckoned as 50 per cent. higher than the number of votes actually recorded.

(6) In countries in which the *Trade Unions' strength* is more than double the membership of the affiliated Party and there is a real connection between the Party and the Trade Unions, a Congress vote will be allotted for every 100,000 organised in Trade Unions. In this case only that number of Trade Unionists will be considered which exceeds double the Party membership.

(7) In countries where a Party, both on the ground of the number of the poll as well as on Trade Union strength, would be entitled to Congress votes, *only one* of these two categories shall be used for calculation, and that the one which gives the most Congress votes.

(8) Apart from the above conditions a Party can also be entitled to Congress votes on the ground of *extraordinary circumstances*, as in the case of half or wholly illegal Parties, in whose countries the terror of the Government hinders or entirely prevents the free building up of the Party organisation.

(9) In countries where the number of electors or the number of organised Trade Unionists is *smaller* than that of the members of the Party, after a proper explanation of the circumstances underlying such unusual conditions, the corresponding reduction in the number of Congress votes may ultimately be carried out.

(10) In countries in which *several affiliated Parties* exist, the number of Congress votes is at first calculated according to the *total* of the members of *all* the affiliated Parties existing in that country. Thereafter follows the distribution of the Congress votes amongst the various Parties within that country in the following way:—We start from the Party in that country which has the smallest number of members. We multiply this membership by the number of Parties within the country, and see to the membership thus arrived at. These Congress votes must be allotted of Parties, and each Party receives the number of Congress votes thus reached. For the smallest Party the number it has to receive is thereby already settled, and we can leave it out of our further calculations. We now repeat the process, taking as our starting-point the second smallest Party—the distribution already completed being taken into consideration—and so continue till only one Party is left over which then obtains all the remaining votes.

(11) At the first meeting of the Executive in each calendar year the distribution of votes shall undergo an examination with reference to changes in conditions of the individual Parties. The Executive shall nevertheless be at liberty to decide upon desirable amendments in the interim also if need be.

TABLE *re* DISTRIBUTION OF VOTES.

	Based on			Special Conditions	Total.
	Members.	T.U.	Votes.		
Countries with one Party.					
Great Britain	39	12	(6)	—	40
Germany	26	46	(35)	—	40
France	10	(5)	15	—	25
Belgium	15	—	2	—	17
Italy	6	—	2	6	16
Sweden	11	(1)	2	—	13
Denmark	11	(1)	1	—	12
United States	4	—	7	—	11
Holland	7	—	4	—	11
Hungary	10	—	—	—	10
Finland	6	—	1	—	7
Spain	3	2	—	—	5
Palestine	4	—	—	—	4
Roumania	4	(1)	—	—	4
Argentina	3	—	1	—	4
Latvia	1	—	2	—	3
Bulgaria	6	—3	—	—	3
Norway	3	—	—	—	3
Lithuania	1	—	1	—	2
Estonia	1	—	1	—	2
Jugo-Slavia	1	—	—	—	1
Danzig	1	—	—	—	1
Greece	1	—	—	—	1
Portugal	1	—	—	—	1
Luxemburg	1	—	—	—	1
British Guiana	1	—	—	—	1
Countries with several Parties.					
Austria.					
German S.P.	17	—	—	—	17
Czech S.P.	3	—	—	—	3
Czecho-Slovakia.					
Czech S.P.	5	(1)	4	—	9
German S.P.	4	—	—	—	7
Ruthenian S.P.	1	—	—	—	1
Hungarian S.P.	1	—	—	—	1
Polish S.P.	1	—	—	—	1
Poland.					
Polish Party	6	(3)	5	—	11
Independent S.P.	1	—	—	—	1
German S.P.	1	—	—	—	1
Countries with Illegal Parties.					
Armenia	—	—	—	3	3
Georgia	—	—	—	3	3
Russia (Mensheviks)	—	—	—	6	6
Russia Soc. Revol.	—	—	—	6	6
Ukraine	—	—	—	3	3
Hungarian Emigrants ..	—	—	—	1	1
Total of Congress Votes	..	..	..	..	312

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