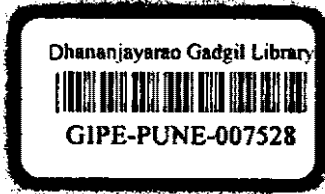


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Reports submitted to the Third Congress  
of the Labour & Socialist International  
Brussels, 5<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> August 1928.  
1st hour session.  
Third Congress of the Labour & Socialist  
International - Reports & Proceedings,  
Section 5  
X:90k31n-594,dp  
"The Colonial Problem"  
Brussels August 1928

English Edition.

7528

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Published by the  
Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International, Zurich.

X : 90k3M.504,d

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**First Part**

# **REPORTS**

**submitted to the Third Congress of the L. S. I.  
Brussels, August 1928.**

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## FIRST PART.

# Reports

submitted to the Third Congress of the L. S. I.  
Brussels, August 1928.

## A. Political Survey.

(Section I.)

### (1) The World Political Situation and the L. S. I.

During the world-war the working-class was frequently misled into overrating the stability of the capitalist system. The development of military power, as also the formidable economic organisation set up by the belligerent states, made them appear as an almost insurmountable force. When in one camp militarism was overthrown, when the thrones collapsed and all the ancient forces began to totter, there set in at first in the defeated countries a reversal of that mood of the working-class towards its opposite. Just as during the war capitalism looked impregnable, so now the conviction arose that the tremendous upheaval consequent on the war must also imply that its last hour had struck. When the full consequences of the war were revealed in an unemployment of unprecedented extent and in a disturbance of the whole economic organisation, the working-class, even in the victorious states, were overtaken more and more strongly by doubts as to the stability of the capitalist system.

Faced with these moods and their fluctuations, the socialist labour movement had again and again with the utmost earnestness to examine the vital question whether a break-down of the capitalist system would ensue directly on the catastrophe of the war, or whether on the other hand notwithstanding the tremendous economic disturbances, notwithstanding the ferment among the masses who desired its downfall and wished to hasten it, capitalism would yet be able to consolidate itself and to recover. Relatively to the tremendous historical process therein consummated, the will of the working-class is after all only one factor, important though it be. Accordingly the task ahead was always that of recognising amid the whole situation of the world economic organisation and the conditions of political tension between states resulting from the war, those tendencies of development which became finally operative, in order to adjust to them the tactics of the working-class.

If the first years following the world war were punctuated by the vibration of heavy and swiftly recurring shocks, the course of time brought quite clearly a diminution of these blows, which became rarer and fainter. It became ever more certain that the capitalist system would succeed in saving itself from the catastrophe of the war and that therefore the working-class must reckon with a period of stability of the capitalist system. The Foundation Congress at Hamburg of the Labour and Socialist International expressed the realisation of the necessity for grouping all the forces of the working-class which had the will to make use of this period to restore and increase the solidity of organisation and capacity for action of the proletariat. Concurrently this realisation signified the necessity of resisting as a romantic dream, capable only of inflicting, as has actually been the case, defeats upon the working-class, the tendency to play with hopes that, notwithstanding all contrary currents, the world war might yet culminate in a decisive catastrophe.

If at the time of the Hamburg Congress this situation was still subject to doubts in which the occupation of the Ruhr was a powerful factor, in the period since the Marseilles Congress (August 1925), the accuracy of the views which had guided the Labour and Socialist International since its foundation, has been amply demonstrated.

The stabilisation of the French currency (June 1928) marks the close of a phase in which almost everywhere the bourgeoisie succeeded in throwing on the shoulders of the workers the costs of the war, and in meeting the financial and technical requirements for the restoration to health of national finance—usually with the aid of foreign, particularly American, capital. The stabilisation of the currencies closes the period of the severe disturbances in national finances which were accompanied almost everywhere by profound economic and political crises.

Simultaneously, however, there must be noted a general quickening of the economic process for which to a certain extent the stabilisation of the currencies has helped to supply the bases. The economic boom is clearly visible in the first place in Germany, but also over the remainder of Central Europe, in Switzerland, Austria and Czecho-slovakia, although it has not attained dimensions sufficient to restore the entire host of unemployed to a place in the economic structure. For at the same time the rationalisation of industries has thrown large masses of workers out of employment and thus partially counteracted the effects of the economic prosperity as far as unemployment is concerned. In other countries such as Great Britain the economic boom has facilitated the stabilisation crisis which there is undoubtedly continuing, together with other causes of the economic crisis, to play a great part, and in France it has correspondingly diminished the unemployment likely to follow on the stabilisation. The increase of unemployment in Italy, of which not even fascist falsehoods have managed to hinder the disclosure,

has its special cause, over and above the stabilisation of the currency, in the detrimental alterations of the Italian economic structure which fascism has wrought.

Both these phenomena, the stabilisation and the revival of economic prosperity, have helped to reinforce strongly the self-consciousness of the bourgeoisie. They are the economic foundations of the increase in the political power of the bourgeoisie which during the period reported has manifested itself in innumerable symptoms.

Economic developments have forced the working-class into a posture of defence. During this period the question at issue above all else was that of defending those advances in social reform which had been secured by the workers in the years of stress following the war. To-day it can be perceived that this defensive has been, broadly speaking, successful, though unhappily certain heavy reverses must be admitted. These were due not least, either directly or indirectly, to those romantic misconceptions which expect from every event the decisive victory of the world revolution of the workers. In this direction the most important and most painful experience was that of the miners lock-out and the general strike in England. At the moment when it was plain that the general strike was actually coming, the Secretariat of the L. S. I. addressed to the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam (4th May, 1926) a telegram including the following :—

“At the outbreak of the greatest trade union conflict which the world has hitherto seen, the socialist proletariat of all countries are at one in the ardent desire that this serious and perilous struggle of the British workers shall result in victory, and are united in their determination to do everything in their power to demonstrate their solidarity, both morally and materially. The Labour and Socialist International will act in close understanding with the International Federation of Trade Unions, which is deciding the international strategy of this trade union conflict.

A week later, 11th May, the Bureau of the L. S. I. met at Amsterdam in a session at which it adopted the following manifesto :—

*To the Socialist Labour Parties of all Countries !*

The British Workers are engaged in a fight of historical significance. It is the obvious duty of workers in all countries to support them with all their power. The leadership in this action for solidarity devolves upon the I. F. T. U. The L. S. I. calls upon its affiliated Parties to further this trade union action with all their power and to place their organisations and their Press at the service of this industrial action.

The Bureau of the L. S. I. has decided to postpone the campaign for the Matteotti Fund arranged for the 10th June until the first week in July, so as to concentrate at the present moment every effort on the action for solidarity on behalf of the British workers.

For the fight of the British workers !  
For International Solidarity !

The Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International.

To help the struggle in England the workers in all countries made heavy sacrifices which have to some extent crippled their financial capacities for some years. It was of course upon the



British working-class that this gigantic struggle weighed and weighs most crushingly. Inspiring as was the effect on the labour movement of this extraordinary demonstration of working-class solidarity, it was depressing on the other hand to be compelled to admit that there were avoidable tactical errors resulting not only in the defeat of the miners but also in a reverse for the whole trade union movement in England and indirectly in other countries also. This is not the place to examine the problem in all its ramifications, but it seems plain that had the British miners been prepared, in accordance with the general rules of trade union tactics, to close the general strike with a partial success, this gigantic conflict might have been considered as an entry on the credit side of the international labour movement. To what extent the romantic notion, fanned by Moscow, that this struggle must lead to a revolutionary conquest of power by the British workers, may have influenced the peculiar mentality of the British miners, will probably never be clearly ascertained. But it is beyond all doubt that this romantic notion existed and that this completely false estimate of historical possibilities gave rise not only to one of the heaviest reverses of bolshevist tactics, but unhappily also to an unwholesome influence tending to prolong the struggle to the bitter end.

This reverse had still not run through all its consequences when Moscow once more approached the workers with a fresh romantic conception. If in Great Britain itself the revolution had broken down, the British Empire was now to be undermined through the triumph of bolshevism in China. It was once again a fundamental misunderstanding of the historical possibilities which dealt out to this romanticism a frightful defeat—a defeat for which masses of Chinese workers had to pay with their lives, and which by the illusions which it aroused was also calculated to deflect the labour movement in all parts of the world from the fulfilment of its genuine task. As against this romanticism, so sharply avenged in the first place on Moscow itself, the L. S. I. from the outset of this period of Chinese civil war strove to show the true tendencies of development. Its feelings of sympathy and solidarity for the national movement of emancipation in China were expressed as follows in the May-Day manifesto of 1927 :—

In the forefront of world events stands the awakening of the Chinese people, its

*mighty struggle for the right of full self-determination,*  
inspires hopes of freedom in the souls of the oppressed peoples of every colour and every race, is proving to the imperialists of all countries that the

*epoch of colonial exploitation is passing away!*

“What is happening over there is the first step in the great mutiny of the last great reserve army of capitalism. And that is why, comrades, what is happening over there is our own intimate concern, that is why we mean to send our greetings to the workers over yonder . . .” In true prevision of coming events, this perception was expressed amid the

tumultuous applause of the whole *Congress of the Labour and Socialist International at Marseilles*. To-day it has become the *common attitude of the working-class* throughout the whole world. For however acute may be the strife within the working-class as to the best road towards its liberation, in the sentiment of

*Sympathy and solidarity for the movement of national liberation in China*

there is absolute unanimity.

One third of the earth's surface separates London from Shanghai, and accordingly we cannot lend direct aid to the Revolution, in the front ranks of which the Chinese workers are fighting. But we can back it up by action in the home of the imperialist exploiters. They have at their command all the resources of a state, for them the road to China stands open, and they still cherish the hope of upholding by means of powder and shot the disgraceful scandal of their "Concessions" and "Privileges of ex-territoriality". And therefore on this May-Day we are demonstrating once again for the immediate

*recall of the foreign troops and war-ships from China!*

The session of the Executive of February 1927 in Paris was for the most part given up to the problem of China. On behalf of the Chinese Social-Democratic Party, affiliated to the L. S. I., comrade Yang Kantao submitted a detailed memorandum on the situation in China which he substantiated by an extensive address. These statements which are reproduced in Section IV, China, were justified up to the hilt by the subsequent course of events. After a full debate the Executive adopted a manifesto to the workers of all countries in which the following passage occurs :

The great imperialist Powers, led by Great Britain, are sending to China additional warships and troops. Despite the opposition of the elected Indian members of the Legislative Assembly, Indian soldiers are being dispatched to China—one subject race pitted against another. On the other hand, whilst Great Britain has started negotiations for the revision of the unequal treaties, the other great Powers, watching for their opportunity, are withholding any response to the demands of the Chinese Revolution. International capitalism is supporting generals of the counter-Revolution in China. Reactionary forces wish to use the Chinese Revolution as a pretext for breaking off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. The civil war in China threatens to bring forth events which may imperil the peace of the world.

Armies and Navies are not needed for the protection of the lives or the commerce of foreigners in China. Foreigners will be safe as soon as foreign oppression ceases to arouse the hatred of the Chinese people.

Therefore, Workers and Socialists of all countries, unite your voices to the voice of the British Labour Movement, which is fighting to establish China amongst the full self-governing nations of the world.

Support to the utmost of your power the national and democratic movement of emancipation of the Chinese working-class, which is the essential basis for the liberation of the Chinese masses.

Demand in every country :

The recall of the foreign troops and warships !

Absolute sovereignty of the Chinese people !

Abrogation of all unequal Treaties !

Abolition of the Concessions and of the privileges and of ex-territoriality !

Independence of the Chinese Customs and Postal Service !

Some weeks later when the enlarged Bureau of the L. S. I. met with the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. at its session in Paris on 3rd April 1927, the following resolution was adopted after a lengthy discussion of events in China :—

The Bureaus of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Labour and Socialist International note the grave development of events in China.

At Nankin and at Shanghai incidents of bloodshed have occurred. At Nankin a bombardment by foreign warships has made many Chinese victims. At Shanghai measures have been taken to protect the Concessions which may lead to armed conflicts between the troops of the Powers and those of Canton, and the plan of blockading the Yang-Tze may bring about a further aggravation of the situation.

All these events require an attitude of protest and also of vigilance on the part of the working-class. The Bureaus of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International express the solidarity of the organised working-class of the world with the Chinese people in its struggle to destroy the feudal régime in China, to achieve national unity on a democratic basis, and to win against the foreign "Treaty Powers" its political independence and its emancipation as regards Customs, finance and social conditions.

They call upon the Trade Union Movements and the Socialist Parties in the countries concerned to maintain and intensify their agitation in favour of

- (a) the abolition of privileges of extritoriality ;
- (b) abandonment of the Concessions ;
- (c) the recall of the troops and warships dispatched for the defence of these unjust privileges.

In order to avert the calamity of any extension of the war, negotiations should at once be opened on the basis of recognition of Chinese right to national independence.

The I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I. summon the organised workers to resist war with China by every means in their power, and encourage the Socialist Parties in the Parliaments of the imperialist Powers to continue to oppose the policies of their Governments and to vote against all credits for the purpose of military operations in China.

The session of the Executive of February 1927 had not only to confront the menace of war rising from China. In America and Europe likewise threatening tensions were appearing. The manifesto of which we have already re-produced a part continues accordingly as follows :—

As in the Far East, so also in America, imperialism is forging a menace to peace.

In Mexico a Government of Workers and Peasants is striving for the liberation from exploitation by foreign capitalists of the natural wealth of the country, and for the transfer of the soil to the masses of the people. American capitalism, which only yesterday uttered phrases about the right of self-determination of the peoples, to-day, in its greed for the Mexican oil-fields, is resisting the struggle for liberation of the Mexican people, and is organising insurrectionary movements against the Mexican Labour Government. Simultaneously it is intervening with armed force in the internal conflicts of the Central American Republics. Workers and Socialists of all countries ! raise your protest in common with all the socialist and progressive forces of the United States against

American imperialism, which intends to purchase at the cost of rivers of blood its dominion over the oilfields! Demand in all countries a right of free self-determination for the Mexican people!

But in Europe too fresh dangers to peace are threatening.

Italian fascism, which has deprived the Italian working-class of all means of resistance to capitalist exploitation, which has dealt with the best men of Italian democracy either by driving them into exile or by letting them perish miserably as deportees, whose regime of terror exceeds by far all the horrors of pre-war Russian Czarism, is seeking to justify its tyranny at home by violent annexations abroad.

It has converted Albania into one of its colonies. It is endeavouring to unite Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria under its leadership against Yugo-Slavia. The last remaining feudal governments of Europe, those of the Albanian "Beys", of the Magyar nobles, and of the Roumanian "Boyers" are massing themselves around Italian fascisms, which itself is under the protection of the banks of London and New York. Yugo-Slavia is feverishly arming for defence. In the Balkans the situation of 1914 threatens to repeat itself!

Under the protection of the British Conservative Government and of Italian fascism, Hungarian reaction has overthrown all the democratic forces in the country, and has been allowed to defy insolently the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Trianon, and to disregard cynically international obligations assumed in 1921, which block the road to the restoration of the Hapsburgs. It is now offering to Italian fascism the life-blood and possessions of the Hungarian peasants as its price for consent to the restoration of the Hapsburgs.

But the enthronement of the Hapsburgs in Hungary would put Hungarian bayonets at the service of monarchist counter-revolution in the neighbouring Republics, and threaten all the States bordering on Hungary with the peril of a Hungarian war of revenge and restoration!

In view of these dangers to the peace and freedom of nations it is the duty of the workers and socialists of all countries to concentrate all forces against Italian fascism and its vassals, against reaction on Hungary, in Roumania and in Bulgaria.

Denounce in all countries the crimes of Italian fascism!

Make war upon the policy of the imperialist governments, which in the interest of their selfish schemes, now in Arabia, now in Abyssinia, to secure the support of the Italian government for their imperialist policy in China, are betraying democracy to fascism, drenched as it is already in the blood of the Italian working-class, and devising fresh bloodshed throughout the whole of South-Eastern Europe!

Insist in all countries that the Governments, in conformity with the obligations assumed by Hungary in 1921, shall not permit the restoration of the Hapsburgs!

Insist that the Governments based on democracy shall urge the League of Nations to act against the new dangers of war!

Fascism is spreading through Europe like a contagious disease. The events in Lithuania demonstrate the danger. The perils for the young States lying between Germany and Russia are yet further increased by the recent breakdown of the Polish-German negotiations for a trade agreement. In this region of Europe also perils to peace and freedom are growing. Workers and Socialist of all countries, raise your protest against the White Terror in Lithuania. Unite your voices to those of German Socialism and of Polish Socialism for the restoration of peaceful economic and political relations between Germany and Poland!

Imperialism and fascism, closely linked, are threatening everywhere the peace of the world. The fight for freedom is everywhere bound up

with the fight for peace. As the pioneer of humanity, the working-class must secure freedom for the peoples, and peace for humanity.

Away with the preparations for war !  
Away with imperialism and its greed for loot !  
Away with fascist tyranny !  
Long live International Socialism !

At the session of the enlarged Bureau of the L. S. I. with the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. on 3rd April 1927 the Balkan problem was once more thoroughly discussed and the demands to be addressed to the League of Nations formulated (we re-produce this resolution in the Section on the League of Nations).

In the May Day Appeal of 1927 the attitude in principle of the L. S. I. towards the Balkan problem is formulated as follows :—

Europe likewise is menaced by fresh war. The further the peoples are driven by Reaction towards the abyss of economic ruin and spiritual enslavement, the greater becomes the danger of the Dictators trying the gambler's throw of a campaign of annexation. In particular on European territory we find *the danger-point of the instigation of war in the régime of Fascism.*

Already Albania is well on the way to being converted into a colony of Italy. The menace of a fresh Balkan war with all its horrors looms forbiddingly before us. Therefore we demonstrate once again on this May-Day for the old demand of the Labour and Socialist International  
*the Balkans to the Balkan peoples !*  
*for the Balkan Federation of Free Balkan Peoples !*

Throughout some years there undoubtedly existed a certain contrast between the labour movement of Great Britain and that of the continent in the attitude towards the problems connected with Soviet Russia and the Communist International. If there was full agreement as to the demand for legal recognition of the Soviet Union to break down the diplomatic boycott which the capitalist powers sought to impose on it, if there was unanimity in repudiating all intervention by the imperialist powers against Russia, the British labour movement was still subject to illusions about Soviet Russia which the workers of the continent had shed in the hard school of bitter experiences. The lessons of the general strike and of the Miners, lock-out have completely opened the eyes of the British working-class also. To-day it stands in this connection altogether on the same line as the Socialist labour movements in all other countries.

The fight for the legal recognition of Soviet Russia has undergone in the period reported a sharp set-back by the breach of diplomatic relations between England and Russia, the previous resumption of which was owing to the Labour Government of Macdonald. Both the British Labour Party, and the Russian socialists have protested vehemently against this stroke of reaction in England. In a resolution of the latter of 28th May, 1927, the policy of the L. S. I. in these questions is clearly expressed in the following terms :—

"The rupture of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia involves the gravest dangers both from the international point of view and from that of Russia's internal development.

Internationally, the rupture signifies a serious danger to *world peace*. It will entail an aggravation of the diplomatic intrigues which are aiming at creating perpetually fresh antagonistic groupings of states, and are therefore full of dangers. This will complicate in particular the position of the young and not yet firmly established states in the East of Europe, of which the competing Great Powers will endeavour to make their tools.

Viewed from the standpoint of the internal development of Russia, the breach with England, especially if the Conservative British Government succeeds in bringing yet other states under the influence of its policy, is bound to affect most adversely the conditions of *Russia's economic reconstruction*. Thereby not only will fresh suffering be inflicted on the mass of the Russian people, but impediments will be placed in the way of that fight against Bolshevism, to which the Marseilles Congress of the Labour and Socialist International referred; when it called upon the Russian people "to strive towards full political and industrial freedom within the Soviet Union, 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 provocative policy of the British Die-hards, which for its own ends is exploiting the taste for adventures and the mistakes of Soviet diplomacy, is calculated to strengthen in the mass of the Russian people the temper of nationalist reaction to the detriment of the activities of Russian socialism, which is striving to organise a systematic campaign among the Russian workers against the régime of terrorism and in favour of a democratic outcome to the bolshevist dictatorship. Only such an outcome can offer a real security that post-revolutionary Russia will not become a focus of the dangers of war and a home for international reaction.

Though the period of which we have to report must be qualified as a period of the defensive, since it was not possible during it to wrest new ground from the ruling-classes, yet on the other hand it stands as a constructive period as regards the organisation of the working-class and its influence among the masses. This fact has declared itself in nearly all the elections which have taken place during this time. Particularly gratifying were the election results in Austria (April 1927), Norway (October 1927), Poland (March 1928), France (April 1928), and Germany (May 1928). But besides these the bye-elections in Great Britain, the council elections in Czecho-slovakia and the local and cantonal elections in Switzerland provide clear indications of the influence and reinforcement of the Socialist Labour parties. At the time of the Marseilles Congress representatives of five of the Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. held office in their national governments. The cooperation of Socialists in the government ended in Czechoslovakia in March 1926, in Belgium in May 1926, in Sweden and Esthonia in June 1926, and in Denmark in December 1926. Further during the period reported, the socialists of all the other Northern states officiated at one time or another in the governments: Lithuania (May—December 1926), Latvia and Finland (December 1926—December 1927), Norway (25th January—8th February 1928), and Danzig. At the moment of closing this report, however, there is only one large country with socialists in its Government, namely Germany, where the fortune of the elections has made them by far the strongest party.

In order completely to exhibit the influence exerted by the socialist movement, it would be necessary to depict its growing influence in the municipalities and provinces. More and more great cities are approaching the point of socialist majorities and thereby are unfolding possibilities of working-class action such as are presented by Vienna with its administration by a two-thirds socialist majority.

If as may be expected, the elections in Great Britain and in the other countries which during the coming months will summon their electorates to the polls should show a similar leftward swing as the elections already past, it may be anticipated that the newly acquired influence will have its effect not only in the domestic political sphere of the various countries, but no less in the sphere of the international policy of the working-class.

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## (2) The Fight against Fascism.

The whole period of the report has witnessed without intermission series of acts of violence by reaction, and its repeated attempts to injure the labour movement by all possible means and bring it to the ground. Thus the L. S. I. has had to wage a campaign no less persistent than the strokes of reaction. Every session of the Executive and of the Bureau has had before it fresh problems of the kind, and the Secretariat of the L. S. I. has had to apply to these tasks the chief part of its efforts. Again and again the Executive had to deal with the doings of reaction in this or that country or that. Further particulars on the subject may be found in the section following this and in the reports of the individual countries in part IV of this report. We will here treat more fully, in view of their special importance, of the events in fascist Italy.

The Labour and Socialist International has always, in accordance with the resolution of the Hamburg Congress fulfilled the duty "of bringing the excesses of fascism before the tribunal of civilised mankind". By means of authentic news in the International Information it has succeeded in continually bringing to the notice of public opinion throughout the world reports on the atrocities of fascism and of reaction. Moreover, G. E. Modigliani, as a regular contributor to the I. I., has steadily in comprehensive articles subjected the principal measures of legislative terrorism to critical examination. In what follows, therefore, we shall confine ourselves in the main to reproducing the resolutions and actions of the L. S. I. For further information we refer the reader to the Sections on Political Persecution and on the League of Nations in this report.

The destructive action of fascism against the Italian workers' organisations was directed both against the trade union and the political institutions of the Italian proletariat. Thus the joint session of representatives of the I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I. in October 1925, had to consider the attempts of the fascist government to establish a monopoly of trade union activities by fascist organisations. The discussions at the joint session led to the following resolution :

"The joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International strongly protest against the criminal practices of fascism in Italy.

They denounce the measures taken by the Italian Government, which tend to restrict the right of trade union organisations solely to the fascist labour organisations.

This attitude is contrary to the law in force in all countries. It is likewise in complete opposition to the principles embodied in the Labour Charter, contained in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty.



The Labour Movement, as organised internationally in both the economic and political spheres, declares that by these violent practices Italy is placing herself outside the pale of civilised nations.

The two Internationals place on record their sympathy and complete solidarity with the Italian workers who are deprived of their rights and are subjected to personal violence, and they call upon the public opinion of the world to condemn and brand as infamous a system of government which relies upon murder and leads to unparalleled iniquities."

Shortly afterwards, in November 1925, the Executive of the L. S. I. gave thorough consideration to the whole situation in Italy. On behalf of the Italian Party comrade Salvemini made a statement of the position and drew attention to the fears entertained that the Italian government would suppress the party organ "Giustizia", hitherto maintained at the cost of heavy sacrifices, before the trial of the murderers of Matteotti. It was decided that the Secretariat should be authorised to collect a voluntary levy from affiliated parties for the maintenance of the "Giustizia".

On the morrow of the session of the Executive it was learnt that the excesses of the fascist dictatorship had surpassed even the worst expectations. The destruction of the trade union organisations had been followed by that of the political organisations. In this connection the Secretariat of the L. S. I. addressed on 6th November, 1925, the following message to the Italian socialists :

To our Italian Comrades !

Only yesterday the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International was informed of the dangers which your Movement is enduring, and was very much impressed to hear that Italian Socialists were convinced that Mussolini would try by all means to gag your valiant paper, the "Giustizia", before the trial of the murderers of Matteotti should begin.

By innumerable persecutions this brutal régime had already tried to ruin the "Giustizia" materially. Enormous sacrifices were borne by your Party to preserve your most important weapon at a time when organisation was suppressed by brute force, and yet you knew that Mussolini would attempt to deal a mortal blow at the "Giustizia" before the beginning of the Matteotti trial, if necessary, by renewed violence.

The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International decided yesterday to support your struggle for the maintenance of the "Giustizia" by asking all affiliated Parties to contribute to a fund which was intended to provide a thousand pounds within a month.

To-day we are sorry to learn that the fate which the Italian comrades foresaw has already been fulfilled. In his manifesto Mussolini cynically boasts that he has definitely suppressed the "Giustizia", and that, going further than even you had suspected, he has dissolved your valiant Party, and entered upon a new era of persecution.

Your champion, Matteotti, was murdered by fascists ; now the Party of Matteotti, the Party which we counted with pride amongst the members of the Labour and Socialist International, your "Partito Socialista Unitario", which has brilliantly withstood so many battles and ordeals, has been condemned to death by the Dictator.

But just as Matteotti is to-day more alive in the hearts of the workers of the world than he ever was, so the Italian Socialist Party and its "Giustizia" will again come to life.

We know, Comrades, what a terrible time you will now have to face without legal organisation, and deprived of any possibility of expressing your opinion in your paper, but we also know that you will not despair, that you will go on working with all your might for the revival of the Italian working-class, which will one day be triumphant over the reign of blood and fascist criminal folly.

Thus the fraternal greetings of millions of workers affiliated to our International go out to you, carrying the message of international solidarity: Long Live the "Giustizia"! Long Live the Italian Socialist Party!"

A week later the Secretariat of the L. S. I. received from Rome, the following communication, dated 10th November 1925, from the Italian Socialist Party; it was brought to the notice of the public through the International Information (No. 45, November 1925):

Dear Comrades,

The persecutions to which we have recently been exposed have reached their climax in the dissolution of our Party, which was ordered and carried out by the fascist government on the 5th November.

Our offices were occupied by armed men and the police seized all the material found there. Our daily paper, "Giustizia", was suspended, and all books connected with its management seized. Numbers of our comrades are harassed by the police, and are subject to arrests, house-searches, victimisation, etc. The government justifies this new wave of reaction which is breaking over us, by the attempted plot on Mussolini's life. That this is merely a pretext is seen by the fact that the former deputy, Zaniboni, who is accused of having prepared the attempt, left our Party a long time ago; and above all by our previous policy, the means traditionally employed in all our propaganda and in all our activities, in which incitement to assassination has never had the least part.

The real causes of the dissolution of our Party are to be found elsewhere. They are to be sought in our persistent and unrelenting opposition to fascism, not only from the point of view of principles, but in the matter of daily action, which exposed its designs of plutocratic reaction, collected and published all its deeds of violence against the liberties of the citizens. This work attracted to us the sympathy of the workers and of a great number of the intelligentsia, but, at the same time, the hatred of the fascists and of their chief. This hatred has been demonstrated already on other occasions: at the elections of the 6th April, 1924, by the election manifesto, in which fascism indicated the United Socialist Party as the one to be the most ruthlessly fought, and later by the assassination of our Secretary, Jacques Matteotti. There are the true motives for what has just happened. Moreover, the epilogue to the Matteotti case is approaching by a trial in which most of the documents collected will not even be read, as a result of the last amnesty and the reduction in the charges.

The reaction tends to create an atmosphere in which we cannot breathe, and to tear from us all the means of propaganda, isolating us from the masses.

Under such conditions our work will certainly become more difficult, but, as we have in the past sought to fulfil our duty as socialists, so we will try to fulfil it in the future. We cannot at this very hour, tell exactly under what forms our Party will survive and develop its activities, but we can assure you that the International will not lose its Italian section.

We ask you to convey our greetings and thanks for their moral support to the affiliated Parties. We ask that all communications intended for us should not be sent to the previous address, but exclusively to the

following address : A. Gasparini, Casa postale 2840, Lugano, Switzerland. The socialist papers of Europe and America would do us a great service if they would bring this information to the notice especially of Italian emigrants in their countries."

The Italian Socialist Party further addressed an appeal to friends and comrades among the Italian *emigrants* which, in the sense of the above letter, says among other things :

The government will now make us pay for our opposition to fascism. It considers the moment has come to destroy an opponent which it hates and fears.

In order to strike at all its opponents it makes new laws which it calls "super-fascist" and which exalt as a principle the subjection of the individual and his conviction under the executive authority of the state, which already practically exists in our country.

It will not succeed completely. Among us there will always be hearts beating which will not shirk the dangers of the situation created by fascism ; there will always be arms to carry the flag aloft, which may not fall. Though with thinned ranks and with diminished strength, the United Socialists are continuing their work in rousing the Italian workers to defend their livelihood and at the same time the freedom of opinion and the freedom of organisations.

Our efforts will be all the more effective if they are supported by all the comrades and friends who live outside Italy in the free countries of Europe and America.

Without infringing the obligations in the countries of asylum, the socialist emigrants and those in sympathy with us should found sections and local groups of our Party, and collect the financial means which are necessary for the re-birth of our Press and for the continuation of our work ; means for the crusade in the name of socialism and the liberty of the Italian peoples.

In our hearts lives the hope, the certainty, that in this fight you will stand on our side. Join in our cry :

Long Live Socialism ! Long Live the International !

Once again, however, it proved possible to rally the organisation of the Italian workers which fascism had smashed and to construct the *Socialist Party of the Italian Workers*. The "Giustizia" also was able to appear temporarily, though continually handicapped by confiscations. But the verdict in the trial at Chieti upon Mussolini's henchmen in the assassination of Matteotti was in itself a presage of fresh deeds of violence.

The appearance of the fascist delegates at the International Labour Conferences of the International Labour Office provided the occasion for recurrent protests against Italian fascism. At each Conference the workers' representatives have stood against acceptance of the mandate of a representative of the fascist unions as being that of a workers' representative. At its session in April 1926 the Executive of the L. S. I., on a motion by the English delegation, passed the following resolution thereon :

"The new Italian Law on Trade Unionism shows that in Italy to-day the right of free trade union organisation does not exist, but the legally recognised organisations must be under the control of the Party in power, and the "free" unions are at the mercy of the political authorities. The unions which are affiliated to the dominant party enjoy so many

political and economic privileges that the existence of the "free" unions is made very difficult, if not impossible. Under these conditions, to consider the Italian Fascist Workers' representative to I. L. O. Conference as chosen from amongst the most representative trade organisations of the Italian working-class would be a breach of all good sense and good faith. Therefore, the I. L. O. Conference should not accept the credentials of the Italian Fascist Workers' representative appointed by the Fascist Government, and the Parliamentary Labour Groups in the various countries should put questions to their respective Governments concerning the attitude which their representatives to the I. L. O. Conferences will adopt with regard to the credentials of the Italian Fascist Workers' representative.

The new Fascist Trade Union Law is in contradiction to the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and to every principle upon which the right of free organisation for the workers has hitherto been based in all civilised countries, and the other Governments by giving their representatives to the I. L. O. Conference instructions to accept the credentials of the Italian Fascist Workers' representative become parties to an interpretation of the Treaty which is a definite and unscrupulous negation of those principles. The Labour and Socialist Parties would themselves become accomplices to this interpretation if they allowed their respective governments a free hand in this matter."

The more intense the struggle of the working-class in all countries against fascism became, the more it tended to find symbolic expression in the figure of the martyr of Italian socialism, Giacomo *Matteotti*. It followed therefore quite inevitably that the "International Fund to help the Labour movement in countries without Democracy" should receive the name of "*Matteotti Fund*". At the same session in April, 1926, at which the Executive of the L. S. I. resolved on the foundation of this fund, it likewise prepared to honour the memory of *Matteotti* by an external token. In the May Day Appeal of 1926, it informed the workers in all countries of this intention :

The tyranny of fascism is moving the working-classes to an ever-improving organisation of their campaign of resistance. The trial at Chieti has become the symbol of the unscrupulousness of the enemies of the workers.

But the name of Giacomo *Matteotti* will remain engraved in the hearts of the workers and will inspire them to follow his example of joyful work and willing sacrifice for the great cause of socialism. But the Labour and Socialist International wants to pay honour to the memory of its great martyr by an outward symbol also, and has therefore decided to erect for *Giacomo Matteotti a Monument in the People's House, Brussel*, in the conviction that the time cannot be far off when his monument will be able to find a place on the soil of an Italy liberated from fascism.

Notwithstanding the fascist measures to intercept news the Italian workers also learned of the decisions of the Executive of the L. S. I., and the Directorate of the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers expressed its thanks therefor in a communication of 6th June, 1926, which opened in the following terms :

"The Socialist Party of the Italian Workers, which continues to represent the principles of the dissolved Unitary Socialist Party, has with the deepest gratitude taken cognisance of your resolution to honour in a permanent way the memory of our Giacomo *Matteotti*. Though owing

to the Press conditions in Italy the news could only be communicated by word of mouth from one worker to another, to-day the whole Italian proletariat knows of your Resolution and has found solace and satisfaction during the time of its deep humiliation. We thank you, comrades, we have proved to us once again that the international solidarity of socialism is not an empty word, but a powerful reality, by which the faith and the power of resistance of the oppressed may be renewed."

This communication was at the time not only reproduced in the "I. I." (1926, No. 26), but had also previously appeared, for purposes of denunciation, in the fascist press, into whose hands the document had fallen.

After the attempt of Mussolini in Bologna on 31st October, 1926, a fresh wave of terrorism swept over Italy. The last vestiges of the organisations and institutions of the Italian labour movement were wiped out. Exposed to fascist assaults in the streets and in their homes, perpetually under the menace of robbery and murder, the best-known leaders of the Italian Labour movement found no other way left to them than that of going into exile abroad, more especially to France, and of attempting thence to pursue their services to the movement.

Mussolini's government had now thrown off the last mask and had openly proclaimed that all socialist parties were henceforward *formally prohibited*. To this the Italian socialists of all shades responded immediately, as a matter of course, with the retort which arbitrary rule has always received. They transferred the headquarters\* of the Party abroad in order to remould it, in the exile forced upon them by fascism, into an effective weapon in the struggle against Italy's oppressors. The first step in this direction was a declaration by the leaders of the Paris branch of the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers, on 7th November, 1926. Therein the subjoined passage occurs :

Henceforth, therefore it is futile to nurse the illusion that the Socialist Movement can develop in Italy its own action, and in consequence the *socialist emigrants* are bound to take upon themselves the public representation of the movement itself, with all the duties and responsibilities therein implied. The comrades who have remained behind under the tyranny of the murderers of Giacomo Matteotti are entitled to be relieved of political functions which amount to a martyrdom without any possibility of tangible results ; and during the terrible hours which they are doomed to live through, it is our duty to afford them the solace to be derived from a certainty that their comrades abroad, according to their example, are pursuing and advancing their work for freedom and for socialism.

At a joint discussion, held in Amsterdam on 26th February 1927, between representatives of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. the changed situation was closely examined. The discussion led to the following resolution :

The representatives of the I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I., who met at Amsterdam on February 26th, 1927, after hearing the statements of the representatives of the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers and the Italian trade union, discussed at length the situation of the Labour Movement in Italy.

The two Internationals recall their many previous pronouncements in favour of energetic and unremitting defensive fight against Fascism in all its manifestations, and place on record that the situation in Italy has been still further worsened by the methods of application of the Act dealing with Fascist Trade Unions, and that at the present time Fascist practices preclude all possibility of trade union organisation and trade union combat in the forms which are possible in all civilised countries.

The representatives of the two Internationals consider any attempt at compromise with the Fascist terror on Italy as not only offering no prospects of success, but also as fatal to their existence. They therefore condemn in the strongest terms the document signed by some of the former trade union leaders, which is absolutely opposed to the principles of the International Trade Union Movement, as always upheld by the two Internationals.

When the situation changed for the worse in Italy, the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers, and also the Executive of the Italian Trade Union Movement were compelled to remove their headquarters to a foreign country, in order to enable them to continue to give expression in public in unequivocal terms to the principles of the fight against Fascism in Italy. The representatives of the two Internationals therefore regard the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers and the Italian National Trade Union Centre, which have both been transferred to foreign countries, as the official representatives of the Italian workers, with whom they are in contact and whom they will assist to the best of their ability. The representatives of the two Internationals hope that Italian Labour will succeed in reconquering in Italy the recognition of the principle of the legality of free organisation and will thereby make it possible for the central authorities of the Labour Movement to return to Italy.

Wherever it was possible, the workers in all countries and their spokesmen acted as a channel for conveying the protest of the Italian workers against fascism. In innumerable demonstrations which arose spontaneously, now in this place, now in that, the International working-class has unmistakably signified its contempt for fascism and for its leader. Among these numberless gestures we may note especially the repudiation of Mussolini by Vandervelde, who was present at Locarno in an official capacity as Foreign Minister of Belgium. In Belgium the confederates of fascism used Vandervelde's attitude as an occasion for starting an agitation against him. Thereupon at its session of November 1926, the Executive of the L. S. I. replied by the following declaration :

"The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has learned with joyful satisfaction of the attitude which the Socialist Minister, Comrade Vandervelde, personally adopted against the chief of the fascist government of murderers. As against the attacks to which Comrade Vandervelde has on this account been exposed, the Executive conveys to him, in the name of millions of workers, who feel with their persecuted Italian Brothers, its approbation and its trust."

We may recall further the refusal of socialists to accept any form of delegation to Italy, as in the case of the British comrade Dollan, with whose action German and Austrian socialists associated themselves. Finally mention may be made of the reception given

to the Italian fascists in Budapest at which Hungarian socialists uttered a courageous protest against the assassins of Matteotti.

The ceremony of unveiling the Matteotti Monument which was erected in the Maison du Peuple, Brussels, took place on 21st September, 1927, in the form of an impressive and dignified celebration. The monument which was modelled by the Belgian socialist sculptor War van Asten, stands in the Salle Blanche of the Maison du Peuple, which now by decision of the Directors of the Maison du Peuple bears the name of Salle Matteotti.

The monument is carved in white Vosges sandstone and forms a half-relief, in the middle of which a pillar rises bearing a flaming heart. There are standing against the pillar and leaning on it a mourning working-man and a working women with bowed heads. The column bears in French the inscription: "This flaming heart beat for liberty". In the pedestal, which bears the same inscription in Flemish and Italian, there is a medallion inserted portraying a half-relief of Matteotti.

Arthur *Henderson* in the name on the Labour and Socialist International, as the President of its Executive, delivered an address. He commemorated in pregnant words the great dead, who fell in fighting against a criminal system of violence and repression. *Van Roosbroeck* then accepted the memorial, in the name of the Belgian Labour Party, into the care of the Belgian workers. While he was speaking a guard of honour from the Belgian workers' guards approached the monument. The last speaker was Filippo *Turati*.

Musical items accompanied the ceremony, after the close of which there was a march past the Monument by the men and women workers of Brussels, who had assembled in all the rooms of the Maison du Peuple and in the street.

In the evening a great public demonstration against fascism took place, in which speeches were given by *Modigliani*, *Hermann Müller*, and *Leon Blum*. Here also there were musical items which gave, to the celebration a most inspiring character.

Fascist terrorism attained another climax after the outrage in Milan in April 1928, which resulted in numerous workers being imprisoned. The actual circumstances accompanying the outrage are enveloped in obscurity, so that the suspicion became a certainty that innocent people were to be sacrificed as victims to fascism. Accordingly the President of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International, Arthur *Henderson*, despatched on 27th April, 1928, the following telegram to Mussolini in Rome:

"In the name of the Labour and Socialist International we deplore and condemn the dastardly outrage at Milan by which so many innocent persons lost their lives as we have deplored and condemned the deeds

of violence of the fascist regime of which the murder of Matteotti is a symbol graven on the consciousness of the civilised world. In order that the moral conscience of the world may be assured that the persons guilty of the Milan outrage may be brought to justice and that innocent persons may not suffer, we express the hope that the persons accused will be represented by counsel chosen by them, will be informed in good time of the evidence collected against them and be permitted to call witnesses in their defence in public trial before a regular court.

Up to the present (end of June 1928), the trial has not taken place. What may be expected from it can meanwhile be judged once again by the trial of the Communists, in which fascist "jurisdiction" imposed penalties of imprisonment amounting to nearly 400 years.



### (3) The Victims of Political Persecution.

The difficulties of the struggle in the countries without democracy obliged the Executive of the L. S. I. to set on foot special institutions capable of distributing appropriately the general work to be performed and of conducting the necessary action in the most intensive form possible. From this point of view the *Matteotti Fund* was started in April 1926, and thereafter, at the session of the Executive of February 1927, the *Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners*. After thorough debate the Executive then adopted the resolution given below :—

The Executive of the L. S. I. records that the march of fascism and of reaction in a series of countries (Italy, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Lithuania and others) is not only forcing down the standard of life of the workers and threatening all their social gains, but also through the abolition of democratic rights and political liberties, is introducing a regime of despotism which is reverting to the worst methods of absolutism and of executive justice using mass imprisonment, interment under inhuman conditions, banishment by decree, concentration camps for its own citizens and often indeed not shrinking from the death penalty.

The Executive of the L. S. I. raises a vehement protest against the horrors and crimes of fascism and calls upon workers as well as on all democratically minded citizens of the whole world, to prosecute, unflinchingly and uncompromisingly, the campaign against the denial of political rights to the masses, and against the horrible system of political persecution, and further to help to the utmost of their powers the numerous victims of fascist terrorism.

The fight against reactionary persecution, which the L. S. I. is waging, is gravely prejudiced by the fact that the system of terrorism in the Soviet Union, especially in Georgia, continues to exist unaltered, and is becoming a permanent institution. The Executive denounces particularly the fact that thousands of socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals are held captive in jails, in banishment and even still on the Solovetski Islands, solely for having expressed their socialist convictions—and that in these jails a regime has been introduced which aims at the physical annihilation of the prisoners. The Executive condemns utterly this barbarous and senseless system of terrorism, which inflicts the utmost harm on the interests of the working-class of the Soviet Union and of international socialism : and it urges all the affiliated parties and particularly the socialist Press to employ every opportunity for helping their comrades in prison and for securing a general amnesty and the abolition of terrorism in the Soviet Union.

The Executive instructs its Bureau to elaborate proposals of relief for the prisoners, and urges the Executives of the affiliated parties to appoint in the most appropriate form committees whose task will be the furtherance of the *Matteotti Fund*.

The Executive summons the affiliated parties to avail themselves of the May-Day celebrations for the organisation of collections on behalf

of the Matteotti Fund, the following further proposal, submitted by A. F. Brockway in the name of the British delegation, was unanimously adopted :

"The Executive of the L. S. I. shall appoint a Commission to enquire into the condition of political prisoners, calling for reports from the affiliated parties in the countries concerned, and in the case of Russia and Georgia, seeking to obtain first-hand information by an investigation in these countries."

The Commission held its constituent meeting on 12th September, 1927, so that its activities belong only to the last quarter of the period reported. Its organisation and development are elsewhere described, but in order to avoid division of the narrative of the whole action of the L. S. I. in its fight against political persecution, we must insert into this account the principal pronouncements of the Commission.

The first action of importance after the Marseilles Congress related to Hungary. On 22nd October, 1925, the Secretariat of the L. S. I. addressed to the Directorate of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party the following message :

"The Hungarian Government is incessantly startling Europe with its illegal actions and deeds of violence. After all the horrors we have witnessed from this quarter, there is certainly no longer any doubt that the barbaric flogging of defenceless prisoners has again been perpetrated, and that the absurdity of a legal procedure by court martial is being prepared.

We are far from viewing as a heroic act the rashness with which the communist, Rakosi, knowing very well what threatened him, let himself be caught in the net of the Hungarian Counter-revolution. But this case makes us once again feel the whole disgrace that, for all the emigrants and indeed in equal measure for communists as for socialists, whether they took part in the Soviet regime or not, to return to Hungary is to risk one's life.

We most deeply deplore the attempts at disruption which the opposition within the Hungarian Party has occasioned, and we know that communist intrigues are at work there. But, on the other hand, we know that all these difficulties could only arise in the uncivilised milieu of a state which opposes with violence the most elementary right of a free expression of opinion. To the series of acts of violence belong indeed the mass arrests which have just lately been made ; arrests, the great majority of which were in no case intelligible or justifiable even from the standpoint of the present counter-revolutionary regime.

This is in rough outline the impression necessarily given by the news, in so many respects contradictory and confused, which comes out of Hungary. We therefore ask you to present to the Executive of the L. S. I., which will meet at the beginning of November, a detailed report on the occurrences of this recent stage, and especially on the steps you have taken to protest against the measures. Above all, it would be of the greatest significance if you could succeed by parliamentary action in getting the trials dealt with by the ordinary courts. Your parliamentary group is indeed fully aware of the fact that by protesting against the ill-treatment of prisoners, against the use of the court-martial, against the denial to the accused of their right to an ordinary defence, against the treatment of so-called political offences as common

crimes, they are voicing the opinion of the whole international socialist working-class, who will not relax their efforts to arouse the public opinion of the whole world against the shameful regime in Hungary."

The Executive Session of 4th and 5th November 1925, dealt closely with the barbarous conditions of Hungarian penal procedure and noted that the Hungarian government was not by any means prepared to close the epoch of persecution, and that indeed even the liquidation of that section of the refugees which had no connection with the Government of Workers' Councils in Hungary, was linked with conditions impossible of fulfilment. The Executive further defined its attitude towards the procedure by court-martial against Rakosy and resolved to send the following telegram to the Hungarian government :

"The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International, assembled in the Caxton Hall, London, fully adopts the protest published by the Secretariat on the 17th October against the violations of justice of which the workers of Hungary are the victims, and in particular against the employment of courts—martial at a time of undisturbed peace. The workers of all countries recognise in the methods adopted against the accused in the trial of Rakosi a policy of unjustifiable cruelty and of conscious provocation."

The Executive Session of February 1927 had been attended by the deputy Peyer as Hungarian representative. The co-operation of Peyer in the decisions on the manifesto of the International against the danger of war which contains a reference to the war like preparations in Hungary induced the Hungarian majority in Parliament to use this circumstance as the occasion for action to deprive Peyer of his seat. Shortly afterwards the Hungarian communist Zoltan Szanto was put into prison and brought before a court-martial for having attempted to start communist organisations and in particular a communist youth organisation. On 23rd March, 1927, the President of the Executive of the L. S. I., Arthur Henderson M. P. sent the following telegram to the Hungarian Premier Count Bethlen :

Seeing that a deputy is to be prosecuted in Hungary for having taken part in the meeting of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International in Paris of which I was Chairman, I consider it my duty to inform you that the working class of the whole world notes with indignation that you are continuing to apply the emergency laws intended for an imminent danger of war in peace—time against political opponents on political charges.

The Bureau of the L. S. I. which held a sitting in Paris on 4th April 1927, welcomed this initiative of Arthur Henderson against the reign of terror in Hungary, noted that Henderson had rightly characterised the standpoint of the L. S. I. and resolved once more to protest against the bringing of communists in Hungary before courts-martial for their attempts to found organisations. The Bureau of the L. S. I. demanded on behalf of the communists the right of legal activities on an equality with all other political parties.

After the abortive efforts of Rakosi and Szanto to reorganise the communist movement in Hungary, the ex-leader of the Hungarian government of Workers' Councils, Bela Kun, was arrested in Vienna in the course of a further attempt. The Hungarian government made an application for his extradition and charged Bela Kun with common crimes. Since there was reason to apprehend that the Austrian government might yield to this demand, on 24th May, 1928, a number of comrades on the initiative of Arthur Henderson despatched a telegram against the extradition of Bela Kun to the Austrian Chancellor Seipel. This manifesto which was signed by Henderson, Snowden, de Brouckère, Hermann Müller, Stauning, Blum, and Renaudel, ran as follows :—

The undersigned feel assured of being in accord with Austrian public opinion in condemning an attempt by the Communist International to aggravate the international difficulties of the Austrian Republic through an endeavour to make Vienna the headquarters of a secret political action. They wish to express indeed the sharpest condemnation of the methods of the Communist International and have no ground whatever for sympathy with Bela Kun, who brought the Hungarian workers into such extreme disaster, and whose recent activities were still, unquestionably, directed against the unity of the trade union and political organisations of the Hungarian workers; nevertheless they regard it as their duty emphatically to bring to the attention of the Austrian Government what a sensation would be provoked in all the democracies of Europe and how vehement would be the condemnation by all the democratic parties in Europe if the Austrian Government permitted itself to be driven to deliver a defeated revolutionary into the hands of his enemies. A strong impression has been created throughout Europe, and the sympathies of the democratic and labour elements in all Europe for the young Austrian Republic have been substantially reinforced by the fact that Austria has respected the principles of the right of asylum and of non-extradition of political refugees at a time when other States have wavered in this old-established tradition of liberalism and democracy. It is particularly necessary at such a time as the present when owing to the existence in many countries of oppressed national minorities and owing to the threat to democracy of systems of government by violence, the number of political refugees has enormously increased on all sides, that European democracy should uphold this principle; namely that a direct contradiction of the principles of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States would be involved by delivery of the members and supporters of a defeated government into the hands of those who defeated them. Accordingly the undersigned appeal to the Austrian Government to uphold in this case also the honourable tradition of the Austrian Republic, and thereby to strengthen the sympathies towards that Republic of all democratic and labour forces throughout Europe.

In December 1926 the number of countries under fascist dictatorship was increased by a new one, *Lithuania*. Immediately following the coup d'état assistance began to be rendered by the socialist parties in the neighbouring States. The session of the enlarged Bureau of the L. S. I. in April 1927, considered the political persecutions in Lithuania. The meeting had in its hands wires from the Secretaries of the workers' organisations of Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland, in which it was pointed out that leading social-democrats were to come up for judgment in Lithuania before courts-martial.

It was further pointed out that in this country of white terrorism it would be altogether possible that the anticipated death sentences might be actually carried out. The Bureau therefore resolved to direct the attention of European public opinion to the reign of terror in Lithuania and to register the strongest possible protest against the regime of courts-martial.

This resolution was communicated by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. to the Lithuanian Premier, Woldemaras, in the following telegram :—

At its meeting in Paris the Enlarged Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International unanimously entered vehement protest against the outrage of martial law and the shameful enforcement of death penalties in Lithuania.

On 23rd September the Bureau of the L. S. I. addressed to the workers of Lithuania the following manifesto, in which the situation in Lithuania was fully examined :

During nine months your country has been delivered into the hands of a few unscrupulous officers. Since the criminal stroke of December 17th, 1926, has deprived you of your political rights, the organised "mayor" Plechavicius, who is the real commander of the "Government" Woldemaras, has made Lithuania that country in Europe in which besides Italy the Fascist reaction is committing the most cruel excesses.

The election of May 1926 has brought the socialists in Lithuania a considerable increase in votes, they had become the strongest party but one and they took part in the Government of the country. The trade unions and the Labour Party were developing favourably. Then came the "coup d'Etat", through which the small nationalist party, which had only three representatives in the old Seim, got to the head of affairs, this being the party of the actual "President" Smetona and the "Premier" Woldemaras. All democratic rights were destroyed. There is a permanent danger of war since this dictatorship exists. Every form of freedom of press and freedom of meeting is destroyed. One dozen trade unions were dissolved, viz. the railwaymen's union, the metalworkers' union and the leatherworkers' union. The paper of the trade unions was prohibited, the trade union organisers were put into concentration camps or were banished from the country. The dictators are of the opinion that the trade unions are altogether superfluous institutions.

All parliamentary and democratic means to express the will of the people are crippled. Not only the workers but also great circles of the bourgeoisie and the peasants are filled with hatred against the military despotism. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that attempts are again and again made to overthrow the usurpers by adopting their own methods of fighting.

The attempt of workers and bourgeois at Tauroggen to restore democracy has failed. Military dictatorship is now revenging itself on the people and above all it considers the moment favourable for the extermination of labour organisations. Again blood has been shed in Lithuania. The dictators will have to answer for the deaths of all the victims. The accused are executed without preliminary trial, not even their names are properly ascertained. Thus, when the first six victims were executed, the names of five of them were wrongly stated by the official paper and the statement had to be altered subsequently. The names of the first six victims are : Gudionis, Odovas, Lecavicius, Paulikas, Burneckis, Kaslauskas.

After that, eight more persons have been sentenced to death. One of them has been executed. The name of the executed man is Jonas Milkeraitis. The other sentences have been changed into prison for life. Up to now 16 rebels have been sentenced to prison for life, one for 20 years, one for 15 years, one for 10 years and one for 3 years.

But unfortunately the blood of these victims has not appeased the wrath of the dictators. Reports of further persecutions have just arrived, whose authenticity we have not yet been able to ascertain. But what has been proved with certainty is sufficient to rouse the workers of all countries against the tyranny in Lithuania.

Workers of Lithuania! We know that you have no possibility of communicating with foreign countries. We know that your oppressors are trying to conceal from the world the truth about conditions in your country. But you shall know that in spite of all this we will endeavour to support your cause as best we can, that we shall reveal to Europe the truth about the criminals into whose hands Lithuania has fallen, and that we firmly believe that even in these hard times your courage and resolution will help you to fulfil the great task which has been assigned to you, the Restoration of Democracy in Lithuania.

On 7th November, 1927, the Soviet Union celebrated the 10th anniversary of its existence. On the occasion of this jubilee an amnesty was conceded which, however, was so indistinctly framed as regards political prisoners, that it seemed to be a matter of doubt whether the socialist prisoners in Soviet Russia would benefit by it at all. The two Presidents of the Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners, de Brouckère and Crispian, addressed accordingly on 1st December, 1927, the following message to Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union :—

On the occasion of the anniversary you have issued an amnesty the provisions of which as to political prisoners are so elastically framed that it remains altogether obscure whether the amnesty applies to the numerous socialists who are pining in the prisons and places of banishment of the Soviet Union. Your political police which proceeds by secret ways withdrawn from public control has the power to present every socialist party in the light of one that is aiming at the overthrow of the Soviet Government, irrespective of whether the party is really doing so or not, and likewise the power to consider every individual socialist as an active member of the party without troubling whether he really is so or not.

In this situation we view it as our duty to demand with the utmost emphasis on behalf of millions of workers in Europe that our comrades in faith and party be no longer detained in the prisons and places of banishment of the Soviet Union, into which almost always they have been thrown without any procedure by a Court, without legal guarantees, indeed without having incurred any real guilt. You have fixed a delay of a month for the preparation of directions respecting the application of the amnesty. There is yet time to remove the disgrace that thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals must languish in gaol or banishment merely for thinking as we do, for rejecting the principle of the Communist Party Monopoly, and for claiming on behalf of the Russian working-class the most elementary right, namely that of being able to speak and to elect in freedom. The same abomination is committed in the Hungary of Horthy. We are striving against this infamy, we are fighting to secure full legality to the Communist Parties in all countries; but we demand the same legality also for the Socialist Parties in the

Soviet Union. In this fight you attack us from behind through the example of suppression which you give. There is yet time, you can yet bring it about that a full amnesty should be extended to include all socialists without exception, whether active or passive, who have been convicted by your courts or by administrative channels on account of their socialist political activity. There is yet time to abandon the course of poisoning the working-class and to clear away one of the worst obstacles to its unity.

This communication was left unanswered. But the facts gave the answer that the Soviet Government was not prepared to amnesty its working-class political prisoners. Indeed a new wave of persecution began which was directed against the leaders of the Opposition within the Russian Communist Party. These circumstances were pointed out in a new communication by de Brouckère and Crispien on 2nd February 1928. The letter was in these terms :

On December 1st, 1927, we addressed to you a communication with the aim of giving expression to the desire of the international working-class that the amnesty on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union should also comprise an universal political amnesty. Our communication remained unanswered ; however, in the meanwhile a form of answer has been given by you which could not be more illuminating. Not only have you given no political amnesty, but you have inflicted *fresh political persecutions*. Dozens of the leaders of the Opposition within your own party have been despatched into banishment. Thus Leo Trotzky is to drag out his existence in distant Asia, in Turkestan, removed by hundreds of miles from all political and civilised life. The places to which Rakowsky, Radek and others have been banished have not yet been made known. But the evasion with which you have hitherto sought to cheat the workers of the world in respect of your system of persecution, is this time revealed to everyone more unmistakably than ever before. In all these years you have sent into banishment and cast into prison hundreds and hundreds of honest and faithful socialists ; and whenever you were taken to task for it, you sought to justify the persecutions by every kind of fable to the effect that the people in question were counterrevolutionaries. It was proved against you in hundreds of cases that this charge was a direct calumny on men and women who have self-sacrificingly devoted their lives to the service of the working-class. In the case of the Opposition in your Party which is now concerned, you cannot, even within your own Party, advance this usual calumny that it is a question of "counterrevolutionaries". For indeed, far as we are from regarding the conceptions and deeds of such a man as Trotzky during the last ten years as having been a blessing to the workers, we shall never question, and even you cannot deny, that he has been a whole-hearted revolutionary. And that is why this persecution of your Opposition, and in the first place in the case of Trotzky, stands as an illustration of your system which brooks no freedom of opinion, but subordinates everything to the dictates of your absolutist regime.

The L. S. I. intervened similarly in the mass movement which arose against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti: Immediately after a re-trial had been refused, on 8th April, the President of the Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners,

de Brouckère, sent the following telegram to the Gouverneur of the State of Massachusetts :—

"Seven million workers organised in Labour and Socialist International are convinced innocence Sacco and Vancetti. I ask you not to allow execution that would so deeply offend conscience of mankind."

In the course of the ensuing months the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. gave utterance to repeated protests against the legal murder which was being prepared in America. On the eve of the final decision, amid the public indignation against American justice, the L. S. I. sought once more to avert the misfortune by the despatch on 9th August, 1927, of the following wire to President Coolidge :—

"There are countries which know no death penalty. We will not discuss principle, but does not the conscience of mankind demand to refrain from executing men of whose innocence more than half the world is convinced?"

Both the Executive and also the Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners has had to concern itself on many occasions with political persecutions in other countries. The situation in the Balkans, particularly in Rumania and Bulgaria has been the subject of detailed consideration. Thus the Executive sitting of April, 1926, gave attention to the situation in Bulgaria and Rumania, and that of November, 1925, to the situation in Esthonia which was examined afresh at the Executive session of February, 1927. In addition the Executive at its meeting of November 1925 dealt with the situation in Armenia. A wide debate on the situation in the countries without democracy took place in the Executive of February 1927. In the course of it the political persecutions in Poland were likewise dealt with by the Executive, and a resolution was passed in favour of giving support to the defensive action of the Polish socialist movement.

It is but too intelligible that fascist terrorism should arouse in many of the trampled workers an impulse to vengeance, the will to practise by fire and sword the same terrorism as the fascists themselves use. But it evident that for the socialist working-class the only watchword can be that for the restoration of democracy, just as much now as it used to be wherever we were fighting for the conquest of freedom against feudalism and monarchy.

The May Day Appeal of the International for 1928 was able to point to the election victories of 1927 and of early 1928. It had however, to proceed as follows :—

But the arena of the Labour and Socialist International is much more extensive than the sphere of the countries concerned in the election struggles. The most difficult tasks have to be performed

*in the countries without democracy*

and matters are not much better

*in the countries with apparent democracy.*



The comrades in these countries have to make extreme sacrifices in order to maintain intact the links of their organisations, to convey to the masses of their country enlightenment as to the real position and as to their tasks, and to keep foreign countries informed concerning the abominations practised by the dictatorships and semi-dictatorships. And so on the 1st of May our thoughts will turn first and foremost to our comrades in prisons and places of banishment, and to those who must bear the hard lot of life in exile.

Wherever democracy exists, the working-class is stepping triumphantly forward. It is the countries under dictatorship which are blocking the victorious march of the workers. So much the more vigorous and penetrating therefore must be our battle-cry to demand the restoration of democracy in all countries !

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#### (4) The Conference of Four Countries at Luxemburg.

In the Report of the L. S. I. submitted to the Marseilles Congress, the question of Franco-German relations occupied the centre of interest. Through the Treaties of *Locarno* and the *entry of Germany into the League of Nations* the antagonistic tension has been decisively relieved. As to this development we have reported in the Section on the League of Nations. Below we merely reproduce the resolution framed and adopted by the Conference of Four Countries at Luxemburg on 21st—2nd November, 1926.

The following took part in this Conference:

For *Germany*: Breitscheid, Crispian, Müller, Hilferding, Schmidt, Sollmann, Wels, and for the Saar District Schäfer.

For *Belgium*: de Brouckère, van Roosbroeck.

For *France*: Auriol, Blum, Bracke, Paul Boncour, Faure, Renaudel.

For *England*: Roberts, Gillies.

The Secretary of the L. S. I., Friedrich Adler, attended the meetings.

The discussion led to complete accord between the delegations attending, which found expression in the following resolution:

##### I.

The delegates of the German, Belgian, British and French sections of the L. S. I. assembled at Luxembourg on the 21st and 22nd November, 1926, view with satisfaction the progress accomplished by the policy of European understanding as the result of the Conferences of London and Locarno, of the Assembly of the League of Nations of September, 1926, and of the Thoiry meeting.

It was not due to any neglect on the part of the International Socialist Movement if this progress was not achieved sooner or more completely. In associating all the interested parties in a common effort, it has, in the teeth of the attacks levelled against each of them in their respective countries immediately after the war, established the principles which the Governments are at last beginning to apply, although very imperfectly.

The Dawes Plan, in so far as it is useful and equitable, was inspired by the Frankfurt resolutions; the Locarno agreement is derived from the conclusions of the Berlin Socialist Conference of April, 1923; the entry of Germany into the League of Nations was prepared by the Conference of Brussels and the International Congress of Marseilles.

To-day the results achieved and the more favourable atmosphere which they have created permit the International Socialist Movement to envisage a new phase of progress. It will again bring pressure to bear upon the Governments to induce them to take the necessary decisions

with a view to advancing a step further the mission of peace and in particular to eliminating the causes of conflict which still subsist between France and Germany, whose sincere reconciliation remains the essential condition of European peace.

## II.

The Berlin decisions had already recognised "that the peace of Europe and the security of France would find their surest guarantee in the strengthening of the Republic and of Democracy in Germany". In Germany, and nearly everywhere in Europe, one of the most dangerous obstacles to real pacification is still to be found in the propaganda of reactionary parties and in the militaristic factions which, in all countries, pursuing with the same hatred the spirit of international understanding and the spirit of liberty, prepare both civil war and war against foreign nations. The danger has been greatly increased by the Fascist parties who to-day hold power in certain countries of Europe, such as Spain, Hungary, and in particular Italy, and who can only prolong their rule of oppression by seeking in mad foreign adventures the gratification of the nationalist brutalities which they have let loose and an outlet for the popular fury which they dread.

It is the duty of every section of the International to pursue the fight against Fascism, both at home and abroad. It is their duty to lend moral and material help to the oppressed workers, who are fighting both to free themselves from an intolerable yoke and to deliver mankind as a whole from the menace which weighs upon peace.

## III.

The lasting reconciliation of Germany and France, which is indispensable to the consolidation of peace, necessarily involves the termination of the military occupation of German territory. Already at the Frankfurt Conference of February, 1922, the Parties represented at Luxembourg declared that

"these occupations hurt the feelings of the people in the occupied territories, absorb the sums collected by Germany for the reparation of the devastated countries, and, nourishing the spirit of hatred, risk giving risk to new conflicts".

It is therefore one of the essential tasks of the Socialist Parties to solve speedily the problem of the evacuation of the Rhineland. The putting into operation of the Dawes Plan by Germany, that country's entry into the League of Nations, and the coming into force of the Locarno Treaty permit to-day the Governments themselves to envisage the rapid solution of this problem. It is incumbent upon the interested parties to hasten the solution and to remove the difficulties that still stand in its way. It must in particular be avoided that financial difficulties, the solution of which often depend on foreign capitalism, should be allowed to form an obstacle to speedy evacuation, which the International Socialist Movement has never ceased to demand.

## IV.

On the other hand, the Socialist Parties have always recognised that the evacuation of the occupied territories was in practice bound up with the satisfactory solution of the problems of disarmament and security.

Germany has undertaken to disarm "with a view to rendering possible the preparation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations". The Governments represented at Versailles as well as all the members of the League of Nations have solemnly undertaken to put this limitation of armaments into practice. The organised workers of all countries must demand the execution of that promise. The Conference places it on record that after the termination of the preparatory tech-

nical work it now only depends on the will of the Governments whether the meeting of the Disarmament Conference should take place or not. The Conference further declares that any unjustified adjournment of the Conference would have the most serious consequences, and the failure of the League of Nations in this field would precipitate the Geneva institution into a crisis.

The League of Nations must take the problem of general disarmament in hand rapidly and resolutely and settle in common the universal control of disarmament for all countries.

The workers of Germany and France must induce their Governments to show the necessary good-will so that the final measures of disarmament promised by Germany may be promptly carried into effect, and that, on the other hand, the abolition of inter-allied control be no longer delayed by vexatious demands. The control of the disarmament of Germany must henceforth be conceived within the framework of a general convention implying equal rights and duties for all. In the same way, the disarmament of Germany can only be conceived in future as part and parcel of universal disarmament.

Pending the establishment of this general organisation, and in order to avoid any delay in the evacuation of the Rhineland, the League of Nations should appoint a commission of civilians, comprising representatives of States belonging to the League, including Germany. This commission would have the power to decide whether German obligations in the demilitarized zone have been respected. No effort should be spared to replace this system as speedily as possible by another purely contractual one which would organise on the basis of strict reciprocity the procedure necessary to the proper working of the Locarno Treaties.

#### V.

The action of the Socialist Parties will be directed towards settling definitely in conjunction with the solution of the Rhenish problem, the fate of the population of the Saar Valley, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants. No nation has any interest in prolonging to its legal term the transitional regime imposed upon them by the Treaty of Versailles. An amicable settlement for which the Governments already possess all the necessary elements, would greatly contribute to the reconciliation of France and Germany.

#### VI.

Finally, the work of international reconciliation demands that the definite and fully satisfactory solution be found to the problems of reparations and debts. The very success of its tenacious efforts should encourage the International Socialist Movement to persevere. Experience has proved that the Socialists were right in demanding at the Frankfurt Conference and at the International Congress of Marseilles the general cancellation of inter-allied war debts, the exclusive application of German payments to the reconstruction of devastated areas, and the mobilisation of the German debt, in so far as it may be judged equitable and possible. To-day the question of inter-allied debts weighs heavily upon the economic life and the political relations of all the great nations. The total of the German debt is not yet fixed. Owing to the lack of consolidation we still find a debtor nation face to face with creditor nations. True to the principles it always stood for, the International Socialist Movement must work for the cancellation of debts and for the reduction of the German obligations to the real value of material reparations, as well as for their consolidation upon which their prompt liberations depends.

## VII.

The Frankfurt Conference has recognised that the problems of reparations and debts did not concern the belligerent countries only and that they could not be separated from the general problems which all the nations have to face as a consequence of the war.

The consolidation of peace depends to a large extent on the growth of a universal economic solidarity. This conference records the important progress made in this direction during the last months. But the Socialist Parties cannot afford to abandon to the great capitalists the direction of the new organisations in which production and exchange are being concentrated. They must strive incessantly to ensure to the community and to the labour organisations an ever-increasing share in the control of these vast central economic institutions. They must take particular care, under the new conditions of industry, to safeguard wages and working conditions. The Conference impresses upon the parties the urgent necessity of obtaining the ratification of the Washington Eight Hours Convention in their respective countries. By this means they will contribute towards the successful resistance to the fresh attack of international capitalism on one of the most precious achievements of the working-class. The Conference also recalls the resolutions passed on this subject by the Brussels Conference. The workers cannot allow themselves to be excluded from the Economic Conference which the League of Nations is preparing and which so obviously affects their interests. The Conference requests the Labour and Socialist International to get into touch with the I. F. T. U. with a view to calling an International Joint meeting before the official conference so as to enable the movement to take the necessary steps regarding propaganda and action.

## VIII.

The Conference submits the above resolution to the Executive of the L. S. I. with the request to transmit it to the consideration of the affiliated parties.

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The resolution adopted at Luxemburg was frequently cited successfully in public discussion by the representatives of parties who had attended the Conference ; unfortunately on one point there arose a disagreement as to the interpretation of the resolution. This first showed itself in a controversy between Longuet and Paul Boncour on the subject of the evacuation of the Rhineland at the French Party Congress which met at Christmas 1927. The Directorate of the German Socialist Party referred to the announcement by Paul Boncour in an article in the Berlin "Vorwärts" of the 30th December, 1927, and in a communication to the Executive of the Socialist Party of France (D. D. 3/1928). The Executive of the French Socialist Party at its meeting of the 8th February deputed its international sub-committee to reply to the German Executive, referring it to the item of the party programme dealing with the Evacuation of the Rhineland, and making no preliminary conditions, but at the same time suggesting a joint conference of the German and French delegates under the Chairmanship of de Brouckère.

In the election programme of the French Socialist Party for the elections of 1928 their attitude appears in a form which is free from any uncertainty.

It is recalled that that Conference proposed "that a Commission be formed of representatives of member states including Germany, to be appointed by the League of Nations. The programme then goes on : "It is the aim of the Parties concerned, in the formulation of this proposal, to take into account the practical difficulties which they are seeking to solve as rapidly as possible. They see in the introduction of a form of supervision an accompaniment to the evacuation capable of rendering it quicker and simpler. But they do not mean to render dependent on any preliminary condition a measure whose immediate necessity we continue to proclaim.

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## (5) The Problems of North-Eastern Europe.

### a) Conference of the Socialist Parties of the Baltic States.

The Socialist Parties of Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania arranged a conference for the 19th and 20th June, 1926, at Riga, for the joint discussion of various political and economic questions.

This Conference was attended by the following countries: for Esthonia: Martna, Ast, Wain and Jans; for Lithuania: Kairis, Bielinis, Pletschkaitis, Epstein, Januskis; for Latvia: Rainis, P. Kalnin, Zeelens, Rudeviz, Bilman, Dukurs, Moric, Maizel. After a mutual interchange of information and discussion on the questions on the agenda the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

#### 1. *The Defence of Democracy.*

1. In the Baltic States, in a varying degree, a trend of fascist ideas and also fascist organisations have made themselves felt lately among sections of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who are making mob attacks on the working-class and its organisations. These fascist organisations have as their object the overthrow by violence of the existing democratic form of state and the establishment of a violent dictatorship by the wealthy bourgeoisie. For the defence of the working class and of democracy, the Parties represented at the Conference are anxious to fight fascism with all possible means, not only in their separate countries, but also *jointly*, by mutual support among the Baltic States.

2. The influence of communism on the working-class has gradually receded in the Baltic States. Nevertheless, the Conference deems it necessary to continue the decisive struggle of principle against communism, since the latter's methods divide the power and unity of the working-class, interrupt the fight of the working masses in the defence of their class interests, and prevent the realisation of the consistent principles of democracy and socialism. The Conference further recognises that the struggle against communism will be most effectively conducted, not with police methods, but by extensive social reforms which will meet the interests of the wide masses of the workers.

3. In some of the Baltic States the influence of reactionary nationalist jingoism has increased during recent years, and this, often in very brutal forms, strikes at the national minorities. The Conference protests against this nationalist reaction, and decides that it is necessary in this struggle not only to enlighten the mass of the people on the evils of nationalism, but also to stand for the equality of all citizens of the state, without consideration of nationality or creed, and to demand the realisation of legal autonomy for national minorities.

#### 2. *The Tasks of Foreign Policy.*

The small Baltic States—Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—can best further the main aims of their foreign policy—the maintenance of peace, guaranteeing of independence and economic advancement, if democracy, in its foreign policy, is guided by following axioms:—

1. The regulation of foreign political relations must be based on consistent democratic principles, and in addition the policy of the states

must be directed along such channels as will preserve states from such political enterprises and groupings as might draw them into political conflicts and catastrophes.

2. Friendly political and economic relations between the Baltic States and Soviet Russia are to be maintained and developed. The Treaty of Guarantee, which is to be concluded between these states is an important step forward along the road to the security of peace and to the stabilisation of political relations on the Baltic Sea. The small Baltic States should if possible jointly conclude such a Treaty of Guarantee with Soviet Russia.

3. The Vilna question has not up to the present found a democratic solution. The Vilna point of contention is to be regarded as a factor which threatens the peace of eastern Europe. And therefore the Conference considers it necessary that Socialists in the Baltic States on their part should demand a peaceful solution to the Vilna question along the lines that the inhabitants of the Vilna district be given the possibility of deciding freely themselves as to their political fate.

4. Should it not be possible to solve the political conflicts along the lines of direct diplomatic negotiations, it would then be necessary to arrive at a solution by means of arbitration.

5. Everything which serves the general restriction of armaments is to be supported.

6. The political federation, which already exists between Esthonia and Latvia, is to be developed further so that those Baltic States are also drawn into this federation which gravitate towards one another, such as in the first place, Lithuania and Finland. And in this connection the Conference emphasises that the only objects of such a federation should be the restoration of peace, the guarantee of the independence of states and the security of free traffic on the Baltic Sea.

7. The Conference considers it necessary to further the economic rapprochement of the small Baltic States, since such a rapprochement would raise their economic prestige in the world's affairs and also their political significance in Europe.

### *3. The Economic Rapprochement between the Baltic States.*

The Baltic States (Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) can on rational lines solve the tasks of their political and economic development and of their social well-being if they pursue such a policy as tends to their economic unification. To solve this question the Socialist Party of these countries must overcome 1. the inertia which the bourgeoisie shews on the question of the economic unification of the Baltic States, and the obstacles which certain groups of employers oppose to economic rapprochement, and 2. must support the following concrete policy of unification :—

(a) Agreement on foreign trade policy by the introduction of uniform and common customs tariffs and customs formalities, as well as by the establishment of uniform duties and taxes on trade, water and other transport.

(b) Uniformity in the activities of consulate and trade representatives.

(c) The introduction of uniform railway rates and uniformity in their application ; the abolition of everything hindering passenger or goods traffic between these states ; the abolition of foreign passports, of visas and consulate charges.

(d) The introduction of uniform systems of direct and indirect taxes as well as of state monopolies with the purpose of diminishing indirect taxes and furthering the development of productive power.

(e) Extended joint development of social legislation.



In order to make possible the carrying out step by step of these reforms, it is necessary to found special joint organisations and institutions between the federated States, as also to bring about a close contact between the parliaments of the federated states, for the purpose of unifying legislation.

Pending the realisation of such an economic rapprochement, it is necessary to unify the economic conventions and treaties now in existence. New conventions and treaties must be concluded jointly by the three federated states.

In consideration of the fact that in the economic sphere the Baltic States have a very great interest in the Russian market, just as Russia no less is interested in a close economic collaboration with the Baltic States, the Conference deems it essential to further and develop by every means economic relations between the Baltic States and Russia, keeping in mind that this economic unity shall go much further than the principle of most favoured nation.

#### *4. The League of Nations and Land Reform.*

Recently the former aristocratic big landowners in the Baltic States have been making charges in respect of these states in the League of Nations.

1. Land reform was a necessary economic reform, which provided the large classes of the landless and peasant farmers with land.

2. Land reform is a historically important event in the whole of Eastern Europe, without whose introduction into the Baltic States the domestic political stability of these states would not have been possible. In this sense land reform is the economic basis of the independent and democratic Baltic States.

3. Land reform is not directed against national minorities, but against a social minority—against a small handful of feudal aristocratic big landowners.

4. Land reform, as an economic reform, lies within the competence of the domestic legislation of the state, and is in no way subject to the consent of the League of Nations, which is the representatives of the rights of national minorities.

5. Possible pressure by the League of Nations for the purpose of a revision of the land reform in the interests of the former aristocratic and feudal landowners can only compromise the League of Nations in the eyes of the wide masses of the people.

6. A possible intervention by the League of Nations in the affairs of land reform may provoke such sharp social and political struggles as may threaten the peaceful development of the Baltic States to a serious degree.

In view of all this, the Conference protests against the presumption of the former landowners in introducing their troubles into the League of Nations, as well as against any possible interference by the League, which in some way or other under the cloak of protecting national minorities would be to defend the interests of a small group of feudal aristocrats.

The Parties represented at the Conference will continue the decisive fight for the defence of land reform. And in this fight for the defence of one of the most important victories of the Revolution and for the self-determination of the people, the Parties will make use of all possible means at their disposal.

#### **b) The Conference of North-Eastern Europe of the Labour and Socialist International.**

On December 18th and 19th, 1927, with the Secretary Adler in the Chair, a Conference of the Socialist Parties of North-Eastern

Europe was held in Berlin. The following were present as official delegates from the Parties : Kairys and Epsteinas (Lithuania), Diamand and Niedzialkovski (Poland, P. P. S.), Drobner and Kruk (Poland, I. S. P.), Adolf Braun, Breitscheid, Crispian, Hilferding und Wels (Germany), Gehl and Mau (Danzig), Klara Kalnin (Latvia), Abramovitch, Dalin, Dan und Kefali (Russia S. D.), Gurevitch and Tschernoff (Russia, S. R.), Moeller und Hansson (Schweden), Stauning (Denmark), and the members of the Executive of the L. S. I. : Leo Winter (Czechoslovakia), Tseretelli (Georgia) and Bezpalko (Ukraine).

First of all the Conference heard extensive reports as to the development of events in Lithuania from the official delegates of the Lithuanian Socialist Party, Kairys and Epstainas. Next opportunity was given to the representatives of the Lithuanian emigrants now in Vilna to express their views. The speaker on their behalf was Pletchkaitis, who has been suspended by the organisation in Lithuania from his membership of the Central Committee. He pointed out that many of the announcements relating to him did not by any means agree with the facts, and he declared that his point of view was conveyed with substantial accuracy in the interview of the "Berliner Tageblatt" of December 3rd, 1927.

In the course of the debate in which nearly all those present at the Conference took part, the relations of the Parties of the Border States towards one another were thoroughly considered. The Conference was quite unanimous in its conviction, that the existing regimes in Lithuania and Poland not only entail the gravest damage to the internal evolution of these countries, but may also act mischievously on the development of external relationships. The Conference expects that the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. will back with all their might the Lithuanian people's struggle on behalf of the restoration of democracy. However, it decisively rejects any direct or indirect attempts by foreign powers to exploit the struggle for their own purposes and to meddle in it.

With regard to the conflict between Poland and Lithuania, the *Lithuanian* representatives Kairys and Epsteinas made the following declaration :

One of the principal questions which form a permanent cause of strained relations between neighbouring states and present a danger to peace in North-Eastern Europe, is the Vilna question. The raid of General Zeligovski upon Vilna has created an extremely threatening political situation, which was formally viewed as a state of war between Lithuania and Poland. The last decision of the League of Nations, while putting an end to the state of war, has not solved the Vilna question.

Accordingly we presume that the impending direct conversations between Lithuania and Poland for the attainment of normal relations will not be capable of solving the questions at issue fundamentally and bringing about peaceful relations. This may be explained by the fact that :

1. the internal relationships of the various nationalities in the Vilna district demand some form of independent regulated decision ;

2. and that several neighbouring states are competing for the Vilna district.

With regard to the internal relationships of the various nationalities, we must record that the specific national differences and endeavours of minorities always have provoked disputes and always will do so. These questions in dispute are bound to have their effect on the political orientation of the individual nationalities. Therefore, the Lithuanian and White-Russian population of the Vilna district will never approve the present solution by force of the Vilna question. The policy of expansion of the Polish government, and its measures for imposing Polish civilisation will aggravate relationships still further and lead to a dangerous state in the conditions of Eastern Europe, similar to that in the Balkans. The more tensely the inner conditions in the Vilna district itself develop, the more dangerous must relations become between the neighbouring states competing for Vilna. On the one hand the autonomous White-Russian Republic under the Soviet Union urges definite claims extending to certain portions of the Vilna district. On the other hand public opinion in Lithuania, without distinction of Party and irrespective of which solution of the question the government of Lithuania may be compelled to accept, will never endorse a solution by force.

The Lithuanian Socialist Party, founded in the Vilna district 30 years ago and active there up to the end of the world war, is convinced that the present position in the Vilna district is not normal or rightfully regulated. The Party's motives differ fundamentally from the point of view of the Lithuanian nationalist parties, who base their claims merely on historical rights and accordingly assume the Vilna districts as unquestionable property of Lithuania. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, holds that the Vilna district has traditional ties with Lithuania economically, culturally and socially; however, it has never supposed that the Vilna question could be settled by forcible measures. To-day it still maintains the same standpoint. It is firmly convinced that the only way in which the question can be settled according to logic and reason implies a free vote of the Vilna population. Only the population itself can choose and fix its own national status; but for that conditions of freedom instead of forcible occupation are required.

On behalf of the *Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.)* *Niedzialkowski* made the following statement :

The Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) notes the declaration of Lithuanian socialists on the Vilna question, and on its side expresses its profound conviction that on the day of the triumph of democracy in Poland and Lithuania all the complex problems today dividing the two countries will find their pacific solution on the bases of the principles of international socialism and of the right of self-determination of all peoples.

After an extensive debate in which all the participants shared, *the points of view common* to all were framed as follows :—

The Conference records that the compromise obtained in Geneva by the Council of the League of Nations constitutes no solution. The "unity" reached at Geneva has not touched the root of the conflict, i. e. the Vilna question, and has left open all the various points in dispute. This is a state of affairs all the more dangerous since in the two countries primarily concerned, Lithuania and Poland, democracy at the present moment does not exist, but is superseded by a condition of more or less veiled military government. The mere invitation to the resumption of direct negotiations without any binding directives or definite aims—which forms the total outcome of the proceedings in Geneva—, offers in these circumstances strong grounds for anxiety that the conversations

impending in Lithuania will be fruitless and that the Lithuanian-Polish strife will break out anew in an aggravated form.

Accordingly it is the task of the L. S. I. and particularly of the parties represented at the Conference, who by their geographical position are especially concerned, to warn the working-class against feelings of optimism which find no justification in the resolution of the Council of the League of Nations. The attempts at mediation by both governments in Kovno and Warsaw, with which we are already familiar, justify on the contrary the apprehension lest the outcome of Geneva should in the most favourable event present merely a breathing-space in the latent conflict for Vilna. On this ground the Conference registers with satisfaction the point of view categorically emphasised by all participants, especially by the representatives of Poland and Lithuania,—namely that for socialists no international dispute may be settled by resort to arms, and that they will therefore withstand with all their might any preparations for belligerent action.

The Conference adheres to the principle of the right of self-determination of nations, which has hitherto found no application to the Vilna district and which alone offers hopes of a satisfying solution of the Vilna question for all the nationalities inhabiting this territory (Poles, Lithuanians, White-Russians, Jews, etc.). The realisation of these principles with regard to the Vilna district requires the removal of the existing regimes in Lithuania and Poland and a return to parliamentary democracy. In this struggle the leading part will fall to the Labour Parties affiliated to the L. S. I.

For the impending direct negotiations between Poland and Lithuania the Conference advances the following minimum claims: Re-opening of the frontier; restoration of normal economic and political relations between the two countries, and in the first place resumption of postal, personal, goods and transit traffic on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier; and the institution of a provisional basis for the legal political and economic existence of the population in the present so-called neutral zone.

The Conference emphasises that the Polish-Lithuanian dispute is only a constituent problem in the whole complex of those East-European questions which can and must find a peaceful solution only in the restoration of democracy in the East of Europe under the leadership of the Socialist Parties.

## (6) The Fight for the Eight Hour Day.

At all its sessions the Executive of the L. S. I. has given consideration to the question of the Eight Hour Day and to the struggle for the ratification of the Washington Convention.

The resolution of the National Congress in Marseilles on the Eight Hour Day contains the following passage: "The Congress instructs the Executive Committee to approach the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions 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."

In accordance therewith the L. S. I. and I. F. T. U., both in joint deliberations of their representatives and in other ways, have discussed in common the individual phases of the struggle and have passed resolutions on steps to be taken in common.

On 8th October 1925 a session of representatives of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. assembled Amsterdam. The discussions had for a starting-point the resolutions of the International Congress of Marseilles on the Eight Hour Day and on Unemployment. The Conference discussed the steps required in the immediate future towards realising the ratification of the Washington Convention, and accepted unanimously the proposal to initiate during the period from 15th November—mid-December, 1925, a special campaign of propaganda for the ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day in all countries where the ratification has not yet taken place. The governing bodies of the Trade Union National Centres, of the Socialist Parties and their parliamentary groups in the various countries were urged to consult each other as to what parliamentary and propagandist action could be undertaken during the period named. In connection therewith consideration was also given to the question of a boycott against all goods manufactured in enterprises where the provisions of the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day are not observed, and the dangers of such proceedings being exploited for protectionist manoeuvres was pointed out.

The following session of the Executive of the L. S. I. which occurred in London on 4th and 5th November, 1925, had in its hands a report on the above-mentioned Conference of representatives of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. The representatives of various countries reported as to the level of legislation on working hours in their own country. It was established that although in fact the eight

hour day exists in many countries, this, the most important achievement of the working-class, is still not yet assured until an international guarantee shall safeguard the workers of all countries against the danger that in any country the eight hour day may be infringed. Accordingly the ratification of the Washington Convention is necessary even where the eight hour day is enforced according to a national law or to trade union agreements and where ratification would thus assume the character of an international minimum guarantee by the side of the national legislation which in many instances is actually more favourable.

The Executive welcomed with much satisfaction the communication of the Belgian representative that the Belgium Government, in which the Belgian Labour Party was then participating, intended, immediately after the re-assembly of the Chamber, to introduce in accordance with the conditions of the coalition pact a bill for the unconditional ratification of the Washington Convention. It was resolved that the success attained in Belgium should be made a starting-point for further advancement by means of more intemed action in the different countries on the part of the socialist parties and trade unions.

The following session of the Executive, which was held on 11th and 12th April 1926 in Zurich had to give attention also to the question of the eight hour day. The meeting had before it a report on the course of action resolved upon at the joint discussion of 8th October 1925, of the representatives of the L. S. I. and I. F. T. U., drafted by the Secretariat of the I. F. T. U. from the answers to a questionnaire sent in by the national trade union centres. The Secretariat of the L. S. I. reported in continuation that the I. F. T. U. had resolved to employ the 25th anniversary of the I. F. T. U. as the occasion of a new campaign of propaganda. To this decision the Secretariat of the I. F. T. U. drew the attention of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. in order that these might lend effectiveness to the proposed action by means of concurrent initiatives in their respective parliaments.

It was pointed out during the debates of the Executive that the time-limit for ratification will expire at an early date, and that therefore everything should be staked on an effort to obtain ratification in time.

The May Day Appeal of the International in 1926 demanded international safeguards for the eight hour day in the following terms:

The distress of unemployment, as a result of the world war, has reached such proportions as history has never known before. Millions and millions of people are sinking into ever deeper wretchedness, because the capitalist order of society is proving incapable of securing to them the most elementary human right:

#### *Work.*

The world is divided into two camps. On the one hand are those who in the name of profits are demanding the lengthening of the hours of labour, and do not shrink from committing thereby the outrage of

increasing the number of unemployed. On the other side are those engaged in the great struggle for the eight hour day, in the knowledge that every step forward in this fight sets bounds to the disgraceful fact of unemployment. Thus to-day everyone who further blocks the way towards the

#### *Ratification of the Washington Convention*

must be described not only as an enemy to the general advance of social legislation, but in particular as an enemy of the unemployed.

On 28th July 1926, the Belgian Senate gave its assent to the unconditional ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day. Seeing that the Chamber had previously passed the bill to that effect, the requirements for application in *Belgium* were thereby fulfilled.

The next session of the Executive of the L. S. I. at Zurich in August 1926, setting out from this success in Belgium, passed unanimously the following resolution :

"The Executive denounces the decree of the Fascist government of Italy on the lengthening of the working day by one hour, in violation of the conditional ratification of the Washington Convention, as an attack not only against the Italian but against the whole international working-class. The Executive condemns the British law lengthening the working day in the mines as a serious danger not only for the British miners, who are now engaged in a heroic defensive struggle, but also for the miners of all countries.

Responsibility for these crimes of capitalist reaction rests with all governments which still frustrate or delay the ratification of the Washington Convention. Therefore all the greater significance attaches to the success of the Belgian Labour Party which has succeeded, in spite of the severe financial crisis in the country, in carrying through ratification of the Washington Convention in Belgium. The Executive expects that this success of the Belgian Labour Party will stimulate the efforts of all socialist Parties towards realising in their countries also international security for the Eight Hour Day ; and declares that henceforth all energy must be concentrated on a campaign to bring about at length the ratification of the Washington Convention in France, Germany and Great Britain.

The Executive considers it incumbent on the Socialist Parties of those countries which administer colonies and territories mandated by the League of Nations, to strive with all their strength for the introduction into these territories of the Eight Hour Day and of workers' protection generally.

The Executive of the L. S. I. calls upon the affiliated Parties to further with all their powers the demonstrations for the Eight Hour Day, (or for shorter working hours wherever established by statute or by trade union agreement), which the International Federation of Trade Unions is preparing for the 19th September as the most fitting celebration of the 25th year of its existence."

Similarly the May Day Appeal of 1927 had to point out once more the absence of ratification by the great industrial countries.

Since the last May-Day celebrations a slight progress has been achieved in the *struggle for the defence of the Eight Hour Day*. Belgium has ratified the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day. But the industrial countries of Europe, especially *Britain* and *Germany*, are

still offering passive resistance. Therefore we shall demonstrate once again on this May-Day

*for the Eight Hour Day!  
for the ratification of the Washington Convention.*

On 20th May, 1927, a slight advance was recorded when conditional ratification of the Washington Convention was passed by the French Chamber. The enforcement of this ratification was made dependent on ratification by Germany and Great Britain. The Chamber rejected a socialist motion for unconditional ratification.

The decision of the French Chamber clearly showed what significance would attach to the ratification of the Convention by Great Britain. Nevertheless the British Conservative Government has not realised the ratification, indeed it went so far as to demand the revision of the Convention, whereby all further advance would have been prevented.

The Executive of February 1928 considered the situation thus created by this decision of the British Government, and likewise the proposal by the I. F. T. U. to adapt the May-Day demonstrations of 1928 to serve the cause of the fight for the eight hour day. On a joint motion by the British, Belgian, and Jugo-Slav delegations, it adopted unanimously the following resolution :

"The Executive draws the attention of the affiliated parties to the gravity of the decision taken by the British Government not to ratify the Convention of Washington on the Eight Hour Day, and to call in question the very existence of this Convention by a demand for its revision ; it congratulates the labour representatives of the I. L. O. who have in the most energetic manner opposed the decision of the British Government.

In agreement with the I. F. T. U. it calls on the parties of all countries which have not yet ratified to proceed immediately to the necessary steps in order that the question may be submitted to their respective parliaments ;

it urges the parties of the countries which have ratified to put pressure on their governments to oppose any alteration of the Convention ;

similarly it records its agreement with the I. F. T. U. that the Eight Hour Day and the ratification of the Convention of Washington shall this year be placed in the forefront of the demonstrations on May Day ; and the L. S. I. expresses the hope that the workers in all countries will use their economic and political power to prevent any increase in the working day or the 48 hour week."

The May Day Appeal of 1928 drew the attention of the workers in all countries to the peril to the eight hour day involved in the attitude of the British Government. The May Day Appeal includes the following passage :

The enormous sacrifice of human life, the insane economic devastation which must be placed to the account of the four-years' massacre of the nations, resulted at first in shaking even the most callous representatives of capitalist exploitation and imperialist lust for power. Under the immediate pressure of the fearful catastrophe they declared themselves ready to meet the claims of the working-class, and solemnly pledged themselves to realise internationally first and foremost



### *The Eight Hour Day and Disarmament.*

After years of consideration, negotiation and deliberation the fulfilment of these solemn pledges was again and again postponed. In the tenth year after the armistice the capitalist governments considered themselves in a position to throw off the *last vestiges of any sentiment of shame*. It is the *conservative government of Great Britain* which marches at the head of these breakers of faith. After years of manœuvring it has now openly declared that it *does not mean to ratify*

### *The Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day,*

to the approval of which the government representatives of Great Britain were parties on 28th November 1919.

At the session preceding the International Labour Conference of 1928, the workers' representatives in the Governing Body of the International Labour Office were successful in parrying the British stroke by securing rejection of the demand for a revision of the Convention on the eight hour day ; there was adopted, on the other hand a resolution intended to regulate the revision after 10 years which in provided in all international labour conventions.

In another direction a notable success in the international struggle for the eight hour day is to be expected in *Germany*. The Government declaration of the new German Cabinet, in which the socialists also are represented, contained a paragraph in which the impending ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day by Germany in announced.

In July 1928 the *Portuguese* Government proclaimed its intention to ratify the Washington Convention.

## (7) Conferences on Economic Questions.

### (A) *World Migration Congress.*

At its session of November 1925, the Executive of the L. S. I. nominated Comrades de Brouckère (Belgium), Cramp (Great Britain) and Diamand (Poland) as delegates to a Joint Committee with representatives of the I. F. T. U. which had the task of making preparations for the Conference on Migration Problems proposed by the latter organisation. This Committee held two sittings in Paris on 20th—21st January and on 24th February 1926. At the first sitting an agreement was also reached that the I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I. should appear jointly as initiators of the event, the expenses of which were also to be borne in equal shares. At the session of the Executive of the L. S. I. in April 1926 it was resolved to entrust to the President and Secretary of the L. S. I. the official representation of the L. S. I. at the World Migration Congress. The delegates of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. arranged a preliminary meeting on 21st June 1926 in London, on the eve of the Congress.

The World Migration Congress sat in London from 22nd—25th June, 1926. Since detailed minutes<sup>1)</sup> of this Congress have appeared in book form, published by the I. F. T. U. in which all particulars as to the representation of the L. S. I. at this Congress and as to its discussions and resolutions can be found, we can here confine ourselves to referring to this publication.

### (b) *Attitude towards the International Economic Conference.*

On May 2nd 1927 there met in Geneva in the hall of the Association des Réunions Ouvrières in the Maison du Faubourg, the joint Conference of the Executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Labour and Socialist International. The various bodies were represented to some extent by special economic experts, and among them were also delegates to the official Economic Conference, which opens in Geneva on May 4th. There were present : Jouhaux, Buisson, Renaudel (France), Mertens, Van Roosbroeck, Bondas, Gailly, Lombard (Belgium), Pugh (Great Britain), Eggert, Hilferding, Naphtali, Schmid (Germany), Wibaut (Holland), Nielsen (Denmark), Johanssen (Sweden), Oinas (Esthonia), Diamand (Poland), Tayerlé (Czecho-Slovakia, Czechs), Pohl (Czecho-Slovakia, Germans), Emmy Freundlich and Benedikt Kautsky (Austria), Graber and Weber (Switzerland), Oudegeest, Secretary of the I. F. T. U. and Adler, Secretary of the L. S. I.

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<sup>1)</sup> John W. Brown, "World Migration and Labour", published by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, 1926.

The session was held with *Mertens* (Belgium) in the Chair, and arrived after a debate lasting ten hours at an agreed statement, which we reproduce below. At its special group meeting held on May 3rd, the Workers' Delegation to the International Economic Conference endorsed this statement, and put it in as a Memorandum to be submitted at the formal assembly of the Economic Conference.

The statement runs as follows :—

The representatives of the manual and non-manual workers' organisations welcome the meeting of the International Economic Conference as expressing recognition that the growing transformation of *national into world economy* is forcing all peoples towards international economic cooperation. The complete development of production in industry and agriculture, which the working-class regards as the basis of a better order of society, the elimination of the acute social abuses which find their worst expression in mass unemployment in European countries, and the prevention of new wars call imperatively for the creation of an *Inter-State World Economic Order*. The only manner of leading to economic restoration in all countries is that of securing a just distribution of the total production of the community, which will raise the standard of living of the working masses in town and country, in particular by the increase of wages and salaries and by the development of social institutions. Such organisation of distribution and production is essential to prevent the processes of production from being impeded by acute crises.

The representatives of the manual and non-manual workers' organisations have to express their apprehension that special capitalist interests in various countries are actively pursuing a policy of frustration in regard to the practical accomplishment of true cooperation between nations. Accordingly, they call upon the working-class to strive everywhere for the realisation in practice of the recognition of world economic solidarity. An effort must be made to prevent a policy of isolation, which will lead to new destructive economic wars, from being pursued once more in the various countries.

Precisely for this reason the representatives of the manual and non-manual workers regret that among the delegates to the Economic Conference their representatives have not received the number of seats justly attributable to the working-class, as the essential basis of all economic activity and as the convinced exponent of international cooperation. Nevertheless they will duly perform their part in the labours of the Conference and will assume their responsibility as the promoters of a future world economic order. They will insist not merely on the discussion of the cardinal problems of world economics but also that practical work shall be undertaken with a view to the development of world economic cooperation.

In this connection four fundamental objectives must be pursued :

- (1) The removal of impediments to international commerce.
- (2) The improvement and standardisation of labour conditions in all countries.
- (3) The supervision of international monopolistic combines with a view to protecting consumers and workers.
- (4) The intensification of agricultural production and the improved organisation of its market.

#### I.

The rational development of the division of labour as between countries is hampered by an excess of obstacles to free intercourse. *Import and export prohibition* must be abolished by international conventions.

*Immunity from duties* must be applied to all the raw materials of industry and agriculture, and also to food products. Duties on manufactured goods must be minimised: in particular the demolition of European customs barriers is an essential preliminary to the recovery of the economic life of Europe. *The first steps* towards this end are: the compilation of a standardised customs tariffs scheme, and agreements for the unification and simplification of administrative regulations affecting the transport of goods. Further, standardised principles for the general provisions of commercial treaties must be established. The principle of the most favoured nation must be maintained, and its application must not be interfered with by over-specialised tariffs or other measures. The formation of customs unions may serve as a preparatory stage towards the gradual abolition of customs barriers, but the organisation of an international collective economy implies the supersession of such unions by a comprehensive organisation founded on economic solidarity, just as separate treaties between peoples will have to give place to the comprehensive organisation of the League of Nations.

## II.

The representatives of the workers regret that they are unable, at this moment, to enter into details in regard to the problem of the exploitation of undeveloped areas, the condition of labour in mandated or other comparable territories, and the occupation under concession of foreign lands: but they draw attention to the Memorandum submitted by the British Labour Movement to the Economic Conference, which is entitled: "Draft Memorandum on Economic Tendencies Capable of Affecting the Peace of the World" and which contains a section dealing with this question.

## III.

The motive of isolating markets in order to destroy the competitive advantage arising from the existence of low labour standards must be eliminated by the improvement and international levelling up of the conditions of labour. International Conventions concerning working hours, the effective protection of labour, and unemployment insurance are for this reason indispensable not merely from the point of view of social policy but also on economic grounds. Hence it is imperative that there should be ratification and strict application of the Washington Convention on Working Hours and of other Conventions drafted by the International Labour Organisation.

## IV.

International combination of enterprises or organisations for the purpose of dominating the market and regulating production may in many cases tend to promote the establishment of systematised economic life, and accordingly must not be checked by prohibitions. The representatives of the manual and non-manual workers' organisations point out however the grave dangers arising from uncontrolled international combinations of capitalist enterprises and emphatically demand the effective protection of the community against such dangers. They therefore recommend the establishment of an International Economic Office which must carry out a general inquiry into all such international relationships, and exert permanent supervision over all international agreements and their reaction on the conditions of the market. Similar supervisory offices should also be set up in all the separate states. The first business of this supervision is to ensure sufficient publicity being given to all agreements arrived at and to the whole policy of such association. The second task is to restrain any policy recognised as injurious to the community in the sphere of price-fixing and in that of the unequal treatment of various sections of the market.

In connection with the international organisation of industry arises the problem of scientific management: for, international combinations frequently aim not at commercial, but also at technical improvements. The working-class is not in principle opposed to scientific management: but it can only approve it, as it can only approve the advance of organisation in industry, under definite conditions: the worker must be protected against increased mental and physical exhaustion by a corresponding reduction of working hours. The benefits from scientific management must accrue to the workers and consumers through better remuneration and lower prices: and the unemployment arising from scientific management must be overcome.

## V.

The position of agriculture is increasingly claiming the attention of manual and non-manual workers. An improvement in the productivity of agriculture will favour the securing and increasing of real wages. At the same time it will assist the marketing of industrial products and thereby the overcoming of crises. The first steps to be considered towards increasing the productivity of agriculture are: advances in technique, in the machinery of credit, improvement in the marketing of agricultural products, especially by collaboration between agricultural and consumers' cooperative organisations, and by the extension of the division of labour as between countries.

The world economic tasks, which have led to the calling of the Geneva Conference, cannot be settled at this first opportunity of contact. For the application of the decisions of the Economic Conference, for the continuation of its labour, and at the same time for the development of international economic statistics and for the observation of crises, an International Economic Office should be set up. On the Governing Council of this Office should sit, in addition to the representatives of states, representatives of the industrial and agricultural producers (employers and workers in equal numbers) and representatives of consumers. Cooperation with the International Labour Office should be ensured by mutual representation.

### (c) *Conferences on Customs and Trade Policy.*

At the beginning of 1926 the Socialist parties of Belgium, Germany and France, after common deliberations, reached agreement as to the stand to be taken towards the immediate questions of customs and trade policy. The Conference sat in *Brussels* on 26th—27th February 1926. The following were present: for *Germany*: Breitscheid, Hilferding, Robert Schmidt; for *France*: Cayrel, Couteaux, Bracke, Grumbach and Ernest Poisson; for *Belgium*: Bouchery, de Brouckère, Pierard, Van Roosbroeck, Martel and Serwy. Also the Secretary of the L. S. I., Adler was present at the discussions, which took place under the Chairmanship of Bracke.

After exhaustive debates the following statement of the common points of view of the Conference was unanimously adopted:

"The Economic Conference of the Belgian, German and French Socialist Parties, which was held on the 26th and 27th February in Brussels, to examine questions arising out of the current negotiations on the policy as to customs and commercial treaties, has agreed upon the following general principles of action:

The delegates of the three Parties represented are of the view that this policy must especially provide that normal economic relations be-

tween their nations are established in such a way that the interests of the workers and of the consumers, and the higher development of international production, must be preserved, and that a definite assurance of peace will be afforded.

Peace can only be permanent when its legal and political organisation is accompanied by its economic organisation.

The Conference, in the conviction that normal economic relations can only be really possible when the various states have restored the stability of their currency, proclaims nevertheless the urgency of a policy of economic understanding and collaboration between the three countries for the universal application of commercial treaties, which contribute to the rational organisation of production and work, without which the realisation of socialist reforms cannot easily be seen.

The Conference is convinced that it is especially necessary to destroy the illusion that peoples can live isolated from others and satisfy their needs by a narrow-minded nationalist economic policy. Aggressive protectionism, which has prevailed for a long time since the war, and has still further intensified the political and economic disruption of Europe, must be energetically fought by the Socialist Parties.

The state of economic interdependence and penetration existing among nations, creates the necessity for commercial treaties, by means of which the peoples will acquire confidence in the idea of a European customs union as a stage towards an international economic policy. The Conference is of the view that the immediate aim for its represented Parties in carrying out a comprehensive policy must rest on the following foundation :

- (1) The universal application of the clause of "the most favoured nation".
- (2) The reduction of protective customs barriers.
- (3) Abandonment of all measures leading to the establishment of divergent prices at home and abroad.
- (4) The abolition of the prohibited import and export of certain goods, where this still exists, according to the plan now before the Economic Commission of the League of Nations.
- (5) The treaties must be for a long period, and the tariffs binding, except in certain cases which are to be provided for in the treaties.
- (6) The abolition of compulsory passports.
- (7) Arrangements on conditions of transport by land and water.
- (8) Understanding on immigration and emigration.
- (9) Mutual recognition of trade marks and of the indication of origin.

The Conference demands with much emphasis that each of the three countries should apply and ratify the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day, and the other conventions for labour protection decided upon under the direction of the International Labour Office. They request that representatives of workers' organisations should be taken into consultation at the commercial treaty negotiations both as experts and as delegates.

The Conference notes the universal tendency of industry to form international trusts and combines. These trusts may be a means of rationalising production and trade, but in consequence of their economic expansion they constitute a serious danger for the working-class and for consumers in general, if they are left exclusively to private initiative. Therefore the Conference demands with the utmost energy that they should only be formed under the control and with the agreement of the

Government and parliament. In such a way a dangerous monopoly would be prevented, which would lead to a restriction of production and thus to an increase of prices and to unemployment.

The check exercised by governments and by parliaments must extend to the agreed amount of imports arranged between the various countries and industries, to facilitate the conclusion of commercial treaties. This check should aim at a better distribution of markets and of raw materials, at the furtherance of an international distribution of labour, and at the prevention of such restrictions on production as merely serve the purposes of capitalist profit-making.

The Socialist Parties represented at the Conference record their conviction of the necessity of bringing about a progressive levelling of international economic divergencies by means of an expansion of the League of Nations' influence in the economic sphere.

The French and German delegations resolve to stand for the speedy conclusion of a decisive Franco-German commercial treaty. The Socialist parliamentary groups will do everything in their power to overcome difficulties which stand in the way of the principles quoted above.

The Conference brings its unanimous resolution to the notice of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International.

On 15th October 1927 the representatives of the parties which had met in Paris again assembled at a session in which this time Switzerland also, which had in the meanwhile joined the L. S. I. took part.

The following were represented : Belgium by the *Brouckère* and *Serwy*, Germany by *Hilferding* and *Robert Schmidt*, France by *Léon Blum*, *Vincent Auriol*, *Couteaux*, *Cayrel*, *Grumbach* and *Mahler*, Switzerland by *Grimm* und *Huggler*. *Friedrich Adler* attended as Secretary of the L. S. I.

The task of the Conference was to consider the problem which has been raised by the proposed modifications on the French customs tariffs and also the consequences of the Franco-German Commercial Treaty.

The exchange of views on customs problems led to a conclusion that every section of the International must endeavour to bring about a reduction of protectionist customs duties. The conference unanimously welcomed the resumption of normal economic relations between Germany and France, from which it hopes for the best economic and political consequences. However, it expressed also the view that although it is essential to reinforce and develop the basis of this trade agreement, care must be taken to avoid a reaction from it that would lead to protectionist tendencies in other countries. In addition the conference discussed further international problems and urged the necessity of further conferences with a view to the exchange of information as to certain political, financial and economic questions.

## (8) The League of Nations and the L. S. I.

At each of its sessions the Executive of the L. S. I. has concerned itself with problems confronting the League of Nations, and also on many occasions with the problem of an attitude towards the League as such. This latter question formed the special subject of a thorough consideration at the session of the Executive in August 1926. This meeting had before it an extensive memorandum by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. "The League of Nations and the Labour and Socialist International." The Executive resolved to publish this Memorandum in full. (Documents and Discussions of 1. 9. 1926.) Below we reproduce from this memorandum that portion which sketches the attitude of the working-class towards the League of Nations in the period up to the Marseilles Congress. To this we join a report on the principal discussions and decisions since the Marseilles Congress.

### (a) Up to the Marseilles Congress.

The position of the working-classes towards the League of Nations has been profoundly influenced by their experiences in the world war and in the subsequent period of revolutionary disturbances. The working of these various factors had this result : during the decade following which the League of Nations was thrust forward by Wilson into the sphere of current politics, we have to distinguish not only between *different tendencies* in the attitude of the working-class, but also between *different phases of their development*.

#### (a) *During the world war. (1917—1918.)*

Interest in a League of Nations emerges at first as a purely *pacifist* reaction against the horrors of the world war. The work of the mainly bourgeois League of Nations societies in the United States and in England during the war first found an active response in the English *Fabian Society*. The results of their studies in this direction are grouped in the work by *L. S. Woolf* : "International Government"<sup>(1)</sup> There followed later (February 1917) the book by *H. N. Brailsford* "A League of Nations". These ideas were at first represented especially by the circle of pacifists who desired not only to

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(1) The book consists of three parts two of which give reports submitted by Woolf to the Fabian Research Department ; whilst part III. contains the scheme for the creation of an "International Authority for the Prevention of War", elaborated by a Committee of the Fabian Society. Part. I. and III. appeared in the "New Statesman" in July, 1915, the whole work in July, 1916, in an edition by the Fabian Society in London, and again in the same year with a Preface by Bernard Shaw in New York (published by Brentano) and also in a French translation by Louis Suret in Paris (published by Giard and Brière).



prevent war in the future but also repudiated the war of which they had shared the experience.

But quite soon these consistent pacifists were joined by those representatives of the Labour Parties in the Entente countries, who had identified themselves with the conduct of the war. For them the cry of creating a League of Nations became the strongest moral justification of their propaganda for the continuation of the war "to a finish". The ultimate victory was to bring with it the League of Nations and therewith the pledge that "this war should be the last". Thus beyond the divergencies in practical attitude towards the war raging at the moment, there came into being a theoretical unity of opinion, regarding the prevention of future wars, amongst the Labour Parties in the Entente countries, which found utterance in the memoranda which they laid before the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee in *Stockholm* in 1917.<sup>1)</sup> In them the demand for a League of Nations already receives a more or less thorough exposition supported by argument.

The same conclusions were reached by the Organizing Committee of the Congress, consisting of Socialists of the neutral countries, in its Manifesto of October 10th, 1917, and likewise in the Memorandum, in which it essays to formulate the peace terms from the point of view of the working-class. In both the demand for a League of Nations forms the final stone of the whole edifice.<sup>2)</sup>

Further the Conference held in London from 20th—24th February, 1918, between Socialists of the Entente countries, is animated by the same conception. The resolution adopted by them runs :

"Of all the peace conditions, none is so vital for all the peoples of the whole world than a line of action ensuring the prevention of any future war. Whoever the victor may be, the peoples will be the losers without the establishment of an international authority intended to forestall any occasion of war. Where would be the use in proclaiming the right of nations to settle their own destinies, if this right were to remain at the mercy of further violence, lacking the protection of a supreme international control which can be none other than the League of Nations?"<sup>3)</sup>

Very different was the attitude of the Socialist Parties, who had identified themselves with the conduct of the war in the Central Powers at that time. The pronouncements of Wilson filled them with the deepest mistrust. They had no belief that the intentions on the part of the Entente were genuine ; and moreover they regarded the cry for a League of Nations as one of the war lies, whereby the nations on the opposite side of the front had to be spurred into continuing the war. We find a symptom of this point of view in the fact, that in the memoranda from the Socialist Parties of Germany

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(1) "*Stockholm*" Tidens Förlag 1918. In addition to the text of the individual memoranda this book also contains a schedule of the answers of the various Parties regarding the League of Nations in the extract on pages 474—476.

(2) "*Stockholm*", pp. 498 and 520—521.

(3) "*Stockholm*", p. 526.

and Austria submitted in Stockholm, no more than a brief observation is devoted to the question of preventing future wars, while a League of Nations as such is never mentioned at all.

Yet another tendency already found utterance at Stockholm, in the memorandum of the Independent Social-Democrats of Germany. They built their hopes for the realisation of a League of Nations, not upon any handiwork of the capitalist states, but upon that of the workers' International.

In this matter also the German Independent Social-Democrats set out from the conceptions of the *Zimmerwald Conferences*. The second of these, which met in Kienthal in April 1916, i. e. long before Wilson's declarations, in its Resolution defined its position as follows :—

"All schemes for averting war by universal limitation of armaments or by compulsory Courts of Arbitration are Utopian. They assume in advance a right universally acknowledged and a material power overriding the material interests of states. Such a right and such a power are lacking, and capitalism, which tends to aggravate the opposition between the middle classes in the different countries, does not allow them to gain a footing. Democratic control of foreign policy can only spring from the complete democratization of the state. This control can only be a weapon in the hands of the workers in their fight against imperialism, but not a means for the conversion of diplomacy into an instrument of peace.

On these grounds the working-class must reject the Utopian claims of bourgeois or socialist pacifism. The pacifists arouse new illusions in the place of the old, and attempt to harness the proletariat to the service of these illusions, which ultimately only help to mislead the masses, to seduce them from the revolutionary class-war, and to play the game of the policy of the "fight to a finish".

The third Zimmerwald Conference, which met in September 1917, dealt exclusively with the immediate struggle for peace, and took no attitude at all towards the question of the League of Nations raised subsequently by Wilson.

(b) *During the peace negotiations.* (December, 1918—May, 1919.)

The tendencies within the working-class favourable to a League of Nations rose to its climax at the time of the peace negotiations. The International Socialist Conference in *Berne in February, 1919*, was wholly imbued with the idea of throwing the strength of the working-class into the scale in support of the Wilson programme, as against the schemes of domination, more and more clearly revealed on the part of the Entente imperialists. The question of a League of Nations was brought to the fore in an exhaustive resolution from which we extract the following :—

"The League of Nations should be based on a real piece of justice, which will not give rise to future conflicts. It should be formed by the Parliaments of the different countries. Representation in the central organ of the League should be, not by delegates of the Executive branches of the governments of the constituent States, but by delegates from the parliaments representing all parties therein, thus ensuring not an alliance of cabinets or governments, but a union of peoples.

All the nations organized on the basis of national self-determination should be a part of the League of Nations. In order to assure the efficient working of the League, all its members should have equal rights and equal duties."

The Resolution, after setting forth the various tasks for a League of Nations, among which total disarmament stands first, proceeds to weigh as follows the dangers of the present situation :

"The League of Nations is being created under the pressure of conditions brought about by the war. It may be feared that, when those conditions have lost their force, the capitalist rivalry between States will develop its former acuteness. The League will, therefore, only be capable of full development and be able to do justice to its great task if the working-class movement in all countries stands behind the League and exerts the necessary driving force."

This policy was by no means confined, at the Berne Conference, to the socialists of the Entente countries, but the Germans also hoped thereby to help in bringing about relaxation in the peace terms.

But the great mass of the working-classes was stirred at that time by quite other hopes. The two Revolutions in Russia, the crash in Central Europe, aroused the highest expectations of a *victory for the proletarian revolution* ; the consequence was that little interest was felt in the scheme of the capitalist governments, but all hopes were built on the rise of the working-class to power.

Both these utopias suffered the same fate. The hopes built on Wilson were equally disappointed with those built on Lenin. Only the former process was a much swifter one. The peace dictated from Versailles unmasked what the capitalism of the Entents had disguised behind phrases about democracy. And so indifference and even contempt for the newly-founded League of Nations gained ground more and more amongst the general mass of the working-class.

(c) *After Versailles. (May 1919—May 1923.)*

When the work of the Peace Conference was approaching its conclusion, and was becoming known in its main outlines, the International "Permanent Commission" appointed at Berne assembled for a meeting held in Amsterdam from 26th—29th April, 1919. The Conference was clearly aware of the immediate danger to which the policy it represented was exposed, and declared that "it is determined to oppose any peace which is in contradiction to President Wilson's 14 points, as those form the only basis which will ensure an enduring harmony between all peaceful and free democracies".

The Conference recognised the fact of the foundation of the League of Nations, but affirmed that this League of Nations can only fulfil its purpose provided it fulfils a series of conditions, five of which are recited in the Resolution. The first one runs as follows :—

"The League of Nations will only attain its object if it is composed from the beginning of all the independent nations of the world who are willing to accept the obligations of the Covenant, having equal rights and duties, whose delegations have been elected by their parliaments."

A fortnight later, on the 11th May, 1919, the *Committee of Action* of the Berne Conference defined its attitude in Paris towards the terms of peace as now laid down. In the Manifesto among the points "in which it is disturbing to find so much that is menacing to the future peace of the world" the following is quoted in the first place :—

"The League of Nations in its final form retains all the objections taken to it at Berne and Amsterdam. It remains a League of Governments and Executives and not of peoples and parliaments. It does not compel its affiliated nations to renounce totally a recourse to war by accepting its arbitration and decisions. It also seems to be the instrument of a victorious coalition dominated by five great Powers rather than an organ of international justice upon which all nations ought to find a place.

Though the League of Nations as at present constituted may be the beginning of a methodical organisation of a continuous régime of peace, the failure to include Germany and Russia must be righted as speedily as possible if the League is to be made effective for preventing war."

At the *International Conference in Lucerne* in August, 1919, the two currents within the international labour movement—the anti-thesis between which became in the sequel more and more marked—already emerged in this fact : namely, that a joint resolution on the guiding lines of general policy was no longer possible, and it was merely recorded which Parties stood for the Resolution of the "majority" and which for that of the "minority". With reference to the League of Nations also we find a sharp distinction between these resolutions.

The *majority Resolution* also criticises the League of Nations as "an organisation of capitalist and bourgeois states" and advances a set of conditions for profound modifications to be brought about immediately in the League of Nations ; such as the inclusion of all peoples and the creation of a true "World Parliament" in the place of "a League of Governments in which the peoples have no direct voice". But the Resolution by its whole tone aims at securing despite all these flaws cooperation on the League of Nations by representatives of the workers in order to improve it and prop up its existence from within. Under the circumstances then prevailing this task could naturally only fall to the lot of Labour Parties in the victorious countries or of neutrals. The introductory sentences of this section of the Resolution run as follows :—

"The International declares that the present League of Nations has the appearance of being an organisation of capitalist and bourgeois states, but it is the first effective international organ. It is a germ of the juridical organisation of the world destined to avoid resort to force for the solution of international disputes. The part which it will play will be more effective in the degree to which it is penetrated by socialism. In the same way as proletarian effort tends to transform each capitalist state into a socialist state, so the International will endeavour to transform this International Bourgeois State formed by the capitalist nations into an International Socialist State. Thus the League of Nations will the more successfully fulfil its aim when each nation forming a part of it is more and more permeated with the spirit of Democracy and Socialism."

On the other hand the "*minority*" Resolution directed its most incisive criticism upon the terms of peace as a whole and also upon the provisions for the League of Nations. In it we read :

"The Conference condemns the exclusion of Germany, Austria and Russia, without which no League of Nations can exist ; in the organ which has been created it recognises nothing but a League of Governments, and earnestly requests the Peoples and Parliaments to take action with a view to the revision of the Covenant in this respect. The detestable decisions relative to one-sided disarmament, likewise prove that capitalism has no intention of destroying the forces of war, but remains, after the conflagration, what it was before."

In the sequel these two currents again and again found expression and up to 1923 were represented by *two* distinct international socialist organisations. The first point of view found expression in practical collaboration with the League of Nations, as performed in particular by *Branting* ; and it received a further exposition at the last Congress held by the Second International in *Geneva* at the beginning of August, 1920. In the Resolution there framed on the struggle against imperialism and militarism we read :

"This struggle against militarism is not at variance with the collaboration of the working-classes in the League of Nations. Indeed, the proletariat cannot in the interests of peace view with antagonism or indifference the organisation of the League of Nations as it has been set up by the Treaty of Versailles ; but it is their duty to proclaim its inadequacy and its blemishes, the most pernicious of which is the recognition, in Article 12, of the right to war. The League of Nations can only be an effective guarantor of peace provided it is an international democratic organ embracing all nations without any exception . . . It is not enough that it should have a democratic constitution, especially as regards the election of the Council from within the Assembly of all delegates ; it is essential also that its powers be widened . . . Thus completed and improved, the League of Nations will be the organ best fitted for introducing into the Treaty of Versailles the amendments needed to secure a just and lasting peace."

With regard to the other current of opinion, its characteristic during this period was that it *disregarded* the League of Nations altogether. For example, in the main theses adopted by the International Socialist Conference in *Vienna* in February, 1921, forming the programme of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, the League of Nations is not mentioned at all, and played no part in the debates at this Conference.

It is true that this division according to international organisations was not quite complete as regards the individual parties. Thus the German Majority Socialists at that time felt substantially more sceptical towards the League of Nations than was expressed in the Resolution of the Geneva Congress in which they took part ; and on the other hand the French Socialist Party participating in the Vienna Conference utilised the cry of an appeal to the League of Nations as a demonstration against the imperialist régime of Poincaré just as during the war they had taken their stand on Wilson's programme as against the imperialists.

(d) *Since the foundation of the Labour and Socialist International.*  
(23rd. May, 1923.)

All the resolutions which we have quoted up to now in illustration of the historical course of development- have no binding force for the L. S. I., since it can only acknowledge those decisions arrived at within the framework of its own organisation.

The Hamburg *foundation Congress* of the L. S. I. met in May, 1923, at the time when the idea of a League of Nations had fallen to its lowest, namely, during the occupation of the Ruhr. It is therefore only too intelligible that the voices raised at it struck a note of scepticism and criticism. Thus Wels in his opening speech said : "the idea of a union of peoples has found in the League of Nations a certain measure of recognition, though in truth one that is not much more than platonic". And the *Resolution* on the "Imperialist Peace" characterizes the views of the Congress in the following words :—

"The League of Nations threatens to become either a thing of no importance at all or an instrument of reaction and imperialism. It is the duty of the working-class to resist this fatal tendency and to use its power in every country to secure that all nations shall be admitted to the League, that its organization shall be made democratic, and that the workers of each country shall exercise effective control over the actions of their delegates on the League. In this way it may be so transformed that it will become an effective instrument to secure (a) the interests of peace, (b) the rights of peoples and (c) the revision of the existing Peace Treaties."

In the course of the following year this sceptical position was reversed. In January, 1924, *Macdonald* formed the first *British* Labour government. In April there followed the first purely socialist minority government in *Denmark* ; and the September elections in *Sweden* enabled *Branting* to form once again a purely socialist minority government. During this year also the swing over in *France* took place. The May elections brought to the helm *Herriot*, whose ministry was most strongly under the influence of the socialists. When in September, 1924, the League of Nations assembled for its fifth meeting, the possibility of influencing it through the socialist movement was universally realised ; and this feeling reached its height when *Macdonald* appeared personally in Geneva, and the "*Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes*" was unanimously voted on the 2nd October, 1924. Although hitherto international policy in great problems, as for example in the settlement of the reparations question, had gone its own road apart from the League of Nations, there now came into view for the first time the possibility of utilising it as an instrument of progress towards the pacification of the world. It is true that the practical limits of this immediate possibility were only too promptly defined in the failure over the ratification of the Geneva Protocol. But the change of front in the view of the Labour and Socialist International remained. The Executive meetings of the L. S. I. in

January and May, 1925, demanded : "whilst realising the imperfections of the Geneva Protocol . . . the Executive decides that it is the duty of the Labour Movements in all countries to concentrate their efforts in order to obtain the ratification of the Geneva Peace Protocol and the convocation as soon as possible of the Disarmament Conference embodied in the same Protocol."

The *Marseilles Congress* in August, 1925, confirmed this stand towards the Geneva Protocol ; but its main attention was already riveted on the new phase in the development, which was to find expression in the *Treaties of Locarno*.

### b) The Treaties of Locarno.

In the resolution of the International Congress of Marseilles on "The International Socialist Peace Policy", we find in section III "International and Special Pacts", after a statement of the conditions under which alone special pacts can be acceptable :

"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 final scope, or its 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."

In conformity therewith the Executive of the L. S. I. at its session on 4th and 5th November 1925 defined its position towards the Locarno Treaties and after thorough debate passed the following resolution :

"The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International persists in its opinion that the security of European peace can most effectively be achieved by means of the Geneva Protocol. It regrets that the Geneva Protocol has been for the time being wrecked by the attitude of the British Tory Government, and can see in the Treaties of Locarno no compensation for the universal and more effective system of the Geneva Protocol.

Nevertheless, the Executive considers the Treaties of Locarno as a first step towards the pacification of Europe. In substituting for the violent dictation of the victorious Powers, a mutual Treaty between Powers with equal rights, the Treaties of Locarno are a confession that the method of regulating relations between nations by violence, a method which has always been fought by international Socialism, has now proved a failure. Inasmuch as through the Pact, nations, between whom sanguinary wars have been waged for a hundred years past, are now renouncing war as a means of deciding their disputes, and are submitting to compulsory arbitration ; inasmuch as this compulsory arbitration is put under the authority of the League of Nations, and inasmuch as Germany is entering the League of Nations, there should be created between the Powers of Western and Middle Europe a more peaceful atmosphere, an essential condition for the removal of ancient national hatreds. This should help materially to overcome the economic world crisis and the unemployment of the masses, and to raise the conditions of life and labour throughout Europe.

Without being under any illusion as to the imperfect character of particular clauses of the Pact, the Executive nevertheless considers this step as a partial success in the great fight of the international working-

class against the methods of violence in relations between peoples. Considering the progress which Europe has made from the Occupation of the Ruhr to the Treaties of Locarno, the Executive is of the opinion that this significant transformation from the methods of violence to the methods of understanding, is a result—although still an incomplete one—of the British Labour Government, of the victory of French Socialism over the National Bloc, of the progress of the Belgian Labour Party, and of the "fulfilment policy" of German Socialism.

But while the Executive recognises this progress, it considers it as only a first step towards the goal to be fought for, and calls upon the working-class, now encouraged by this partial success to continue their fight, in the first place, for the following aims :—

- (1) The disarming of national hatreds in Western Europe must be further assured by means of an immediate change in the character of the Occupation of the Rhineland and a complete evacuation at the earliest possible moment, together with the corresponding legal and material modification of the Saar-régime.
- (2) The ratification of the Pact must be immediately followed by the calling of a general Conference on Disarmament according to the Resolutions of the League of Nations Assembly.
- (3) As compulsory arbitration will henceforth be ensured between Germany and her neighbours in East and West, an immediate effort should be made to secure Treaties for the compulsory reference to arbitration of all disputes between all other states ; these Treaties must be incorporated in the system of the League of Nations in accordance with the Resolution of the League of Nations Assembly.
- (4) The working-class must be on its guard that the understanding which seeks to overcome the opposition between the Powers of Western and Middle Europe, does not degenerate into an alliance which would be directed against any other group of Powers, and especially that it does not degenerate into an alliance against the Soviet Union. While it recognises that the Treaties of Locarno do not contain any clause directed against the Soviet Union, the Executive reminds the working-class that often in the past Treaties, concluded for one purpose, have been misused for another, and it therefore urges the workers, should any attempt be made to misuse the Treaties of Locarno to isolate the Soviet Union, to oppose this with all their might, and to strengthen their efforts to bring about a peaceful understanding and collaboration between the States of Western and Middle Europe and the Soviet Union.
- (5) The Executive is however aware that the resistance of the Socialist Parties to the isolation of Soviet Russia finds one of its greatest impediments in the self-isolating policy of the Soviet Union with its refusal to enter the League of Nations.

Finally, the Executive reminds the workers of all countries that capitalist governments are always ready to regard Treaties as scraps of paper should the interests of Capital demand this ; and that therefore the Treaties of Locarno, like all Treaties which seek to ensure peace, can only be effective as instruments of peace, if the working-class is vigilant and strong enough to ensure the carrying out of the Treaties and see that the fulfilment of them is inspired by its own spirit."

### **c) The Admission of Germany to the League of Nations.**

The negotiations before and in Locarno were conducted apart from the League of Nations, but they were to attain the most decisive significance for the League of Nations itself. In their operation they were to remove the *worst congenital defect of the League of*



*Nations*. It had been founded as an *alliance of the victorious powers*: by the admission of Germany with fully equal rights this blemish was to be wiped out. The L. S. I. was therefore always quite aware that the admission of Germany to a fully equal footing with the other great powers could not be compared to the problems attendant on the position of any other country in the League of Nations. The question of Germany had a symbolic meaning: its solution meant the triumph of a principle in relation to the League of Nations itself. In this spirit the Resolution of the Marseilles Congress demands "that Germany enter the League with rights and duties equal to those of other nations". And in the same sense the resolution, printed in the foregoing paragraph, of the Executive of the L. S. I. in November, 1925, dwelt in detail on the necessity of Germany's entry into the League of Nations.

When in April 1926, the Executive of the L. S. I. again assembled for a session, it had to deal in the first place with the abortive March session of the League of Nations which had not succeeded in accomplishing the admission of Germany. This occurrence revealed in the clearest light that the Council of the League was crippled in its powers of action by contradictory influences, and that the Assembly had been thrust by the Council into the background as regards the fulfilment of the tasks incumbent on it according to the Covenant. The Executive renewed its demands in the following resolution:

"Believing that world peace is essential to the realisation of the aims and objects of the Labour and Socialist International, which include the emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth, the Executive confirms the resolution of the Marseilles Congress on the socialist policy of international peace. The Labour and Socialist International there defined its attitude towards the League of Nations, and clearly stated that the workers desire the League of Nations to become universal and democratic.

The opportunity that offered itself in March to take a decisive step towards making the League universal has been lost. This deplorable result was arrived at by a return to the methods of secret diplomacy and by a failure to attribute to the Assembly its constitutional function. It is of great importance to avoid that the League of Nations should again fail. It is imperative that Germany should enter the League without any delay, and that a permanent seat should be assigned to her in the Council.

Democratic methods must also be strengthened within the League of Nations. In particular

- (1) The Assembly must cease to be in practice subordinate to the Council. On the contrary in all important matters it should take the initiative. It is the Assembly which should in the first place solve the difficulties to be dealt with in September.
- (2) The seats in the Council should be elective. Although it is difficult at the present moment to apply this principle to its full extent, since the Powers now in possession of permanent seats are not prepared to waive their privilege, and whilst it is right not to deny to Germany a position equal to that of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, yet her entry must not be purchased at the expense of other deviations from the elective principle. This principle must, on

the contrary, be adhered to more and more thoroughly, in order to eliminate competition and struggles for influence and power, the effect of which would be to weaken the authority and efficiency of the League of Nations.

The question of the democratisation of the Assembly remains on the agenda of the International. The Executive Committee will submit it to a fresh examination in the course of another meeting.

It is imperative also that the peoples should realise that the pacific policy of the organised Socialist and industrial democracies of the world cannot be effectively guaranteed by armaments, military alliances or secret diplomacy, but by a League policy which secures the settlement of all national disputes by arbitral and other pacific methods. The Executive recognises the imperative need for a speedy agreement upon the greatest measure of disarmament possible, as recent diplomatic efforts to respond to the popular demand for deliverance from the burden of armaments have touched only the fringe of the problem of world militarism.

The policy of international cooperation, in the opinion of the Executive, can be effectively applied only when the democracies determine that the League of Nations is to be the chief instrument for dealing with international problems.

The Executive resolves that a commission be appointed to undertake a thorough study of the problem of disarmament as it presents itself to the League of Nations.

It wishes, meanwhile, to protest against the peculiar interpretation given in certain quarters to the Covenant of the League of Nations, which, contrary to the obvious facts, would deprive the nations concerned of the right of carrying out their own disarmament as far as they may think necessary.

The International must follow closely all the activities of the League of Nations, and must draw the attention of the affiliated parties to the advisability of strengthening the socialist element on the organs of the League of Nations. Finally it must in every case bring about coordination of the efforts of these Parties, in order to facilitate the adoption by the Assembly of resolutions in conformity with our desires.

The L. S. I. records that the Socialist Party in Germany in accordance with the Marseilles resolution, has conducted an energetic agitation, which has resulted in the German government applying for admission to the League of Nations. It hopes that the workers of America and Russia, to which it makes an appeal, will also urge that their governments should guide their international policy along the line of the League of Nations, so that the latter may increasingly correspond to the conception of a universalised and democratised organisation for peace.

The admission of Germany into the League of Nations was finally effected in the Assembly of the League of September 1926. The withdrawal of Brazil and Spain consequent thereupon involves of course some detriment to the authority of the institution, but since it took place only from motives of prestige, it cannot in any way be classed with the admission of Germany in respect of significance in principle.

Notwithstanding the admission of Germany, the League of Nations remains incomplete. Above all Russia and the United States of America still do not belong to it, but vitally necessary as this extension is, and though it was always demanded by the L. S. I., its significance lies on another plane. Against the entry of Russia and America there exist not, as was originally the case with Ger-

many, barriers within the League of Nations itself ; but the barriers lie in the political attitude of those states. Their isolation is one that they themselves have willed. As long as Russia and the United States remain outside the League of Nations, its power of effective action is most severely limited, and, especially in the disarmament question, most gravely prejudiced. But with the admission of Germany into the League of Nations we can round off, even formally, the period in which it could rightly be termed a tool of *Entente* capitalism.

#### d) Socialist delegates to the League of Nations.

Besides the general fundamental problem of the relationship of the L. S. I. towards the League of Nations and of the L. S. I.'s demands in connection with the institution, a further question, raised by the practical co-operation of socialist delegates in the League, had likewise to be considered during the period reported.

In July 1924, the socialist group in the French Chamber had authorised Paul Boncour to take part in the work of the League of Nations as delegate of the French government. However, the course of political affairs in France led to the replacement of the Herriot Government which was democratic and under socialist influence, by the Briand Government, the parliamentary basis of which extended towards the Right. To the last-named government the Socialist Party stood in opposition. The continuance in his post as a delegate, of Paul Boncour while the government authorising him had substantially altered its character, occasioned recurrent discussions within the French Socialist Party. On 18th July, 1926, a session of the Enlarged Permanent Administrative Committee, after a debate of considerable length, adopted on a motion by Blum the subjoined resolution :

"The P. A. C. takes note of the information furnished by Comrade Paul Boncour and expresses thanks for it ; relies on him to keep the Party in touch as regards any difficulties which the exercise of his mandate might give him ;

Reserves to itself the right to investigate at any moment whether the political conditions peculiar to France and the attitude adopted by the Party towards the Government will enable it to persevere in the resolution passed in July, 1924, authorising a member of the Party to accept a delegate's mandate on the League of Nations.

Considers that the general problems touching the participation of members of various Socialist Parties in the governmental delegations at Geneva, can be solved by the International alone, and asks therefore, that questions of this order be put on the agenda of a meeting of the Executive to be held preceding the next session of the League of Nations ;

Instructs the Secretariat of the Party to notify the International Secretariat that its delegates to the Executive will have a mandate to do everything necessary to facilitate the determination of the general conditions under which members of the Party can accept government nomination to the League of Nations, in order that their individual activities may be coordinated, in order that these may be brought into line with the "Resolutions of the International".

On a motion by Bracke, the following addition thereto was adopted :

"After having weighed the drawbacks and the advantages arising from the presence in the League of Nations of a delegate nominated by a capitalist government, the full meeting of the P. A. C. declares that the delegates of the Party to the Executive will be instructed to oppose this."

The following session of the Executive in August 1926 had before it these decisions by the French Socialist Party and also the Memorandum of the Secretariat of the L. S. I. in which the problem was stated in the following terms :—

Wherever purely socialist governments were or are in existence, as a short while ago in England and Sweden, and at present in Denmark, it has followed altogether as a matter of course, that the socialist governments despatch their socialist representatives to Geneva.

The same holds good also for coalition governments in which socialists are taking part. The Socialists will endeavour to the best of their powers to assert their conception of foreign policy within the government and also when possible in the League of Nations. An instance of such a coalition government is to be seen in Belgium to-day.

Finally, there is a third case in which socialists are not indeed in the government, but the government depends largely upon them. Such was the case under the first Herriot government, when Paul-Boncour was appointed to Geneva as its representative.

It is another matter in countries where socialists are faced with a hostile government.

No doubt at one time or another a bourgeois government also will be disposed to have itself represented by a socialist ; and such will be particularly likely when *continuity* comes into play. This was the case for a while with *Branting*, who even after the conservatives had taken the helm remained the representative on the League of Nations for 1921 and 1924 ; and it is now the case of *Paul-Boncour*, who has remained the representative on the League under Herriot's successors. Undoubtedly continuity in the work of individuals is of the utmost importance for the work of an institution ; but in the case of political tasks it cannot be the main issue and in fact never is. This was shown in the case of *De Brouckère* who did not act as representative of Belgium in 1923. In *England* the complete and immediate change in the whole representation on the League of Nations after the fall of the Labour government appeared just as much a matter of course as the change in the government itself.

Bourgeois governments, as long as they are convinced of having nothing to fear from the League of Nations, will from time to time allow themselves the luxury of a socialist representative ; and perhaps they will sometimes be pleased to appear through their Geneva representation more "European" than they are themselves. But even if we can leave aside altogether in this connection any analysis of all the negative aspects which such a representation of purely bourgeois governments by socialists may present, it is yet plain forthwith that we have in this question merely *isolated individual cases*, which cannot imply any solution of the great problem of the representation of the working-class in the League. The true solution does not lie in representatives who enter the League of Nations by chance with the occasional acquiescence of bourgeois governments, but in the *creating of right to representation*.

This right to representation is at present confined to the governments. If these become socialist, or at least fall under socialist influence, a possibility of influence by the working-class enters the field. When in 1924 the waves of optimism surged very high, the opinion was sometimes

expressed that even the present system might open for socialists an avenue for capturing the League. All they had to do, it was said, was to capture the individual governments and in that way they will obtain ultimately a majority on the League. This argument would aim at making the best of the present system of representation in the League and fighting out the struggle for power in the separate countries.

But for such an attitude of acquiescence the Labour Parties in a long series of countries are already far too strong. It is not a healthy condition that the workers of England or Germany should not be able to raise their voices on the League, unless they are in the government. The existing system means, as the example of England pointedly proves, that the Labour Party there is always faced with the alternative of all or nothing. Quite apart from other strong motives there is a pressing necessity of finding a solution which shall give not only to the government but also to the Opposition a representation in Geneva. It is not in accord either with the dignity or with the practical needs of the working-class to expect this representation from the good pleasure or the caprice of bourgeois governments. A *right* must be established. And this can only be done by realising the claim perpetually repeated in all the Resolutions emanating from representatives of the workers that *representation by parliaments* shall take the place of representation by governments.

A certain approximation to a condition of parliamentary representation appears in Denmark, where a kind of "*voluntary proportionality*" was laid down in practice as regards representation in the League; here each of the large Parties has one representative in the delegation, irrespective of which Government may be in office. Such a provision, possible in States like Denmark and Sweden which pursue a consistent policy of arbitration, would in States with imperialist interests continually encounter the gravest difficulties. Moreover, that such a provision is not always possible for small States, appears from the case of Belgium, where the socialists refused to be represented on the League during the Occupation of the Ruhr.

The significance of this voluntary proportionality must also be judged altogether differently, according as the Government reserves to itself the *right of nominating* from the different Parties such representatives as seem to it fitting, or as it is bound by the proposals of the Parties who themselves possess this right of nomination.

It is plain that we shall not succeed with one blow in carrying out this democratisation, and that formidable resistance will have to be encountered. But for socialists the main question is to throw the clearest possible light on the points to be aimed at in their *programme for the democratisation of the League of Nations.*"

After a thorough debate the Executive (on 29th August 1926) adopted the following resolution :

"The Executive regards it as one of the main tasks of the next Congress of the L. S. I. to lay down more fully the principles of the action of the International with regard to the League of Nations, and its conception as to the democratisation of the League. It recalls its earlier decisions about the League of Nations and declares :

The Executive recognises the services which socialists as representatives of their countries in Geneva may render to the principles of the International by cooperation towards bringing the nations together and by a policy of solidarity and peace. But in order to make their activity for the cause of world peace and international socialism as fruitful as possible, it is necessary :

- (1) that the individual Parties should define the preliminary conditions on which they empower one of their members to accept or to retain a mandate in the Assembly or in the Council of the League ;

and that they should at all times investigate whether circumstances and the directions given by governments permit the execution of the mandate under conditions reconcilable with the general interests of the labour movement and the decisions of the L. S. I. ;

- (2) that an intimate and continuous contact be maintained between such delegates and the Party ;
- (3) that the L. S. I. shall consistently investigate the problems which occupy the League of Nations and define its stand towards these problems, thus affording to the individual Parties and to the delegates themselves the necessary bases, according to which they would be enabled to fulfil the duties referred to in points 1 and 2.

The Executive resolves to appoint a Commission for the study of questions bearing on the democratisation of the League which is to make a report to the next Congress."

In execution of this decision subsequent sessions of the Executive received reports on the relations between the Socialist parties and the delegates to the League of Nations belonging to these parties.

To the Commission for the Study of Questions relative to the Democratisation of the League of Nations the following comrades were elected : Bracke (France), de Brouckère (Belgium), Henderson (Great Britain), Modigliani (Italy), Müller (Germany), Oudegeest (Holland), Undén (Sweden), Leo Winter (Czecho-Slovakia). This Commission will not hold its constituent session until the Brussels Congress, as, since the decision of the Executive to appoint it, the problem of disarmament has come so strongly to the front that precedence has had to be given to the Commission appointed on the Disarmament Question.

..

We now subjoin a survey giving the names of socialists who have taken part in sessions of the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations, and in particular Conferences and Commissions of it :

#### *Assemblies of the League of Nations.*

*VI. Assembly :* (7.—26. IX. 1925 : Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), De Brouckère (Belgium), J. Borgbjerg (Denmark), August Rei (Estonia), Paul Boncour (France), Oesten Undén (Sweden), M. Niedzialkowsky (Poland), A. Engberg (Sweden).

*Extraordinary Assembly :* (8.—17. III. 1926) : Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Oesten Undén (Sweden), Paul Boncour (France).

*VII. Assembly :* (6.—25. IX. 1926) : Breitscheid (Germany), De Brouckère (Belgium), Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), J. Borgbjerg (Denmark), Paul Boncour (France), V. Voionmaa (Finland), M. Niedzalkowsky (Poland), S. Posner (Poland), A. Engberg (Sweden).

*VIII. Assembly :* (5.—27. IX. 1927) : Breitscheid (Germany), Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), De Brouckère (Belgium), J. Borgbjerg (Denmark), V. Voionmaa (Finland), Paul Boncour (France), Felix Cielens (Latvia), R. J. Sandler (Sweden).

#### *Sessions of the Council of the League of Nations.*

*35th Session, 2nd—28th of September 1925 :* Paul Boncour (France), substitute : Oesten Undén (Sweden).

*36th Session* (extraordinary), 26th—30th October 1925: Oesten Undén (Sweden).

*37th Session*, 7th—16th December 1925: Paul Boncour (France), Oesten Undén (Sweden).

*38th Session*, (extraordinary), 12th February 1926: no socialist delegate.

*39th Session*, 8th—18th March 1926: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France), substitute: Oesten Undén (Sweden).

*40th Session*, 7th—10th June 1926: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France) substitute.

*41th Session*, 2nd—7th September 1926: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France); substitute: Oesten Undén (Sweden).

*42th Session*, 15th—20th September 1926: De Brouckère (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France), substitute.

*43th Session*, 6th—11th December 1926: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France) substitute.

*44th Session*, 7th—12th March 1927: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium).

*45th Session*, 13th—17th June 1927: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France) substitute.

*46th Session*, 1st—15th September 1927: Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), De Brouckère (Belgium) substitute; Paul Boncour (France) substitute.

*47th Session*, 17th—28th September 1927: Voionmaa (Finland), Paul Boncour (France) substitute.

*48th Session*, 5th—12th December 1927: Voionmaa (Finland), Paul Boncour (France) substitute.

*49th Session*, 5th March, 1928: no socialist delegate.

*50th Session*, 4th June 1928: Paul Boncour (France).

#### *Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference.*

*1st Session*, 18th—26th May 1926: Paul Boncour (France), De Brouckère (Belgium).

*2nd Session*, 22nd and 27th September 1926: De Brouckère (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France).

*3rd Session*, 21st March—26th April 1927: De Brouckère (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France).

*4th Session*, 30th November—3rd December 1927: Paul Boncour (France).

*5th Session*, 15th March 1928: no socialist delegate.

#### *Committee on Arbitration and Security.*

*1st Session*, 1st and 2nd December 1927: Paul Boncour (France).

*2nd Session*, 20th February 1928: Paul Boncour (France), Oesten Undén (Sweden).

*3rd Session*, 27th June 1928: Paul Boncour (France), Oesten Undén (Sweden).

#### *Committee on the Composition of the Council.*

*1st Session*, 10th—17th May 1926: De Brouckère (Belgium), Paul Boncour (France).

*2nd Session*, 30th August—3rd September 1926: De Brouckère (Belgium).

### *International Economic Conference.*

Wilhelm Eggert (Germany), Dr. Baade (Germany), Emmy Freundlich (Austria), Benedikt Kutsky (Austria), Viktor Serway (Belgium), Cornelius Mertens (Belgium), Delvigne (Belgium), Bondas (Belgium), A. Lombard (Belgium), Arthur Pugh (Great-Britain), Jens Peter Nielsen (Denmark), Ernest Poisson (France), Jan Oudegeest (Holland), Hermann Diamand (Poland), Anders Oerne (Sweden), J. O. Johansson (Sweden), Max Weber (Switzerland), Rudolf Tayerle (Czecho-Slovakia), Adolf Pohl (Czecho-Slovakia), Georg Schmidt (Germany).

During the VIIth and VIIIth Assemblies of the League of Nations gatherings of the Socialist delegates to the League were held on the invitation of de Brouckère. At the sessions of the Council and Commissions the socialists generally numbered only 1 or 2 or in a few cases 3, so that the needful relations could be established without formal arrangements. Only at the World Economic Conference was the number of the socialist delegates so large and their freedom of action guaranteed to such an extent by the nature of their delegation that an official preliminary deliberation with the representatives of the L. S. I. Executive and with the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. could be organised. We report elsewhere on the results of this session, which took place on 2nd of May, 1927, in Geneva.

Seeing that the League of Nations is constructed on a basis not of Parliaments but of Governments, the opportunities for the labour movement to exert continuous influence upon it are extremely limited and are subject to marked fluctuations. Every change of government may modify the possibilities of socialist representation. There is lacking a permanent organised group in the League of Nations, which will only become really possible when the League is able to develop into a World Parliament. It is otherwise with that institution of the League which within the boundaries of the latter possesses a certain independence and another form of organisation, namely, the International Labour Office. In this the labour movement is able to exert a continuous and organised influence.

#### *(e) The International Labour Office and the L. S. I.*

In the distribution of functions, which is a determining factor for the whole labour movement, between the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the main task with regard to the International Labour Office devolves upon the latter. The constitution of the I. L. O. enables the trade unions in almost all countries to exert a decisive influence on the selection of the workers' representatives. Accordingly the Workers' Group at the International Labour Conferences, as regards countries whose trade unions are affiliated to the I. F. T. U. are under the direct influence of that institution and through the influence of the Workers' Group its representatives also have entry into the Governing Body of the I. L. O.



In the institutions of the I. L. O. the political labour movement has no possibility of direct representation, but by means of initiatives in the various parliaments it is able to support initiatives by the Workers' Group in the I. L. O. Its principle task only begins after the work of the Workers' Group in Geneva itself has closed, when it is a question of securing *ratification* in the various countries of the International *Conventions* framed and adopted in the I. L. O. In the struggle for ratification the initiative belongs to the political labour movement. In the period under report the chief task in this direction was again the struggle for ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day, as to which we report at length elsewhere.

The International Labour Conferences provide opportunities of establishing contact with the workers' representatives from countries overseas. But for the European Labour movement also these Conferences, like the sessions of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. offer possibilities of international contacts only attainable through the expenditure of such vast material resources as are here available for this purpose. The representatives of the L. S. I. also have sought as often as possible the opportunity to establish international relations at the events arranged by the I. L. O.

In the International Labour Conferences and still more in the Governing Body of the I. L. O. the working-class stands in an equally unfavourable position as it did in the parliaments of privilege before the achievement of equal rights. The representatives of the workers are commonly confronted there not only by the equally strong group of employers' representatives, but also by the representatives of governments which, generally speaking, inevitably regard themselves as representatives of capitalist governments. It is sometimes possible to range a majority of government representatives on the side of the workers and thereby to secure successes. But also the international arena presented by the I. L. O. has some significance as such. While it is true that class antagonisms cannot there be fought out to an end, they can on occasion make themselves felt with advantage. In particular the Labour Conferences and the sessions of the Governing Body, since 1926 open to the public at the initiative of the workers' representatives, have provided repeated opportunities for the direct expression of the truth about the shameful regime of Mussolini to the very faces of the fascist representatives. In this connection peculiar political importance belonged to the session of the Governing Body in October 1926, at which the scandalous oppression by the fascists of the workers of Molinella was impressively brought to the notice of European public opinion.

The blows of reaction at the International Labour Office require to be jointly parried by the trade union and political labour movements. Before all else the fundamental condition of the I. L. O. 's existence, namely *trade union freedom*, which is recognised already in the treaties of peace, must be guarded against every challenge. In

·this sense there is an importance of principle attaching to the recurrent debates in the I.L.O. whether under the given conditions of fascist Italy it can have a workers' representative at all, or whether on the other hand, he should be regarded as a government representative. In this question the free trade unions have consistently presented a solid and united front. Unfortunately a grave danger for the defence of the standpoint of the working-class arose out of the visit of the Director of the I. L. O. to the fascist Trade Union Congress in Rome and out of his speech before its organisers. In a comprehensive article in the International Information (10. V. 28) the Secretary of the L. S. I. has called attention to this danger and pointed to the problems connected therewith. When on 4th June 1928, the Bureau of the L. S. I. met for its session in Brussels, it had before it among other documents on this question the correspondence between the Director of the I.L.O. and the Secretary of the L. S. I. ensuing on this article. After a full debate the Bureau adopted the following resolution :—

“The Bureau regrets that, by accepting an invitation to attend and address the Conference of the Fascist Trade Unions on the occasion of his visit to Italy, the socialist Albert Thomas has provided an opportunity for tendentious demonstrations which he might and ought to have foreseen, and that through his attendance at that Congress he has created profound and legitimate resentment, not only among Italian Socialists, the victims of Fascist dictatorship, but also throughout the International working-class movement. The Bureau is of opinion that the protest made in the press by the Secretary, Friedrich Adler, was in the circumstances, fully justified.”

Of still greater importance, perhaps, than the “parliamentary” institution of the International Labour Office is the Office in itself. In the sphere of labour statistics and of comparative investigation in all questions of labour legislation it is able to achieve so much which no international institution could ever manage to do while dependent alone on the modest resources of the working-class. It was the exceptional talent for organisation and the intense industry with which Albert Thomas applied himself to his task which have procured to the International Labour Office those impressive resources which no doubt far exceed the ideas entertained by the authors of the Peace of Versailles in their gesture of social beneficence. It can no doubt be asserted with certainty that if, instead of Alb. Thomas, this or that bureaucrat had become the Director of this institution, it would vegetate as a pigmy organ devoid of significance. The institution is still in its beginnings, it is still trammelled by many of the ailments of childhood, but its significance for the working-class stands already beyond all doubt. Just as in a particular country an Office of Labour Statistics does not mean socialism, but yet may be utilised by the workers in their struggle and is accordingly valuable to them, so the International Labour Office in Geneva can never take the place of the class struggle, but can all the same serve a purpose in it as an arsenal.

(f) *The League of Nations and acute dangers of War.*

The elimination of possibilities of war has always come about in the course of historical development through the fusion of state organisms into a wider unit. Independent States became provinces of an empire, and wars ceased because to a certain extent a *socialisation of power* had taken place. This process may be studied to-day in nearly every one of the existing states. Every land was once upon a time the scene of bloody wars between civic entities which to-day have blended in a whole. The establishment of a super-state power was the foundation upon which the unification of the system of legal rights built.

The League of Nations, which was born of the Peace Treaties of 1919, renounced from the outset the idea of an *internationalisation of power* and confined itself to working at the elaboration of an international system of legal rights. It has left to the individual states their right to the exercise of power and has bound them only to give federal assistance in the event of infringement of the constitution of the League. This form of possible coercion is a very weak substitute for a genuine internationalisation of power, and one which harbours within itself all the possible dangers of warlike alliances by one part of the world against another.

The internationalisation of power must necessarily precede any decisive *reduction of power*. True disarmament will only be possible when this fundamental preliminary has been fulfilled. Under the conditions in which the League of Nations exists, only quite modest steps in the direction of a reduction of power are possible. Even these imply very complex agreements between the states which belong to the League of Nations, but which are quite autonomous. The discussions of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations have taught us what difficulties attend any effort to take even a little step forwards.

Similarly when it is a question of averting an acute danger of war the potentialities of the League of Nations are exceedingly limited, in consequence of the defects in the foundations of its structure. The League does not mean the elimination of danger of war between its members, but merely the possibility that it will come forward as a *mediating agency* between them. Certainly this also marks an advance relatively to the dangers of the altogether unchecked independent secret diplomacy of each particular state. But so vast a proportion of this latter system has been left standing that the inadequacy of the League's effective possibilities, even as a mere agency of mediation, is distinctly shown up again and again. The Geneva Protocol, which would have meant an advance on a large scale, was submerged.

The League of Nations has not been able to entertain any idea at all of intervening in the great historical processes such as the events in *China*, and has entrenched itself behind juridical subter-

fuges. And even in cases, where not great powers but disputes between small states were concerned, its<sup>4</sup> powerlessness in action has been displayed only too manifestly. None the less it will be denied by no one that the existence of this mediating organ had its advantages in the discussion of the *Polno-Lithuanian* conflict, while on the other hand the efforts to bring the *Yugoslav-Italian* conflict before the League were unavailing.

The L. S. I. has had ever and again to remind the League of Nations of its obligations ; and it has with clear realisation urged upon it, not indeed what it would have been a matter of course for a League of Nations in a world of socialist republics to perform, nor even what might be performed by a differently framed League of capitalist state, but demands of limited scope, adopted to the restricted possibilities which alone are open to the existing League of Nations.

When, at the beginning of 1927, the situation in the Balkans showed a menacing change for the worse, the enlarged Bureau of the L. S. I. gathered for a joint discussion in Paris with the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. on 3rd April 1927. The discussion established that the non-intervention of the League of Nations was contributing substantially to aggravate the dispute and that accordingly a demand must be put forward for the application of Article 11 of the Covenant. Along these lines the following resolution was adopted :—

The Bureaus of the two Internationals, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, assembled in Paris, April 3rd, 1927,

considering that the effects of the Anglo-Franco-Italo-Japanese Treaty of 1921, and of the agreements of Tirana of 1926, are unfolding consequences whereby the peace of the Balkans and of Europe is endangered :

instruct all their organisations and branches and especially those most directly affected by the policy of their Governments towards the Italo-Albano-Yugoslav difficulties to demand emphatically :

(1) the application of article 11 of the Pact of the League of Nations which provides that the Council of the Leagues shall be called in case "of any war or threat of war";

(2) that the charges formulated by Italy against Yugoslavia be published textually ;

(3) that the discussion be thus carried to the League of Nations, with a view to giving it a character of publicity which will avoid the dangers of all secret diplomacy ;

(4) that the League of Nations, either investigating on its own account, as we demand, or informed of the results of any enquiry, shall examine in a public debate the conclusions arising from the facts observed ;

(5) that these conclusions be applied in particular towards confirming Albania's right to settle its own destiny and to be free of any Italian or Yugo-slav protectorate, even under the guarantee of the League of Nations ;

(6) that the League of Nations remain vigilant to avert any aggravation of the incidents.

To attain these results,

the Bureaus of the I. F. T. U. and of the L. S. I. urge all the Parties representing the working-class to take action in the Parliaments so that

the Governments of every country shall associate themselves with the movement to be initiated towards a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in connexion with the Italo-Albano-Yugoslav problem.

Further they call on all Socialist Parties and on all the organisations of the working-class to initiate propaganda and agitation with the object of informing public opinion that it is necessary at all costs to check secret diplomacy and the policy of rival alliances by strengthening the League of Nations in its possibilities of public action.

The whole weakness of the League was revealed in its lack of any power of resistance to the threats of the fascist dictator Mussolini. He endeavoured to enforce his influence in Geneva not only by hints of the possibility of Italy's exit from the League but even by acts of intimidation against the employees of the League itself. The session at which the resolution reproduced above was adopted, took a stand likewise towards these fascist methods in the subjoined protest.

The enlarged Bureau of the L. S. I. and the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. call the attention of world public opinion to the efforts of the Fascist Government of Italy to wreck any move towards international understanding, and in particular to weaken the power of action and the independence of international organs such as the League of Nations and the International Labour Office.

In this connection the meeting notes the attempts made to place the Italian employees of the League of Nations and of the I. L. O. in a dilemma between faithfulness to their duties towards the great international organisations which selected them, and submission to arbitrary instructions from their Government under the menace of grave penalties.

Moreover the meeting received through some of its members confirmation of the press report that the Fascist Government of Italy has addressed to the Great Powers in Europe a kind of veto, declaring that any proposal to carry the Italo-Yugoslav conflict before the League of Nations would constitute an act of "unfriendliness" towards itself.

Such a note would be an obvious infringement of the freedom of action of the League of Nations.

The organisations and the parties of the two Internationals will denounce these proceedings which coincide with the annihilation of all forms of freedom in Italy and which at the same time may seriously prejudice endeavours towards peace.

The exposure of the smuggling of arms from Italy into Hungary which occurred at St. Gotthard together with the inhibition in the action of the League whose duty it should have been to establish the blame and the scope of these acts of smuggling arms, occasioned the following resolution by the Executive of the L. S. I., passed at its session in February 1928.

"The Executive draws the attention of the affiliated parties to the gravity of the St. Gotthard incident, concerning Hungarian machine-guns, which reveals disquieting complicity between the governments of fascist reaction, which from motives of internal of foreign politics are working for the development of secret armaments. The Executive notes with regret the slowness in the action of the League of Nations, paralysed by that of certain Powers, in forestalling or putting down such manoeuvres.

"It insists on the necessity of setting up without delay an effective supervision to prevent secret traffic in arms, and of exposing to public

opinion the dangers to peace involved in incidents such as that of St. Gotthard.

"The International denounces the manoeuvres of Governments in countries without democracy—thereby withdrawn from any internal check—which have already proved by acts that they mean to block any policy of disarmament and peace."

The report on the St. Gotthard affair by the League of Nations Commission of Three, as likewise the conclusions of the Council in this matter have shown that the powers interested in hushing it up have managed to secure complete success.

*(g) The Question of Disarmament and the League of Nations.*

During the period of this report there came into existence (on 18th May 1926) the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations. Its first session was in May 1926. The Commission had attached to it several sub-commissions, appointed in part by the Preparatory Commission itself.

At its third session (21st March—26th September 1927) the Commission endeavoured to compose the draft of a Treaty of Disarmament. The exclusive purpose of the draft was to delimit the field of disarmament, that is to say to determine those armaments as to which limitation should be undertaken by means of treaties. The extent of the limitation of armaments was to be left in the hands of the Disarmament Conference itself. The attempt, however, to arrive at a draft treaty of this kind proved unavailing, and the Commission did no more than to lay down the common points and the points of difference present in the demands of members of the Commission.

The fourth session of the Preparatory Commission (30th November—3rd December 1927), had the task of appointing a fresh sub-committee, the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which up to now has held three sessions. This sessions of the Preparatory Commission acquired, however, a wider significance from the circumstance that for the first time the Soviet Union participated in its work. In this connection the Russian delegation presented the draft of a treaty, the substance of which was immediate and total disarmament. Consideration of this proposal was deferred to the fifth session of the Commission.

This session assembled on 15th March, 1928. Since the discussion pointed to universal rejection of the Russian motion, the leading delegate of the Soviet Union, Litvinoff put in a further draft aiming at total disarmament by stages of five years. This draft likewise met with rejection.

On the other hand, however, the Commission was not in a position to proceed to a second reading of the draft treaty composed in the third session, which would have had the purpose of harmonising the still outstanding points of difference. In this connection it may be that the approach of the elections in France and Germany had a certain influence.

Among the main points of difference in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission is the question of naval disarmament. This became visible also at a special Naval Disarmament Conference at which the five leading naval powers, The U. S. A., Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy were to participate. The initiative towards this Conference had proceeded from the United States. However, France and Italy refused to participate, pointing out that in their view disarmament could only be solved as a comprehensive problem embracing all the forms of armament. Accordingly the Conference consisted only of representatives of the U. S. A., Great Britain and Japan. It sat from 20th June to 7th August 1927 and closed without result.

During 1928 in the course of the discussions as to the renewal of the Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Arbitration, a project for the draft of a pact for the outlawry of war was put forward for discussion. The proposal is founded on a principle which was already considered during the discussions at the Peace Conference on the Covenant of the League of Nations and which especially in the American Peace delegation was urged as against the principle of the League. Whereas the latter rests on a system of military and economic sanctions against any breaker of the treaty, the proposed Kellogg Pact confines itself to moral suasion, to downright outlawry of war. Conversely the Kellogg Pact goes further than the Covenant of the League since the latter qualifies war only in certain cases as a breach of agreement, while the former regards it absolutely as an international crime.

In French quarters the counter-argument was advanced against the Kellogg Pact that the outlawry of war was in contradiction to the right of national defence and to the obligations springing from treaties between individual states. Allowance has been made for these objections in an interpretation by the French and British Governments, which is to be accepted by the other governments concerned in the Pact. This new draft is still, at the moment of drawing up this report, under discussion in the Foreign Offices of the respective States.

## **(9) The Disarmament Question and the L. S. I.**

### **(a) The Questionnaire of the Disarmament Commission.**

At its session in April 1926, the Executive of the L. S. I. resolved "that a Commission be appointed to undertake a thorough study of the problem of disarmament as it presents itself to the League of Nations. To this Commission were elected : de Brouckère (Belgium), Hermann Müller (Germany), Cramp (Great Britain), Renaudel (France), Albarda (Holland), Deutsch (Austria). As substitutes for members of the Commission the following attended particular sessions : Wels for Müller, Gillies for Cramp, and Otto Bauer for Deutsch.

The Commission met in Zurich on 26th August 1926, for its initial session. Albarda (Holland) was elected Chairman. After a thorough debate, the Commission resolved to frame a questionnaire presenting at the same time the points to be treated by the Commission in a more detailed manner. The resolution of the Commission ran as follows :

"After full preliminary discussion the Disarmament Commission appointed by the Executive of the L. S. I. resolved to take as the basis of its future work the study of those problems, the solution of which is calculated in present circumstances to hasten the practical realisation of disarmament.

Accordingly, the Commission directs the attention of the international working-class to the following questions :

- (1) Shall the countries represented at the Disarmament Conference be invited as soon as possible to give their opinion as to what measures of disarmament they are ready for their part to accept for themselves : so that it might then be the purpose of the Conference to discuss these offers of disarmament from the participating countries, with a view to bringing them into agreement with each other and extending their scope as far as possible ?
- (2) In case it should not be possible to bring about a universal convention on disarmament, should efforts be made to arrange regional agreements on disarmament ?
- (3) In what way shall encouragement be given to measures of disarmament spontaneously adopted by particular countries ?
- (4) Is it possible to organise the international control of armaments and of manufacture for war purposes with the object of reaching an effective understanding regarding disarmament ; and in what manner can such control be made effective ?
- (5) To what extent are the affiliated Labour Parties in a position to ascertain the preparations for war in their own countries, and to exercise an effective supervision over them ?



The Commission will answer these questions in agreement with the affiliated Parties and will submit their report to the next meeting of the Executive of the L. S. I.

In addition to this study of the immediate problems of disarmament the Commission is preparing a definition of the attitude of the International in principle towards the question of army organisation."

#### **(b) The Report of the Disarmament Commission in August 1927.**

When on 27th August, 1927, the Commission again assembled in Zurich, it had before it the replies of the affiliated parties to the Questionnaire framed at the first session. Albarda made a comprehensive statement as to the common points of view resulting from the replies. After a thorough consultation the Commission drafted a detailed report which was submitted in September, 1927, to the session of the Executive and which runs as follows :—

The Labour and Socialist Movement must brace its whole energies more than ever for the campaign against war.

Once again the world is menaced with the perils of war. The world-war which shattered Europe for more than four years and which threw the whole world into a turmoil, left behind many forms of antagonism and strife no less grave and dangerous than those which led to the outbreak of 1914. Again and again during the past few years a fresh explosion seemed inevitable, and now, in more than one part of Europe, the ferment is such that one feels the worst anxiety to be justifiable.

The duty of vigilance is more plainly incumbent upon the working-class and upon the Labour and Socialist Parties than upon any other class or political force. The unspeakable suffering caused to the workers by the world-war is not yet ended, much less forgotten. More clearly than any other the worker can see that war brings to the working-class nothing good, but rather inflicts only wretchedness and bereavement on all countries involved in the struggle. Moreover war, which substitutes international enmity for brotherhood and the utmost destitution for prosperity, limits or destroys the possibility of any speedy realisation of the socialist ideal. Accordingly Socialism must conduct its campaign against war with the utmost energy, not merely to protect the working-class against the loss of a hard-won standard of comfort, but especially to safeguard its Socialist ideal.

When in every country Socialism strives towards the extension of its political power, it is contributing indirectly to lessen the danger of war. The greater the influence exerted by Socialism on the Government of its country, the more will that Government find itself compelled to pursue peace in its foreign policy, and to join in working against any aggravation of the danger of war. The working-class of which Socialism is the political expression must fight against imperialist and militarist currents in its own country to its utmost energy.

Socialism requires from Governments the use of arbitration and of all peaceful means for the settlement of international conflicts. It will strive towards this end whenever the danger of war becomes acute, and it will be the duty of the Socialist Parties to make use in agreement with the trade unions of all efficient methods to prevent war. It is the duty of the Socialist Parties of all countries to study these problems, in order to prepare, in concert with the International Federation of Trade Unions, a resolution as to the course of action for an international congress.

Measures of Disarmament are of particular importance in lessening the danger of war. Competitive armaments mean armaments for the purpose of war, and in essentials constitute a kind of warfare which very easily passes over into the more bloody form. The experience of these last decades have been so instructive in this connection, that among the socialist working-class no one any longer credits the words of people who eulogize armaments as a stage towards peace. Unless we soon follow the path of disarmament, we shall have within a short time to anticipate a repetition in a worse form of the experience of 1914—1918. Now that the technique of warfare has made such alarming progress, while at the same time the economic capacity of resistance has enormously decreased such a repetition will mean the downfall of Europe and its civilisation. In the wreck nothing but chaos can prevail.

Moreover disarmament is seen to be absolutely necessary not only for averting the danger of war, but also for giving new life to the economic national structure. The people can no longer bear the financial burdens of armament. The huge sums required for armies, fleets, reserve forces and equipments, as for their perpetual renewal and enlargement, automatically diminish the prosperity of the nation. Money cannot be found for the kind of social policy absolutely essential for the working-class. The high taxation out of which the costs of armament have to be met, injures the national prosperity, reduces the consumption of the masses and the productivity of business enterprise, promotes economic Nationalism and thus contributes towards the erection of customs barriers, whereby the reconstruction of the European economy is being hindered and the antagonism between the nations aggravated.

The manner in which the question of disarmament has been treated in the League of Nations has hitherto afforded to the nations more disappointment than satisfaction. The point reached up to the present does not take us very far beyond the forcible disarmament of the defeated countries by the victors of 1918. Certainly, the victors at the beginning of chapter 5 of the Peace Treaty, presented the disarmament of Germany as the prelude to a general limitation of the armaments of all countries, but so far the promise which was to some extent implied has not been fulfilled.

It is the duty of the Labour and Socialist Parties in all countries to work steadily and vigorously to make the promise a reality.

sion does not conceal from itself the difficulty of the  
so closely linked with every economic and political  
The Commission states, even with the nature of the relations they  
problem. War is to permit a real and complete disarmament  
activity of modern is a profound transformation of the whole social  
hold to one another, about serious measures of the  
being realised without a profound Communist spheres.  
order. Even efforts made to bring  
limitation of armaments would risk remaining considerable armed  
with these, real progress is achieved in other enterprises, or for

(1) In a great number of states there exist for maintaining  
forces either for the purpose of pursuing colonial The Commission  
keeping in subjugation national minorities, or against a situa-  
the dictatorship of a clique over the whole people. 1921st obstacle  
has here to call attention to only one of the consequences. The popu-  
tion so full of dangers. It offers in this way the grave reason of  
to disarmament. With armies being prepared against native employ  
lations, against nations in enslavement, even for the oppressed  
the home populations, how can one avoid the temptations to end  
them on occasion against neighbouring states, how can their ve-  
existence fail to increase the hesitation on the part of the neighbour  
to reduce their own means of defence? For peace to reign among  
the Powers it is necessary that violence should not be used within  
the territory of the powers themselves or within their dependencies,  
and the most efficacious preparation for disarmament is the univer-  
salisation of peaceful methods of democracy.

It is important to demand as an immediate measure a sharp sepa-  
ration of the police forces, the colonial forces and the defence  
forces. It is advisable to favour every measure which tends to pre-  
vent their substitution for one another.

(2) Recourse to violence will only be effectually prevented by  
strongly establishing peaceful methods for the solution of inter-  
national conflicts. The Commission commends to the attention of  
all the affiliated parties the proposal elaborated by the Labour Party  
of Great Britain, which lays down on principles very akin to those  
of the Protocol of Geneva, a procedure for settlement in all cases of  
juridical or non-juridical conflict. In the opinion of this Commission  
the adoption of this proposal would realise a step forwards of the  
utmost importance.

It is essential that in the case of a conflict which may give rise  
to war the socialist parties of the countries involved should urge  
upon their governments, making use if need be of all the means of  
pressure of which the organised working-class is capable, to accept  
a juridical or an arbitral settlement of the conflict.

(3) The Commission is of opinion that disarmament will only  
really contribute to peace if it does not appear as a one-sided obliga-  
tion imposed by the victor on the vanquished. An understanding  
can only be sincere and fruitful if it is between equals. It is there-  
fore necessary to propose as the aim the creation for all states of  
equal disarmament obligations and equal guarantees of security  
for all.

(4) The Commission is further of the opinion that, so long as disarmament is not complete, so long as military forces remain at the disposal of states, it is of the utmost importance that their use should be placed under an efficacious democratic control. It is above all necessary that parliament or its delegates should have the most complete supervision over the organisation and the activities of military forces. In line with what has already been realised, by various methods, in Austria, in Sweden and in France, no measure of mobilisation, even partial, should be undertaken without the express authorisation of parliament. Further, it is essential that the organisation of the armies themselves should be as democratic as possible.

During their period of service soldiers should not become estranged from the people so as to lead to opposition between them. Soldiers should retain their rights as citizens even during their service with the active forces. They should be withdrawn only for a short while, no longer than is absolutely necessary, from their families. An end should be made, as far as possible, of the division between soldiers and people.

The Executive of the L. S. I. nominated a Commission to advise it as to the manner in which the affiliated Parties and their representatives in the Parliaments and the League of Nations would be able to further the solution of the disarmament question.

In the discussions of this Commission, the proceedings of the Preparatory Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations were taken into account.

When the Commission began its task the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Committee had apparently reached a deadlock. It threatened to run aground on many rocks. One of them was the difficulty of determining by mutual agreement the limits which could and should be set to the disarmament of the various states.

This state of affairs led us to submit the following questions to the affiliated parties :

(1) Shall the countries represented at the Disarmament Conference be invited as soon as possible to give their opinion as to what measures of disarmament they are ready for their part to accept themselves ; so that it might then be the purpose of the Conference to discuss these offers of disarmament from the participating countries, with a view to bringing them into agreement with each other and extending scope as far as possible ?

(2) In case it should not be possible to bring about a universal convention on disarmament, should efforts be made to arrange regional agreements on disarmament ?

(3) In what way shall encouragement be given to measures of disarmament spontaneously adopted by particular countries ?

(4) It is possible to organise the international control of armaments and of manufacture for war purposes with the object of

reaching an effective understanding regarding disarmament ; and in what manner can such control be made effective ?

(5) To what extent are the affiliated Labour Parties in a position to ascertain the preparations for war in their own countries, and exercise an effective supervision over them ?

The replies from five countries (Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Sweden) are summarised in the following :

#### QUESTION I.

In three of the five answers (Austria, Great Britain, Sweden) the method stated in Question I, is recommended for use. One reply (German) contains no explicit answer on the methods but restricts itself to concurring in all methods of working which can lead to the goal. At the same time it limits itself to saying that disarmed Germany can make no recommendation for the reduction of its own arms. The fifth country (Holland) doubted the utility of this method.

In one of the replies (Great Britain) it is noted that the States can best be invited to make their offers of disarmament only when the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has prepared the draft of a Disarmament Treaty. The offers of the various states can indeed only be properly compared when they are made on the basis of one and the same scheme.

No single reply anticipates that the methods in question will at once have a useful result of any significance. All are conscious that every Government will exercise the utmost guardedness in its recommendation. Many Governments will be only too glad to see other states weaken themselves in military respects ; they will want to maintain their own country as powerful as possible in relation to the others. Most states will not want to go by any means so far in their recommendations as would in fact be possible. Many states will be ready for great restrictions in those branches of armaments which for them have only slight practical value ; but they will be willing to make only very little sacrifice or none at all on those forms of Armaments which they consider the most important for themselves. One reply (the Dutch) even holds that the method will prove on these grounds fruitless.

Three answers, however, while they recognise these difficulties, yet express the conviction that the method will contribute to the attainment of favourable results. It is in their view of the greatest advantage that this concrete question be submitted to every country ; what restrictions of its armaments it would be prepared to accept. The reply to this question will be the business of the Governments, but public opinion, the political Parties and the Parliaments will take up the question and this cannot fail to contribute to the furtherance of disarmament. In addition the consideration of the disarmament question in the League of Nations will proceed all the more easily, if it is possible to work on the basis of concrete offers from the various states. The Preparatory Disarmament Committee

could mould and combine the replies of the various states into a general plan after these had in cases of necessity been further discussed with the individual states. If such a plan be submitted to the Disarmament Conference then the problem leaves the phase of discussion and enters that of practical realisation. That would unquestionably be a very important step forward.

The Commission notes in this connection that the first question of its questionnaire, although the latter was drawn up in August 1926, has nevertheless not lost its practical meaning. The Preparatory Disarmament Conference in its third meeting, held from the 21st March to the 26th April 1927, tried to draw up a Disarmament Treaty, but did not regard it as its business to make proposals with regard to the strength and the extent to which the armament of individual states should be restricted. In the event of the Preparatory Conference in the autumn of this year being successful in devising a Disarmament Convention, the question yet remains unanswered as to the numbers which must be mentioned in the tables of armaments. The method indicated in Question I, can then during further work be of the utmost value.

#### QUESTION II.

In answering the question whether it is desirable to arrange regional agreements on disarmament (in case it should not be possible to bring about an universal convention on disarmament) one of the Reporters (the British) makes a distinction between limitation on land armaments and on naval armaments. The Report considers that notwithstanding the demand of the Socialist Parties for a general international treaty, it may be more convenient to conduct disarmament negotiations in respect of certain kinds of armament—e. g. land forces or air forces—on a regional basis provided the region is sufficiently large. It is doubtful whether any region smaller than a continent could be of much use in respect of land armaments. Such continental agreements should be embodied in a general treaty. On the other hand any convention for the limitation of naval armament, ought, according to this Report, to be world-wide.

The same Report draws attention to the dangers inherent in any Disarmament Treaty which was not comprehensive in a double sense. Supposing in the first place that such a Treaty did not limit all kinds of armament, but, say, only two out of three, it might lead to the States signatory to such a Treaty entering upon an extremely mischievous competition amongst themselves and against third parties in this third sphere. Again, if the Treaty covers only a small group of states, others might feel themselves encouraged to arm the more vigorously against the former, in proportion as they were able to equal or even to surpass them.

All the Reports agree in this, that a universal convention is unconditionally preferable to a regional agreement, whereas the latter should only be approved if it can be regarded as the preliminary

step towards an universal convention, but not when it is in reality merely a disguised military alliance. Further, a regional agreement should be public and subject to the supervision of the League of Nations. In this view our Commission concurs.

### QUESTION III.

While the disarmament resulting from an international agreement between states is the only kind conceivable by a number of countries which took part in the great war, which still find themselves in the uneasy region of foreign politics, and which still feel to a high degree that tension which always means the possibility of a new war, on the other hand in different countries the possibility of independent national disarmament is present to many minds. Since 1918 indeed the movement towards national disarmament has been growing stronger and stronger in those small countries which were not involved in the world-war and do not belong either to any of the European groups of countries. In many of these countries (Denmark, Norway, Holland and Switzerland) the socialists have with zeal and enthusiasm, propagated in and out of Parliament the idea of national disarmament. In Denmark the socialist Government has made to the National Assembly a proposal of disarmament. The socialist group in the Dutch Parliament has introduced a Bill for disarmament, while in Norway and Switzerland the socialist groups have taken similar steps. In various other countries also the Labour and Socialist Parties have made efforts to bring about a reduction of armaments. Thus in Sweden, on the initiative of the Socialist government in power in 1925, the term of service was reduced to 140 days and military organisation restricted to the extent of about 40%.

If in individual countries the socialist parties are working towards national disarmament, this of course by no means implies that they are indifferent towards a scheme of international disarmament governed by a general convention between states under the guidance of the League of Nations. They long for international disarmament no less ardently than socialists of other countries; but they hold that their countries need not and must not wait for such an international agreement. And further they take the view that by the campaign for national disarmament in their countries they are helping on the realisation of international disarmament, if only because their example will powerfully encourage the will to disarmament in other countries.

In one of its resolutions the International Congress of Marseilles paid a tribute of acknowledgment to the steps towards disarmament adopted by the parties in some minor countries. The question how such action could be helped forward was answered in every report received by our Commission.

One of these reports (Austria) claims that the effort towards national disarmament should be seconded by the encouragement of

agreements tending to diminish the economic antagonisms between states and to reinforce their economic bonds. Towards such an end the parties of various neighbouring states could cooperate. Such cooperation could best be brought about under the guidance of the Bureau of the L. S. I. Indeed both as to their disarmament policy in general and to the directives to be followed in connection with it, joint deliberation between individual countries would be desirable.

A second report (Great Britain) points out that in support of steps towards disarmament in single countries an understanding should be reached that the numbers to be laid down in an international convention for the armament of every country, should be taken as maxima which may not be exceeded by any country, though it may at its own choice remain short of them. Further the guarantees of the Covenant of the League of Nations for the protection of States against the danger of war, should apply in equal measure to large states as to small, irrespective of the strength or weakness of their own defensive armament.

Three Reports (Sweden, Germany, Holland) regard a vigorous disarmament propaganda in other countries as being of the utmost significance for the success of independent efforts for disarmament in single countries. If vigorous and sustained pressure towards disarmament is maintained everywhere by the socialist working-class, this produces in small countries a sense of security, which contributes towards the attainment of a happy issue of the efforts for disarmament.

Our Commission considers all these observations to be well-founded. If the proletariat in all countries conducts a vigorous and sustained campaign against militarism and for disarmament, international disarmament is thereby brought much nearer to its goal, whilst simultaneously the end is achieved that many countries make up their minds to act as independent examples, which in its turn again may contribute to the realisation of international disarmament. International conventions ought not to place difficulties in the path of disarmament by any single states ; on the contrary they should guarantee the utmost measure of security to those states which have already disarmed.

#### QUESTION IV.

All the Reports agree that the precise observance of any disarmament convention cannot possibly be assured without active and close supervision of armament and production. Indeed it can scarcely be expected of states which for any reason view each other with distrust that they should decide for agreed disarmament, unless good care be taken to see whether the others observe the stipulations. While any opening was allowed for extensive secret armament, disarmament could only be called nothing else than an international deceit practised on the people, and would involve danger of war rather than security.



Accordingly it is the general opinion that supervision over the observance of a disarmament convention should be placed in the hands of the League of Nations, which could entrust the task of supervision to one of its bodies. The manner in which the Council of the League conducted the supervision of German disarmament might serve as a basis in this connection.

It goes without saying that the states submitting to such inspection, and thus obliged to admit for the purpose a foreign commission equipped with wide powers, will have to acquiesce in a very considerable interference with their sovereign rights.

The sphere over which supervision must be exerted is a very extensive one. Not only the strength of the armies, the duration of the time of training, the extent of the cadres, the number of the types of weapons, and the limits of armaments must be brought under it, but equally the stocks of such commodities as could serve for purposes of war, together with the arrangements of factories and workshops. Apart from the question whether the boundaries of this sphere can ever be clearly drawn they are perpetually shifting, according as modifications in the technique of production or the conduct of warfare are introduced. Any supervision covering the whole sphere is scarcely possible, and we certainly shall not be able to institute any such at the start. But even a limited supervision possesses from the outset a wide significance. Its introduction, and the fact of its acceptance by the nation concerned, constitute the victory of a principle which gradually would have to be more and more widely applied.

The cooperation of the workers and their organisation both in the supervision of armaments, and in the observation of disarmament provisions will be indispensable ; for their work brings them into touch with all forms of public and secret armament and warlike preparations. But the manner in which the workers' organisations would share in the supervision must clearly be defined.

It will be of the utmost value if two or more states who conclude an agreement for the reduction of their armaments should submit voluntarily to mutual supervision. An example will thereby be provided which might contribute towards getting the principle of supervision generally accepted.

Our Commission is in complete agreement with these remarks.

#### QUESTION V.

The Labour Parties will not everywhere be equally capable of ascertaining permanently the extent and nature of armaments in their own country and of keeping themselves precisely informed on the subject. It is in Austria that the possibilities of so doing appear to be most securely established. The Austrian Parliamentary Commissioners for Army Affairs are entitled to make independent enquiry into everything connected with the army. In countries where

the working-class is strongly represented in Parliament, such Boards of Commissioners may be an excellent means of affording information to the people and to Parliament as to the state of armaments, and of making possible supervision over it.

In some countries (Sweden, France etc.) the Socialist Party is strongly represented in the various Parliamentary Committees. These Committees are entitled to obtain from the Government any information they desire about military affairs. However there are no safeguards that complete and perfectly reliable information will always be supplied at the right moment to Parliamentary Boards; when for instance there is a question of accumulating secret stocks, the military authorities will seek to keep the people's representatives also in ignorance of the fact.

For this reason vigilance by the working-class and its organisations must remain a cardinal requirement. Whenever information is withheld by Governments from socialist parties, then they will have to obtain it from working-class sources. How vital it is that socialism should be able to command such enlightenment, was clearly shown when socialist deputies of the German Reichstag were able to bring to light the fact that the National Militia (Reichswehr) had connection with bodies in Soviet Russia which were supplying to it arms and ammunition.

It is desirable that the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. should consult jointly as to the manner in which the working-class might be able to exercise a check on armaments. It is desirable that the manufacture of arms should be withdrawn from the hold of private manufacture and reserved to state industries, free from anxieties as to profit, and placed under the control of the League of Nations. In any case, so long as the private manufacture of arms exists, the whole armaments' industry, whether of the state or of private enterprise, should be subjected to vigorous parliamentary supervision.

As we are now in the period between two sessions of the Preparatory Disarmament Conference it is possible to establish that although this work did not fulfil the hopes with which it was viewed by millions of men and women throughout the whole world, it has not nevertheless remained entirely without success. For the first time the question of disarmament has been treated in all its details and in an official manner. Thanks to the work undertaken one can to-day better determine the direction in which it is desirable to pursue the first efforts in order to obtain the best results.

For the establishment of a clear and exact programme of reduction in armaments it is important first of all to define precisely the aims it is hoped to attain.

These aims can be defined as follows :

(1) To restrict the state of "armed peace" which is prevalent throughout the world; what sufferings and dangers are involved

by this we do not need to recall here. In other words, it is a question at first of reducing the military, naval and air forces of peace time.

(2) To reduce the danger of a sudden attack. In other words, to reduce the forces, which after mobilisation a state could command for the purpose of attacking a neighbouring state in as short a space of time as possible, to enable it to triumph over its adversary before the latter should be really in a state of defence, that is to say, to accomplish the only operation of warfare which can still to-day be regarded as capable of assuring to the victor real economic or political advantages.

Beginning with the recognition of aims one arrives easily at the discovery of means.

A. With regard to effectives it is obviously necessary in order to achieve the first aim, to limit the number of men in the land, sea and air forces, which states can maintain in time of peace. But this limitation by itself is not sufficient for attaining the second aim. It is therefore essential to take the necessary measures for reducing the effectives which can be immediately mobilised.

a) In the case of professional armies the affair does not present an excessive difficulty. The trained reserves in them are in general relatively inconsiderable.

b) But it is otherwise in the case of conscripted armies. For a given peace effective and given the same methods of training the number of men it trains is necessarily of an increasing magnitude as the term of service becomes shorter; the "trained reserves", if all men who have received a military training are included therein, are therefore very important. Nevertheless the Commission is of the opinion that the reduction of the term of service should be strenuously urged everywhere where this type of army is in existence and that it is important for the Socialist parties to set themselves to shortening it until the army is given the character of real militia.

It should be noted that in this case the very reduction of the term of service to a considerable extent makes more difficult any war of aggression, which it is a question of keeping within limits. On the one hand the number of classes which can be put in the line without prolonged training is considerably reduced, on the other hand the degree of training of the troops does not permit them to launch at first into difficult operations of offence which an attack of great scope necessarily involves.

It is important that the Convention of Disarmament should contain formal and precise stipulations for bidding states to call up classes, except in cases specifically defined, or to proceed to mobilisation, without having given notification of the matter to the League of Nations.

B. As regards the limitation of material, various general methods have been proposed, but it would not be profitable here for the

Commission to enter into a technical examination of them. It suffices to assert that the application of any one of these considered procedures could not be controlled, and therefore put into practice seriously, unless there had been established at first a serious control of international trade in arms and of their manufacture. The Commission regrets that no state, with the exception of France, has ratified the international Convention relating to this traffic and that the attempt to establish a Convention with regard to manufacture has met with a complete breakdown. The Commission is of opinion that every effort should be made to re-start negotiations.

With regard to naval material two opposite points of view came to light at Geneva ; that of the limitation of tonnage by category put forward by the three great naval powers, and that of the limitation of total tonnage, put forward by all the other powers. But it is satisfactory to note that during the course of the debates the two points of view have surprisingly approached one another, and that now it seems possible, with a little mutual goodwill, to find a basis of conciliation. It is of the utmost necessity that the Socialist Parties of the states particularly concerned should exert pressure on their governments so as to obtain from the latter a really conciliatory attitude.

With regard to aviation material it is necessary to limit the number of machines at the disposal of the navy as of those at the disposal of the land army, to limit the number of reserve machines as well as the number of those on active service. It is absolutely essential to prevent to the utmost degree possible the utilisation of the civil resources of aviation for war, while in particular taking measures to secure the independence of civil aviation from the military authorities and to assure to civil aviation companies a more and more international character.

Side by side with the direct limitation of war materials one can foresee indirect limitation by the restriction of sums appropriated for purchases and in general by the limitation of war expenditure.

C. As regards the restriction of expenditure the Commission is of opinion that this constitutes in itself an extremely desirable object. One of the most grave drawbacks of armaments was precisely the economic ruin they entailed. Moreover, there must be seen in this limitation an indirect means of restricting the effectives and material and of controlling the other limitations.

It is important, when laying down the limit of expenditure authorised in each country to take into account the difference of prices and also the different expenses involved by the organisation of a professional army and those of a conscripted army.

In order to make the limitations of expenditure really efficacious and controllable, it is important that the different states should agree to keep their budgets in conformity with a standard table. It goes

without saying that the guarantee offered by the reduction of budgets and accounts has a serious value only in those states where the parliamentary control is effectively exercised.

The attention of socialists should not be directed alone towards reduction in the extent of the fighting forces ; they ought in addition to concern themselves seriously with the constitution and organisation of armies.

There is no social force on whom the task and duty of furthering disarmament is more urgently incumbent than it is upon socialists. In the event of their being too weak to devote themselves to this task and to fulfil their duty successfully, mankind would be faced with a very black future. Who indeed should shield mankind from the horrors of another war, indeed from a miserable downfall, if socialism should fail to do so ? International socialism must not remain below its high mission. It must rally round its banner, by impressive propaganda and unceasing effort towards disarmament in all countries where its champions are at work, the many millions of men and women who crave for secure peace and sicken at the thought of the horrors of another massacre threatening the mass of the nations.

If socialism is successful in so furthering and strengthening everywhere the movement for disarmament that the governments and their representatives in the League of Nations will be compelled to satisfy the wishes of this movement, then a safe road will have been built on which the working-class will be able to walk forward towards the final triumph of the socialist ideal.

*Draft Resolution submitted to the Executive.*

**THE DANGERS OF WAR.**

Scarcely a few years have elapsed since the nations underwent the terrible experiences of the world-war, and already the danger of a fresh conflagration is reappearing. Competition in armaments is beginning anew. Accordingly it is more than ever the imperative duty of the socialist movements to strive with all their energy for the maintenance and reinforcement of peace.

Undoubtedly capitalism, so long it is dominant, will perpetually leave the world exposed to the risk of a bloody conflict. Undoubtedly peace will only be definitely assured when a new political order will have established a new system of cooperation in all the peoples. But the International declines to accept the view that even in present political and economic circumstances war will be an unescapable necessity to which one must passively yield. On the contrary it will offer daily resistance to it, just as day by day, even under the capitalist regime, it strives for the defence of the interest and rights of the workers. Indeed is not peace, for these latter, the surest interest and the highest commandment ? Is it not in this

daily struggle that socialism is strengthened and trained for the realisation of this ideal ?

The socialist parties, class parties of the working class are struggling all the more energetically against all wars since they know that wars can bring nothing but wretchedness and bereavement to the countries involved, that they destroy throughout long years the sentiment of international brotherhood and hinder or delay the realisation of the socialist ideal.

Whenever in every country the socialist parties endeavour to increase their power, they are indirectly helping to lessen the dangers of war. The greater the influence they can exert on their respective government, the more the latter will be compelled to imbue their foreign policy with a pacific temper.

In order to lessen the dangers of war it is particularly important to pursue systematically a policy of disarmament. True, the attempts made hitherto have brought many disappointments to the nations. Up to now hardly anything more than disarmament of the defeated by the victors has been accomplished. Certainly the victors asserted at the opening of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles that they viewed the disarmament of Germany as a means preparatory to the general limitation of the armaments of all nations. But it must be noted that the promise formulated has not as yet been kept.

#### THE CAUSES OF FAILURE.

It is not sufficient to point out the failures ; if one wishes to work efficiently to avoid a repetition of them it is necessary to endeavour to lay bare their causes.

The unanimous acceptance of the Geneva Protocol by the 5th Assembly of the League of Nations, had given rise to the highest hopes.

Need one recall that at the time when it was drafted the first Labour Government was in power in Great Britain, and that everywhere the rising tide of democracy was visible ? Since then reaction has raised its head anew, MacDonalld has been succeeded by Baldwin ; in France and Germany the nationalist right wing is participating in government, while in Italy, Spain and many other countries arrogant dictatorships are dominant.

Is it any wonder that, when violence is being practised, now in colonial territories in China or elsewhere, now against national minorities or against nations themselves held down within their own frontiers by the tyranny of a clique, it should once again tend to prevail in the relationships between nations ?

The most superficial observation of the facts clearly exhibits this fundamental truth that the most efficient preparation for disarmament consists in giving an universal extension to the peaceful methods of democracy.

At the recent Naval Conference it was possible to note that the real difficulties were much less of a naval and technical than of a political nature. It was at bottom the question of the control of the sea in the event of war, and the parties conferring were much more preoccupied as to the manner in which they would proceed by warfare towards a settlement of their disputes than as to the methods which would permit a peaceful settlement of them. At bottom they were seeking first and foremost a way of retaining as cheaply as possible the ability to execute their will by force of arms. But the issue has shown that war and economy are incompatible and that it is only in a true spirit of peace that it is possible to enter upon disarmament.

The same truth, moreover, has struck those who have followed closely the labours of the 3rd Session of the Preparatory Commission. There was among most of the delegations the same absence of any really pacific spirit; the same absence of any preliminary agreement as to the political problems whose solution ranges the leading Powers on opposite sides; the same absence of any systematic preliminary examination by the governments of the difficulties which had stopped the technical experts; and finally the same absence of any serious effort towards conciliation on the part of these who bear the responsibilities of government.

#### THE ESSENTIAL POINTS FOR PROGRESSIVE DISARMAMENT.

Taught by experience, the socialist parties must bring these facts to the attention of the nations. We must lay special stress upon the following points:

I. Attention has already been drawn to the obstacles to disarmament arising from the existence of powerful colonial armies, of the large police forces intended to hold oppressed minorities in subjection, of fascist bands or other similar bodies. Even when in the present state of affairs, it is not possible to secure immediately the removal of these grave causes of conflict, we must at least demand that any disarmament convention should distinguish sharply between colonial forces, police forces and forces of defence. Further it is desirable to encourage any methods likely to prevent these forces from being substituted one for the other.

II. In the event of conflicts capable of leading to war, it is essential that the socialist parties of the countries concerned should require from their government, using if need be against them all the means of pressure available to the organised working-class, an acceptance of a juridical or arbitral settlement of the dispute.

It will only be possible to forestall effectively the recourse to violence by establishing on a strong basis pacific methods of treatment for the solution of international disputes. The Executive draws the attention of all the affiliated parties to the scheme worked out

by the British Labour Party which lays down a procedure of settlement in all cases of juridical or nonjuridical conflicts. The adoptance of this scheme would mark a progress of the utmost importance. It would be essential that the League of Nations should take the initiative of proposing to all its members not later than the next Assembly the conclusion of treaties in conformity with this model.

III. The Executive is of opinion that disarmament will only really contribute to peace if it does not appear as a one-sided obligation imposed by the victor on the vanquished. An understanding can only be sincere and fruitful if it is between equals. It is therefore necessary to propose as the aim the creation for all states of equal disarmament obligations and equal guarantees of security for all.

IV. The Executive wishes further to point out that so long as disarmament is not complete, so long as military forces remain at the disposal of states, it is of the utmost importance that their use should be placed under an efficacious democratic control. The power of control over the army must be transferred to a body appointed by law representative of the whole people.

In any case it is necessary that Parliament or its delegates should have the most complete supervision over the organisation and the activities of military forces. In line with what has already been realised, by various methods, in Austria, in Sweden and in France, no measure of mobilisation, even partial, should be undertaken without the express authorisation of Parliament. Further it is essential that the organisation of the armies themselves should be as democratic as possible.

V. The Labour and Socialist International holds that if in every country the organisation of the army were to be so transformed that the army could not become an instrument of the possessing classes, this might help to lessen the perils of war. During their period of service soldiers must not become estranged from the mass of the people in order that no contradiction between people and army may arise. Indeed, even during their service on the active list, soldiers should retain their rights as citizens. They must not be at the mercy of the arbitrary power of the superior officers. They should be withdrawn only as long as is absolutely necessary from their families. An end should be made as far as possible of the separation between soldiers and people. The Army of national defence must never be called upon to intervene in conflicts between capital and labour.

#### OUR AIMS.

However great was the disappointment felt among the nations over the fact that no serious and concrete measures of disarmament had been accomplished, it must yet be acknowledged that the results of the Third Session of the Preparatory Commission were not of a purely negative kind. For the first time the question of disarmament



received technical study in all its details and in an official manner. Thanks to the work undertaken it is today more easily possible to determine in which direction endeavours must first proceed in order to bring about the best results.

For the establishment of a clear and exact programme of reduction in armaments it is important first of all to define precisely the aims it is hoped to attain.

These aims can be defined as follows :

(1) To reduce the status of the "peace army" which is prevalent throughout the world; what sufferings and dangers are involved by this we do not need to recall here. In other words, it is a question at first of reducing the military, naval and air forces of peace time.

(2) To reduce the danger of a sudden attack. In other words, to reduce the forces of which after mobilisation a state could command for the purpose of attacking a neighbouring state in as short a space of time as possible to enable it to triumph over its adversary before the latter should be really in a state of defence, that is to say, to accomplish the only operation of warfare which can still to-day be regarded as possible of assuring to the victor real economic or political advantages.

Beginning with the recognition of aims one arrives easily at the discovery of means.

A. With regard to effectives it is obviously necessary in order to achieve the first aim, to limit the number of men in the land, sea and air forces, which states can maintain in time of peace. But this limitation by itself is not sufficient for attaining the second aim. It is therefore necessary to take the necessary measures for reducing the effectives which can be immediately mobilised.

(a) In the case of professional armies the affair does not present an excessive difficulty. The trained reserves in them are in general relatively inconsiderable.

(b) But it is otherwise in the case of conscripted armies. For a given peace effective and given the same methods of training the number of men it trains is necessarily of an increasing magnitude as the term of service becomes shorter; "trained reserves", if all men who have received a military training are included therein, are therefore here very important. Nevertheless the Commission is of the opinion that the reduction of the term of service should be strenuously urged everywhere where this type of army is in existence and that it is important for the socialist parties to set themselves to shortening it until the army is given the character of real militia.

It should be noted that in this case the very reduction of the term of service to a considerable extent makes more difficult the war of aggression, which it is a question of keeping within limits. On the one hand the number of classes which can be put in the line without prolonged training is considerably reduced, on the other hand the de-

gree of training of the troops does not permit them to launch at first into difficult operations of offence which an attack of great scope necessarily involves.

It is important that the convention of disarmament should contain formal and precise stipulations forbidding states to call up classes, except in cases specifically defined, or to proceed to mobilisation, without having given notification of the matter to the League of Nations. It even would be desirable that the socialist parties should bring about the inclusion in the code of law concerning army organisation in their country of similar provisions as to the action of the League of Nations.

B. As regards the limitation of material, various general methods have been proposed, but it would not be profitable here for the Commission to enter into a technical examination of them. It suffices to assert that the application of any one of these considered procedures could not be controlled, and therefore put into practice seriously, unless there had been established at first a serious control of the international trade in arms and of their manufacture. The Commission regrets that no state, with the exception of France, has ratified the international convention relating to this traffic and that the attempt to establish a convention with regard to manufacture has met with a complete breakdown. The Commission is of opinion that every effort should be made to re-start negotiations.

With regard to naval material, two opposite points of view came to light at Geneva ; that of the limitation of tonnage by category put forward by the three great naval powers, and that of the limitation of total tonnage, put forward by all the other powers. But it is satisfactory to note that during the course of the debates the two points of view have surprisingly approached one another, and that now it seems possible, with a little mutual goodwill, to find a basis of conciliation. It is of the utmost necessity that the socialist parties of the states particularly concerned should exert pressure on their governments so as to obtain from the latter a really conciliatory attitude.

With regard to aviation material it is necessary to limit the number of machines at the disposal of the navy as of those at the disposal of the land army, to limit the number of reserve machines as well as the number of those on active service.

It is absolutely essential to prevent to the utmost degree possible the utilisation of the civil resources of aviation for war, while in particular taking measures to secure the independence of civil aviation from the military authorities and to assure to civil aviation companies a more and more international character.

Side by side with the direct limitation of war materials one can foresee indirect limitation by the restriction of sums appropriated for purchases and in general by the limitation of war expenditure.

C. As regards the restriction of expenditure the Commission is of the opinion that this constitutes in itself an extremely desirable

object. One of the most grave drawbacks of armaments was precisely the economic ruin they entailed. Moreover there must be seen in this limitation an indirect means of restricting the effectives and material and of controlling the other limitations.

It is important, when laying down the limit of expenditure authorised in each country to take into account the difference of prices and also the different expenses involved by the organisations of a professional army and those of a conscripted army.

In order to make the limitation of expenditure really efficacious and controllable, it is important that the different states should agree to keep budgets in conformity with a standard table. It goes without saying that the guarantee offered by the reduction of budgets and accounts has a serious value only in those states where the Parliamentary control is effectively exercised.

The Executive desires to point out that if, for a great many countries the only hope of serious reduction in their armaments is by means of a general convention, it is yet important for every state to proceed, without the realisation of such a convention, to any measures of voluntary disarmament of which it is capable, within the limits drawn by the conditions of international politics. This is what happened in Sweden in 1925 on the initiative of the Socialist Government then in power. Further it is especially worth while to point out the efforts made in this direction by the socialist parties of Denmark, Norway, Holland and Switzerland.

It is essential that the disarmament convention should fix only maxima, without compelling any state to maintain forces larger than those it considers advisable, and without a decrease in its military force having the effect of depriving it of any of the guarantees stipulated in the covenant.

It is desirable that the manufacture of armaments should be withdrawn from the hold of private manufacture, reserved for state industries free from anxieties as to profit, and placed under the control of the League of Nations.

In any case, as long as private manufacture exists, the whole trade in armaments, both that of the state and of private enterprises, should be subjected to a rigorous parliamentary supervision.

#### A CALL TO THE ACTIVITY OF THE NATIONAL SECTIONS.

In conclusion, having called attention to the defaults of the capitalist governments who would allow the hopes reposed after the war in the action of the League of Nations to fade away to nothing, the International notes that it is for the nations to show that they will not tolerate this attitude.

This whole vast problem of disarmament must pass out of the realm of the technical discussion into the realm of politics.

The Labour and Socialist International calls upon all its constituent parties to rouse public opinion within their ranks by a propaganda at once methodical, intensive and systematic.

All sections of the L. S. I. should multiply demonstrations, and disseminate the documents that the L. S. I. will assemble to facilitate this activity. By means of public meetings, of demonstrations, and of Parliamentary action, our parties must point the way along the practicable roads which it is necessary to take without delay, so that thus governments may learn that they will know no rest until their proposals and international decisions at the League of Nations shall be in keeping with the will towards a true peace as it exists in the hearts of the nations.

The L. S. I. urges all its sections to take the requisite measures to secure a wide publicity for the present resolution.

At present disarmament is the highest task incumbent on the proletariat of Europe and the world.

At this task socialists in all countries must work with heart and soul.

### (c) Decisions of the Executive of the L. S. I.

At its session in September 1927, the Executive thoroughly considered the Report of the Disarmament Commission printed above, and adopted the following resolution :

The Executive takes note of the preliminary report of the Disarmament Commission of the L. S. I., and expects representatives of the affiliated parties who are active in the League of Nations, to be guided by the fundamental principles contained in the report, and that the socialist labour parties will vigorously press these endeavours towards international disarmament.

The Executive calls upon the Disarmament Commission of the L. S. I. to continue its work, to examine the fundamental questions not exhaustively dealt with in the preliminary report, including the question of army organisation, as well as the amendments submitted during the course of the debates of the Executive and to draw up a further report thereon.

The Executive, recalling the resolution of the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, urges the sections of the International to organise during the last fortnight in October a campaign of propaganda in favour of disarmament. This agitation will aim at leading public opinion to demand from governments that they should consent within the shortest possible time to adopt decisive measures of disarmament, and also a general and compulsory covenant restating the principles of the Protocol, acceptance of which was refused by the League of Nations."

In accordance with the decision of the Executive the Disarmament Commission met again for a session on 21st February, 1928. It drafted a report which was submitted to the session of the Executive in February, 1928.

The Executive gave thorough consideration to the whole complex of disarmament questions and defined its position towards them. It examined the question of naval armaments, raised in an acute form by the breakdown of the Geneva Three-Power Conference (20th June—7th August, 1927), and by the proposals of the United

States for a gigantic programme of naval construction, and adopted the following resolution thereupon :

"The L. S. I. points out the failure of the attempts at naval disarmament made in the special conferences at Washington and Geneva, attempts which have resulted to-day in the establishment of a formidable naval programme in America, which may lead to a renewed tendency towards rivalry in armaments and be likely in any case to make any serious and genuine reduction of naval armament impossible for a long time to come.

The L. S. I. relies especially on its sections in North and South America to continue their vigorous agitation to show the danger of such a policy of armaments, which moreover has shown itself at the same time by a dominating imperialism with regard to Mexico and Nicaragua.

The L. S. I. will give them all support and solidarity by its propaganda in Europe for the immediate limitation of armaments, and by the pressure which it will exert on all governments to make them accept with the last possible delay the measures discussed by the League of Nations for hastening disarmament and the security of peoples."

The Executive then dealt with the Report of the Disarmament Commission of February 1928, and made some alterations in the text. It resolved to submit the Report to the International Congress in Brussels.

#### **(d) The Proposal of the Executive of the L. S. I. for the Brussels Congress.**

##### **I.**

The aim pursued by the L. S. I. is that of total and simultaneous disarmament of all countries by land, sea and air. But the L. S. I. does not commit the error of supposing that total disarmament is attainable as long as the governments of most countries are controlled by capitalist and imperialist classes, and as long as, on the other hand, many countries do not possess the democratic system which alone is capable of placing the enforcement of international disarmament conventions under the supervision of democratic institutions and of free public opinion.

But though total disarmament is still at present unattainable, there are yet forces existing under the present political conditions which urge towards the restriction of armaments. The ruling classes' fear of fresh revolutions, such as every war is bound to let loose, and the recognition that competition in armaments threatens to lead automatically to war ; the huge increase in the cost of armaments consequent on the changes in the technique of warfare and the need for security on the part of capital invested abroad ; finally, the recognition that the disarmament of the defeated nations cannot in the long run be maintained unless the victorious nations also fulfil the obligations assumed by treaty to restrict their armaments—all this drives towards limitation of armaments. It is one of the most important tasks of international socialism to exert the strongest possible pressure on all governments in order to take advantage of those tendencies towards international disarmament agreements which are operative in the ruling classes themselves, to overcome the power-

ful imperialist and militarist tendencies that run counter to them, and in this way to bring about an international disarmament convention. This pressure will be most effectively exerted through the continuous instruction of the workers on the causes and dangers of armaments, and through the conduct by the working-class of a more and more intense political and economic campaign against the ruling classes.

## II.

The L. S. I. demands that all international conflicts shall be submitted to compulsory arbitration or to some other procedure of peaceful settlement.

The L. S. I. demands that in accordance with the proposal of Norway the League of Nations shall work out an universal treaty of arbitration and recommend its acceptance by all states.

It views as incumbent on all socialist parties :

- (1) the introduction of a law into the legislative code of their country forbidding military or industrial mobilisation until any international conflict shall have been submitted to the League of Nations or to some other procedure of peaceful settlement ;
- (2) the exertion of the strongest possible pressure, even in the form of violence, against any government refusing in the event of an international conflict to submit to a procedure of arbitration.

The L. S. I. is aware that its fight for international limitation of armaments will be the more effective according as it succeeds more effectively in ensuring the settlement by peaceful means of all international disputes.

## III.

Disarmament will only serve the cause of peace when it ceases to be an one-sided obligation imposed by the victors on the vanquished. Permanent peace can only be attained between nations endowed with equal rights. Therefore the L. S. I. claims on behalf of all nations an equal liberty of choice as to their military system. But the establishment of this equality of rights peremptorily requires an international disarmament convention capable of effectively forestalling a renewed race in armaments between the victors and the vanquished of 1918. Such a convention will have to formulate methods of disarmament corresponding to the variety of military systems.

## IV.

It must be the principal object of a disarmament agreement to take care that no state shall dispose, immediately on the outbreak of an international conflict, of large masses of trained and equipped

troops ready for use in aggression. Accordingly, the international Convention must ensure :—

- (1) The smallest possible peace establishment in barracks ;
- (2) limitation of the stores of arms which individual states may hold in readiness.

Though the choice of their military system must be left open to all nations, the L. S. I. draws attention to the grave danger presented by a new type of army organisation, combining a strong nucleus of professional soldiers with the possibility of the rapid employment of large masses for an aggressive operation, so that it unites the dangers of a militia army with those of a professional army.

It is therefore essential to prevent the formation anywhere, and especially in countries having a militia system, of strong nuclei of troops in barracks, and equally to prevent measures being taken anywhere, especially in countries having professional armies, which permit the employment of powerful forces for a sudden attack.

## V.

Where the army is based upon compulsory service, its peace strength must in the first place be reduced to the number indispensable for training.

Moreover, the number of those to be trained for service in the army must then likewise be restricted.

For countries keeping up professional armies analogous limits must be set to the peace strength.

Further, the international convention must lay down for all countries alike :—

- (1) Prohibition of gas warfare and of the use of bacteria in war.
- (2) Limitation of the number of heavy guns, tanks and aeroplanes ; limitation of the navy, both in respect of its aggregate strength and of the various categories of ships.
- (3) Limitation of the financial appropriations for army and navy.
- (4) National and international supervision of the manufacture, trade and transport of war material.
- (5) The infliction of penalties for publication concerning secret armaments must be prohibited.
- (6) International supervision of the enforcement of all these limitations by the League of Nations or by a wider organisation embracing also the nations not affiliated to the League.

The technical difficulties presented by disarmament can only be surmounted by the strongest political pressure. It is the business of socialist parties to exert such pressure. Therefore the L. S. I. must not lose itself in discussions on matters of technical detail, but

must rather by means of the utmost pressure on all governments prevent the technical difficulties from being used as a pretext to wreck all efforts at disarmament.

#### VI.

Without prejudice to the fight for international disarmament the socialist parties will strive that every state shall of itself beforehand abolish or reduce its armaments as far as its particular circumstances allow.

Disarmament agreement may only prescribe to each state the maximum of its military strength. No state may be bound by international agreements to keep up larger armed forces than it itself deems necessary. No state may be penalised by the withdrawal of any international guarantees for having reduced its military establishment below the maximum allotted to it by international agreements.

#### VII.

In view of the dangers to democracy and to the working-class,—dangers considerably aggravated by the development of modern technical equipment—that are inherent in every military organisation even under the most democratic army system, the socialist parties must associate with the fight for disarmament the fight for democratisation of the power of control over the armies and navies, and for the democratisation of the internal organisation thereof. To this end the socialist parties demand :

(1) Parliamentary power of control over armies and navies ; no mobilisation even partial, without consent of parliament ; supervision by special parliamentary commissions of internal army organisation ; prohibition of the employment of military force in conflicts between capital and labour.

(2) Removal of all barriers separating the army from the people. With this end in view, shortest possible term of service accompanied by full safeguards for soldiers' civil rights, protection of soldiers' rights through spokesmen nominated by themselves, democratisation of recruitment for the corps of officers, democratisation of the disciplinary code, and of the military penal code, abolition of special courts-martial in time of peace.

#### VIII.

To prevent the evasion of international disarmament conventions, and to avert dangers of fascism, the institution and upkeep of fascist armed militia and defence organisations, must be forbidden, and the enforcement of the ban placed under international supervision.



## (10) May-Day Appeals of the L. S. I.

For the First of May 1926.

*To the Workers of all Countries!*

Once more the day approaches which more than any other is appointed to lift us above the distress and oppression of our time towards the high hopes for the future of the international socialist labour movement.

The distress of unemployment, as a result of the world war, has reached such proportions as history has never known before. Millions and millions of people are sinking into ever deeper wretchedness, because the capitalist order of society is proving incapable of securing to them the most elementary human right:

### *Work.*

The world is divided into two camps. On the one hand are those who in the name of profits are demanding the lengthening of the hours of labour, and do not shrink from committing thereby the outrage of increasing the number of unemployed. On the other side are those engaged in the great struggle for the eight hour day, in the knowledge that every step forward in this fight sets bounds to the disgraceful fact of unemployment. Thus today everyone who further blocks the way towards the

### *Ratification of the Washington Convention*

must be described not only as an enemy to the general advance of social legislation, but in particular as an enemy of the unemployed.

Daily and hourly we are suffering from the results of the last war. But the hope that men have learned wisdom from the mischief which has now weighed upon them for more than a decade, has been only slightly fulfilled. And while the foundations of peace are still unstable, the renewed inclinations towards war appear as strongly as ever. Blood is flowing in *Morocco* and *Syria*. In *China* the sanguinary civil war is being intensified by the intervention of foreign Powers. In *Italy* fascism is openly threatening an expansion of its territory by violence. There is coming into play a competition in armaments surpassing everything known to the world before the late war. More and more ghastly methods of destruction and devastation are invented, and the capitalist states are employing a large portion of the taxes paid by their citizens in the purchase of more and more modern machinery for destruction. The decision on disarmament reached by the Danish socialists in their Lower House forms the one bright spot in the picture. In all countries the hope of crushing the militarist insanity is founded wholly on the rising strength of the working-class. The First of May summons the working-class in all countries to an unsparing struggle

### *Against Militarism, against Imperialism, against War.*

The tyranny of fascism is moving the working-classes to an ever-improving organisation of their campaign of resistance. The trial at Chieti has become the symbol of the unscrupulousness of the enemies of the workers.

But the name of Giacomo Matteotti will remain engraved in the hearts of the workers and will inspire them to follow his example of joyful work

and willing sacrifice for the great cause of socialism. But the Labour and Socialist International wants to pay honour to the memory of its great martyr by an outward symbol also, and has therefore decided to erect for

*Giacomo Matteotti*

*a Monument in the People's House, Brussels,*

in the conviction that the time cannot be far off when his monument will be able to find a place on the soil of an Italy liberated from fascism.

The workers in all reactionary countries are struggling very hard. But especially bitter and difficult is the fight in those countries where *democracy is completely repressed*, where not only the right of meeting and the freedom of the Press are restricted, but where not even a charge uttered in parliament against the autocratic regime is allowed to reach the masses. Those countries need in a far greater measure than other countries the proof of the international solidarity of the working-class. The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has therefore decided to create a special fund for the fulfilment of this task. It will be called the

*Matteotti Fund,*

*International Fund to help the labour movement in countries without democracy.*

It calls upon the various Parties to lay the foundation stone of this fund on the *10th June*, which will be the second anniversary of the death of Matteotti.

To comrades in those countries in which the action of the working-class is so much more difficult, we want at least to offer material succour, to save the victims of the fight from the deepest misery.

On the First of May we want not only to proclaim the misery and oppression in which the working-classes live, but also to bring to their consciousness the fact that their whole hope for the future lies in the rise of the class-conscious labour movement. The determination and indefatigable spirit of the fighting working-class will bear the more fruit, the more effective

*Organisational Unity*

becomes.

Therefore in celebrating May Day we proclaim to the workers of all countries: Create the promise of victory by organisational work with a conscious aim! Rouse the indifferent! *Recruit for the socialist labour parties!*

*To the fight against capitalist exploitation and reactionary oppression!  
To the fight for the new social order of society!*

Zurich, 12th April 1926.

*The Executive Committee  
of the Labour and Socialist International.*

**For the First of May 1927.**

*To the Workers of all countries!*

At a time of momentous historic happenings but full of heavy anxieties and ominous dangers, the working-class prepares itself for the international festival of Labour.

In the forefront of world events stands the awakening of the Chinese people, its

*mighty struggle for the right of full self-determination,*

inspires hopes of freedom in the souls of the oppressed peoples of every colour and every race, is proving to the imperialists of all countries that the

*epoch of colonial exploitation is passing away!*

"What is happening over there is the first step in the great mutiny of the last great reserve army of capitalism. And that is why, comrades, what is happening over there is our own intimate concern, that is why we mean to send our greetings to the workers over yonder. . . ." In true prevision of coming events, this perception was expressed amid the tumultuous applause of the whole *Congress of the Labour and Socialist International at Marseilles*. To-day it has become the *common attitude of the working-class* throughout the whole world. For however acute may be the strife within the working-class as to the best road towards its liberation, in the sentiment of

*sympathy and solidarity for the movement of national liberation in China* there is absolute unanimity.

One third of the earth's surface separates London from Shanghai, and accordingly we cannot lend direct aid to the Revolution, in the front ranks of which the Chinese workers are fighting. But we can back it up by action in the home of the imperialist exploiters. They have at their command all the resources of a state, for them the road to China stands open, and they still cherish the hope of upholding by means of powder and shot the disgraceful scandal of their "Concessions" and "Privileges of ex-territoriality". And therefore on this May-Day we are demonstrating once again for the immediate

*recall of the foreign troops and war-ships from China!*

Workers! Socialists! Europe likewise is menaced by fresh war. The further the peoples are driven by Reaction towards the abyss of economic ruin and spiritual enslavement, the greater becomes the danger of the dictators trying the gambler's throw of a campaign of annexation. In particular on European territory we find

*the danger-point of the instigation of war in the regime of Fascism.*

Already Albania is well on the way to being converted into a colony of Italy. The menace of a fresh Balkan war with all its horrors looms forbiddingly before us. Therefore we demonstrate once again on this May-Day for the old demand of the Labour and Socialist International:—

*the Balkan to the Balkan peoples!*

*For the Balkan Federation of Free Balkan Peoples!*

Neither the devastations of the war we have experienced nor the new threats to peace looming before us, have touched the consciences of the capitalist governments. Imperialist interests remain stronger than the idea of disarmament. What a gap between the prospects held out by Wilson and the results hitherto reached by the League of Nations! Workers, it is your duty on this May-day to demonstrate once again

*against rivalry in armaments in all its forms!*

*against militarism!*

*for the peace policy of the working-class!*

In the *countries without democracy* the workers' movement is throttled by the suppression of all freedom of opinion. All the symptoms of Russian czarism—neither liberty of opinion nor of the Press, nor of meeting, nor of organisation—are prevailing anew over a great part of Europe and in Russia itself. Thousands and thousands of political prisoners are languishing in prisons and places of banishment, thousands and thousands of political refugees are enduring the bitter fate of exile! On this May-Day we shall demonstrate once more

*for the restoration of democracy!*

*for amnesty to all political offenders, sentenced or imprisoned!*

and we shall use the festival of the First of May for

*strengthening the Matteotti Fund.*

the fund created to help the Labour movement in countries without democracy.

Since the last May-Day celebrations a slight progress was been achieved in the *struggle for the defence of the Eight Hour Day*. Belgium has ratified the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day. But the industrial countries of Europe, especially *Britain and Germany*, are still offering passive resistance. Therefore we shall demonstrate once again on this May-Day

*for the Eight Hour Day!*  
*for the ratification of the Washington Convention!*

Year after year passes, but capitalism still proves incapable of removing the unemployment created by its great war. *Millions of able-bodied men* are still condemned to inactivity and destitution. Therefore on this May-Day we shall demonstrate once again

*for all forms of assistance to the unemployed!*  
*for the abolition of the capitalist order of society!*

the insanity of which reveals itself most plainly in the fate of the unemployed.

Among all claims of social reform the most vital are the safeguarding of our posterity from destitution, and the establishment of a standard of life which guarantees the *physical and mental welfare of youth*. Therefore we shall demonstrate on this May-Day for the

*protection of youth and the rights of youth!*

But we have not merely to take thought for youth, we have also to *make demands upon it*. If the endeavour initiated by the working-class under the most arduous conditions of struggle, and at the cost of untold toil and sacrifice, is to be carried to a triumphant issue, then the new generation must be steeped in the

*ideals of socialist youth.*

This new generation, on whose childhood the misery of war-time weighed heavily, whose first acquaintance with the Labour movement took place amid the chaos and aberration of the post-war period, must succeed in overcoming scepticism and faintheartedness: it must perceive the sublimity of the socialist goal, it must win through to a recognition of the imposing greatness of the battle of the working-class, which is liberating itself and thereby also mankind, and it must incorporate into itself the spirit and readiness for sacrifice of the great pioneers of the international working-class. The faith in the socialist May-Day message which dwells in us must be kindled likewise in the hearts and brains of our youth, and must group them in the triumphantly advancing ranks of the Labour and Socialist International.

April 4th, 1927.

*The Bureau*  
*of the Labour and Socialist International.*

**For the First of May 1928.**

*To the workers of all countries!*

The enormous sacrifice of human life, the insane economic devastation which must be placed to the account of the four years' massacre of the nations, resulted at first in shaking even the most callous representatives of capitalist exploitation and imperialist lust for power. Under the immediate pressure of the fearful catastrophe they declared themselves ready to meet the claims of the working-class, and solemnly pledged themselves to realise internationally first and foremost

*the Eight Hour Day and Disarmament.*

After years of consideration, negotiation and deliberation the fulfilment of these solemn pledges was again and again postponed. In the tenth year

after the armistice the capitalist governments considered themselves in a position to throw off the *last vestiges of any sentiment of shame*. It is the *conservative government of Great Britain* which marches at the head of these breakers of faith. After years of manœuvring it has now openly declared that it *does not mean to ratify*.

*The Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day,*

to the approval of which the government representatives of Great Britain were parties on 28th November 1919.

If as regards the Eight Hour Day at least a draft Convention was reached immediately following the war, the question of international disarmament has not yet attained even this stage of preparation.

*The failure of the conference on Naval Disarmament*

between the three great naval powers of the world, and especially *the failure of the preparatory Disarmament Conference at Geneva* demonstrate only too plainly, that the imperialist governments consider the moment come for *repudiating even publicly the idea of disarmament*.

By means of delaying manœuvres the capitalist governments have managed to emerge from the critical period of moral tension resulting from the remembrance of the smoking battlefields. The workers of all countries are conscious of this deterioration of the tactical situation; and to them it will serve as a lesson to close their ranks yet more solidly than hitherto, and to concentrate all their strength in the common struggle for their class. This unions in action must be observed especially

*in the great electoral campaigns of the present year.*

These have been propitiously opened by the elections in *Poland*, where the Socialist Party has succeeded in drawing to itself over half a million new votes. By the 1st of May the outcome of the formidable campaign which our socialist comrades in *France* are waging, will have been made public. In *Germany* the 1st of May will constitute a climax of the battle for victory at the elections. In *England* and *Belgium*, *Holland* and *Switzerland*, the electoral decision, will come later. The working-class will enter all these great campaigns unaided,

*relying on its own strength alone.*

It is surrounded by a world of enemies. But the workers are well aware that within their own class the process of enlightenment has made marked progress, that the confusion of the war and post-war periods is being more and more completely mastered, and that, to an ever greater extent, the process of concentrating the working-class towards

*Unity in Will and Deed*

is being realised.

The capitalist foes are now venturing once again to show their true countenance. But as, at the first May-Day celebrations of 1890, the workers refused to let themselves be intimidated by ignoble taunts at the eight hour day, so now they will similarly refuse to be intimidated by the treacherous breach of faith which is now apparent to the whole world.

*The electoral triumphs of this year will give a conclusive reply!*

But the arena of the Labour and Socialist International is much more extensive than the sphere of the countries concerned in the election struggles. The most difficult tasks have to be performed

*in the countries without democracy*

and matters are not much better

*in the countries with apparent democracy.*

The comrades in these countries have to make extreme sacrifices in order to maintain intact the links of their organisations, to convey to the masses of their country enlightenment as to the real position and as to

their tasks, and to keep foreign countries informed concerning the abominations practised by the dictatorships and semi-dictatorships. And so on the 1st of May our thoughts will turn first and foremost to our comrades in prisons and places of banishment, and to those who must bear the hard lot of life in exile.

Notwithstanding all the threats of the reaction, the working-class marches irresistibly forwards, while its organisation and fighting spirit continue to rise. At the

*Brussels Congress of the Labour and Socialist International*

next August it will attack the great problems of *disarmament*, and *militarism*, together with the decisive questions of *colonial policy* and *imperialism*. This congress will give vigorous expression to the advance achieved by the Labour and Socialist International in the common action towards the goals of socialism during the first five years of its existence. The austere endeavours preliminary to the Congress must be inspired by the enthusiasm of our great May-Day demonstrations, at which we shall demonstrate :

*Against militarism ! Against Imperialism ! Against War !*

*Against fascist reaction and capitalist exploitation !*

*For international establishment of the Eight Hour Day !*

*For the rights of self-determination of colonial peoples !*

*For the unity of organisation of the working-class in every country and in the International !*

*For the new order of society under Socialism !*

Beginning of April 1928.

*The Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International.*

## (11) The Obituary of the International.

While the International Congress was sitting in Marseilles, the tidings came that one of the few members who had belonged to the First International, Van *Kol*, had passed away. A few months later in November 1925 he was followed by Hermann *Greulich*, who only a year previously at the 60th anniversary of the International in London had excited great enthusiasm by his exuberant temperament. In these years likewise, the brothers *Heinrich* and *Andreas Scheu* who played a foremost part at the foundation of Austrian socialism and were active in the ranks of the First International have departed us. More numerous still are those who had a prominent share in the foundation and development of the Second International in the pre-war period, and whose lives have now run their course. Thus the Spanish comrades have lost their revered leader Pablo *Iglesias*, the Argentine comrades the founder of their movement Dr. *Justo*, the Italian comrades their admirable fellow worker Anna *Kulischoff*, the Georgian comrades their cherished leader Nic. *Tscheidze*, who succumbed through the hardships of exile. Of the old guard who went through the hard times of the anti-socialist law in Germany, a whole series have died during these years : Richard *Fischer*, Fritz *Zubeil*, Hermann *Molkenbuhr*, Wilhelm *Blos*. Similarly the Czech socialist movement has lost its pioneer Antonin *Nemec*, who had worked in it since its beginning. The labour movement of the United States of America has to mourn for Eugen V. *Debs* and Meyer *London*, who expired in the same year. Further we have to lament the death of Ernest Belfort *Bax*, who from the early eighties championed socialist ideas in England and was a speaker at so many meetings of the International, including latterly its 60th anniversary celebration in London. The Swiss has lost Charl *Naine* and Professor *Reichelsberg*, the Polish Socialist Felix *Pertl*. In 1928 the Danish socialist suffered the death not only of one of the founders of their Party Poul *Géteff*, but also that of *Jensen*, the Mayor of Copenhagen and of Nina *Bang*, who after a life-time of excellent work in the Party was the first woman in Europe to become member of the Government. The Congress of Marseilles sent its congratulations on the 75th birthday of Paul *Axelrod*. In his turn this patriarch of socialism has now gone from us for ever. While we remember with grief all the above named and also the many unnamed dead of our movement, we know that they have not lived in vain but that their work and their spirit persist in the undying life of the international labour movement.

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## Section II.

### B. Questions of Organisation.

#### (1) Problems of the International.

During the period of the present report the movement towards emancipation in China and the consequent hopes and efforts of the oppressed peoples to secure liberation from their yoke have brought to the front more than ever before the problem of the relations of the labour movement in the old industrial states towards those countries with an economic organisation predominantly or wholly agricultural into which, however, capitalism is now making its entry. The great significance attaching to the industrialisation of the colonial countries and to the rise of the labour movement in China has misled many people into the fantastic exaggeration of supposing that the *centre of gravity of the labour movement* lies in the colonial countries and that it was accordingly the duty of the International to take this perspective into account. This conception was fostered in the first place through the new phase of the theories of Moscow. It was ultimately realised there that in the industrial countries it was no longer any use to expect world-revolution as an immediate consequence of the world war; accordingly the alternative hope was cherished that the revolt of the colonial peoples would within a very short space of time become a *lever of world revolution*. The old doctrine that socialism would bring about the emancipation of the colonies was replaced by the new one that the emancipation of the colonies must lead to socialism.

No one will deny that disturbances of the framework of the imperialist states, especially in the British Empire, may have the most important consequences for the existence of the capitalist system as a whole. But now once again, as during the whole decade following the world war, the working-class is faced not only with the problem of an examination of all the theoretic possibilities, but with the choice to which concrete historical development it has to adapt its organisation. It is not as to theoretic divergencies but as to this concrete choice that we find the real point of division between the Labour and Socialist International and the Communist International To-day. The latter is anticipating the world revolution to follow upon the risings in the colonial countries with just the same certainty as it had expected to see it follow upon the events in Hungary, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, in England or in the various other scenes of its defeat. Consistently with this conviction the Communist International is at present shifting the chief momentum



of its activities to the colonies and since it commands the wide resources of a great state, it is obvious that in this direction also it may be able to secure certain successes. The old Powers—especially Great Britain and Czarist Russia—who always knew so well how to provoke revolts in the colonies of their neighbours and when necessary also to back them with arms and money, are not in any way entitled to sentiments of moral indignation if this old method of theirs is now for once being used by a state for another purpose, i. e. in their eyes at least for that of the liberation of the working-class.

The Labour and Socialist International cannot command the financial resources of a state, so that its opportunities of action in other parts of the world are obviously limited. Nothing could be more foolish than to nurse illusions in this direction. In the countries of incipient capitalism the labour movement must develop and organise out of its own strength and must be prepared to go through many of these ailments of childhood which the labour movement has endured in the countries with an ancient capitalist system. Needless to say, the Labour and Socialist International will wherever possible be able to afford to the labour movement in distant countries the experience of long-standing organisations, in particular cases to aid them materially within the narrow limits of possibility and first and foremost to offer them a certain backing by means of continuous intercourse within the structure of the International. But the notion that it might be possible from Europe through the International to assume on behalf of the labour movement in those countries, to any decisive extent, the task of organisation which is incumbent upon themselves is nothing but a mischievous utopia.

There are natural limits to the International's opportunities for action in countries overseas. Perception of this fact, however, does not imply any abandonment of hope, for it is not at variance with the principal task which the L. S. I. has in point of fact to fulfil. It abides by the old point of view that the *centre of gravity of the labour movement must lie in the countries of developed capitalism* and that the road to socialism which we have to tread is that of organisation and the improvement of the fighting capacities of the workers in the great industrial states. In the light of this fundamental conception a clear view can be gained as to what are in reality the most difficult problems confronting the working-class. The fact for instance that the labour movement in the *United States of America* is still so weak, that capitalism there is successful in diverting great masses by means of individual allurements from a realisation of the strength of working-class solidarity—this is a much more decisive hindrance to the International's capacity for action than are the difficulties of organisation in the countries of incipient capitalism. Today in the main the Labour and Socialist International is still an European International and it would be foolish in face of this fact to

try to embark on an ostrich-like policy. What opportunities and tasks really await us can be seen most decisively by the example of the United States of America. But there also the turning-point cannot come from without but only from within. A workers' organisation cannot be imported ; it must grow up within the country itself ; it is the task of the L. S. I. to establish connections between the organisations of the various countries, to unify their tactics and combine their struggles.

It is not differences of theory but opposing views as to the historical perspective of the developments immediately impending which stands in the way of the unity of the working-class. The Communist International, with all the resources of the Soviet Republic behind it, feels itself far too strong to submit to the majority of the working-class and in conformity with its decision to abandon the pursuit of its utopias. All the facts of the situation as it really is would urge towards an alliance of the workers of the Soviet Republic with the organised working-class of the whole world. Instead of working for the best possible defence of the Soviet Republic against the capitalist world by the fusion of the world proletariat into one united International, the dictators of Moscow deem it right to intensify the fight against the socialist labour movement, to aggravate the points of difference and to dig the dividing gulf, if possible, still deeper. The Labour and Socialist International can only strive towards an unity founded on the right of self-determination of the working-class in the certainty that its organisations, built up by strenuous effort, are safe from destruction by a minority. Moscow is bound one day to perceive the necessity for the international community of interest of the working-class on the basis of proletarian democracy, but unity in the International will be possible only when this perception comes.

During the period reported the Executive of the L. S. I. has frequently given attention to this group of questions, and with especial thoroughness at its session in April 1926. The British Independent Labour Party then submitted to the Executive of the L. S. I. a motion to the effect that "the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International should propose to the Executive of the Communist International a Joint Conference, with the object of exploring the possibilities forming a comprehensive International".

At the session of the Executive of the L. S. I. on 11th April 1926 this motion of the I. L. P. received thorough discussion and was finally rejected by 247 votes to 3. In favour of it, besides the two votes of the British I. L. P. there was cast only the 1 vote of the Polish Independent Socialist Party. All other parties, including the British Labour Party with its 38 votes voted against the motion.

In addition to the detailed statement of reasons by the I. L. P. and to the negative reply of the Labour Party the Executive also had in its hands as material for discussion, an extensive *Memoran-*

*dum by the Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International.* The Executive resolved to make this memorandum public. It appeared in the International Information, was reprinted in periodicals and the press and was translated into several languages. It further appeared in German as a pamphlet published in a large edition under the title "Die Einheit der Arbeiterklasse"<sup>(1)</sup>). From this memorandum, in which moreover a position is taken up towards the then existing phase of the united front manoeuvre in the trade unions, we reproduce below the following passages as to questions relating to the union of the *political* Internationals :

Each day confirms afresh with startling clearness what a vast mass of energy the workers' organisations squander in conflicts among themselves, instead of employing it against their common enemy, Capitalism and Imperialism. It goes without saying that everyone who has at heart the fighting power of the working-class, is not only animated by an *intense desire* for the unification of the workers movement, but will also again and again with the utmost earnestness *investigate the possibilities* offered for the realisation of this supreme task by the ever-changing historical situation.

The foundation Congress of the L. S. I. in Hamburg proclaimed this will to unity with a peculiar emphasis, when it introduced as the culminating point of its Statutes a special appeal for unity.

The same will to unity underlies the proposal of the British Independent Labour Party (I. L. P.).

The I. L. P. proposal has been flatly rejected by the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, and thereupon the Executive of the L. S. I. can but acknowledge that the path proposed by the I. L. P. has proved quite devoid of any prospect. But perhaps there never has been a moment when the worst source of the disintegration of the working-class has shown itself more clearly than now, and therefore the opportunity should be used to indicate in brief the main problem.

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One fundamental difference between the Communist International and the Socialist proletariat lies in the field of organisational problems. This opposition can be traced far back into history. The schism in the Socialist Labour Party of Russia at the London Congress of 1903 into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was the result of differences on *problems of organisation*. All other differences were subordinate and have only developed gradually. The question was, is the organisation in Russia, in spite of all persecutions and setbacks, to follow the European example by ever repeated attempts at building up public trade union and political organisations of the masses, or is the secret organisation of

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(<sup>1</sup>) Publishers : J. H. W. Dietz, Berlin 1926.

the revolutionary leaders to be the real organ of the Party, merely making use of the masses as a tool at the appropriate moment. Important and instructive as the history of this fundamental conflict in Russian socialism is, we do not need as regards the problems of to-day to discuss which of these two directions was the right one *for Russia at that time*. External results appear to justify Lenin, but we may leave it an open question as to whether—as we are convinced—a complete examination of the historical premisses and developments might not result in an opposite conclusion. We do not need to discuss this historical problem, because for us it is not a question of Russia under Czarism, but of the development of the organisation problem for the Bolshevists, after their accession to power in Russia. The restriction of the Party to a small nucleus of members, founded in the past under Czarist persecution, has continued, although they are now the rulers in Russia.

And therewith was exhibited in the clearest possible fashion, the crucial difference in the methods of maintaining membership. Whilst entry into the Party is open as a matter of course to workers on grounds of their conviction and free choice among all Socialist Parties, the Bolshevik Party is formed by recruitment in the military sense of new members, and that in the country where they hold supreme power.

The yield of this recruitment (and thus the dimensions of the Party), is governed by the decision of a clique of leaders.

But the Bolshevists took a further decisive step. The struggle against the other workers' parties, which in Czarist times they had waged with the utmost fierceness and consistency, was now resumed by them with the resources of the State at their back. It became their aim to wipe out all other Parties, and to secure for themselves the *monopoly as a political party*, outside which nothing is tolerated save an unorganised mass of non-party people. Not only do the Bolshevists bar the workers of Russia from joining their party, but they also endeavour simultaneously to deprive them of any opportunity of entering another party and working in that.

Thus then the rule of Bolshevism, quite apart from the dictatorship at the head of the Party, is characterised by *monopoly position*, as a party, and by *recruitment* of new members. There is *only one single political party*, and this single party is *not freely accessible*.

The existence in every country of a *single workers' party* is the ideal of socialists also. But whereas the socialists' ideal, because the Party built up by them is open to every worker, is a realisable one, the method of recruitment, on the other hand, carries with it, of necessity, the existence of parties of the opposite type.

The system of party recruitment is a source of the dissension prevailing in the workers' ranks. Organisational unity of the work-

ing-class and a recruited party are not compatible with one another and have never existed in conjunction. But if we put ourselves for a moment at the real point of view of the Bolsheviks, that other questions are *more vital* than the organisational unity of the proletariat, if we take for granted the actual position brought about by the Bolsheviks two decades ago in Russia and during the last few years in the rest of the world, then we must admit that it is *their own Party concern* whether they hold the method of recruitment for their Party as *expedient* or not. But as regards the Party monopoly, that is another matter. We do not need to discuss here the suppression of opposing Parties as an emergency measure provoked by the necessities of open civil war. The question is merely whether the *Party monopoly as a permanent institution* is justifiable, and in this we are certainly of the opinion, that however socialists exert all their power to include as far as possible the whole working-class in one single Party, this may only be done, in so far as it can be attained along the line of winning over the workers and never by methods of force.

Even for a Party freely accessible to all, the permanent Party monopoly, brought about by force, would be criminal lunacy, but this lunacy reaches its climax when such a monopoly is claimed by a Party whose membership is maintained by the method of recruitment.

The Party recruitment and the dictatorship of the leaders, are the vital hindrances to the creation of a closely united single workers' party in Russia. The Party monopoly is the vital hindrance to the creation of a united International.

In the International before the war both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks could find a place side by side ; for although the strife centering around the problem of organisation shook Russian socialism very profoundly, not even the idea could then have been entertained that the Bolsheviks would stifle the formation of other Parties with the methods used by them since they came into power. Now, however, when it has become clear that they set up and establish their Party monopoly wherever they can, although any pretext of a threat to their power has now fallen to the ground, now it has become an absolutely clear phenomenon that the true Bolshevik from his deepest convictions must go against the union of the Internationals, since for such a union he would have to sacrifice the notion of Party monopoly. He would be driven to acknowledge the right of freedom in Party formation, and to grant that, even if the Bolshevik Party may choose to apply for itself the method of recruiting, yet they should not prevent the existence of socialist parties ; i. e. of parties based on the right of self-determination of the working-class, and formed not by recruitment from above, but by free profession of faith, on the part of the workers.

Thus it appears quite clearly, that the Bolshevists' denial to socialist parties of the right to exist is not merely an issue of the development of the labour movement in Russia itself, but forms an insurmountable obstacle to the international unity of the proletariat itself. As long as the Bolshevists do not allow to the socialist parties in Russia legal existence and activity, so long there is not needed any "No!" from Zinovieff to block the way to unity, and so long do they manifest by deeds that for them unity, as a principle, is an unthinkable thing.

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During the first three years of their reign the Bolshevists believed they would be strong enough to overwhelm the capitalist world by direct conquest. From this they drew the conclusion that their aim of winning over the masses to their tactical scheme, would be most readily attained by entering into no discussions with the socialists, but by merely covering them with abuse and calumny. They strove to inflict on their parties a final disaster by direct frontal attack.

But little by little the hopelessness of such tactics became plain to them. Already the 3rd Congress of the Communist International abandoned them under the watchword: "To the Masses!" But their new tactics were first clearly formulated in the "Guiding Lines towards the United Front", passed by the Executive of the Communist International on December 18th, 1921.

Therewith the psychological moment had arrived, in which the desire for unity, present in the socialist parties and powerfully stimulated by the reverses which the forward march of the proletariat had suffered, was no longer exposed to the threat of being repulsed on the part of the Communists with mere derision and scorn. The rally of the Communists to the cry of the United Front was used by the Vienna Union to initiate the effort towards a joint exchange of views between the three Executives and ultimately the possible summoning of a World Congress of the politically organised workers. The call of the 15th January, 1922, was answered; and the Conference, which would have seemed a year previously in the realm of utopia, met in Berlin at the beginning of April, 1922.

The story of this Conference and of the Committee of Nine appointed by it is extremely instructive. We have no need to tell it here, as the facts are known. On April 5th a joint resolution was reached and on the 23rd May in the only meeting of the Committee of Nine which was held, the failure of the attempt came clearly to light. At the time of the Berlin Conference it was still possible genuinely to believe that behind the watchword of the United Front a real *will towards unity* was marked. But very soon it became perfectly plain that the Bolshevists' participation in the Berlin Con-

ference was merely the first and still very unskilful application of their *manoeuvre for the United Front*. Six months later at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International Radek declared quite coolly in his even to-day illuminating speeches that at the Conference of the three Executives, for the Comintern :

"It was not a question of any organising problem, nor of holding a Conference with the 2nd and 2½ Internationals, but of the first effort to drive the socialists up against the wall."

(German Minutes of the 4th Congress, 1922, page 392.)

"The road to the United Front is a much harder one than our tactical motto of 1919—Smash everything up!—It is much easier and pleasanter to smash everything up, but if one is not strong enough to do so and if this road (i. e. the United Front) is necessary we must walk along it . . . in the firm belief that this road will not lead us but the *socialists to perdition* . . . with the conviction that we shall be able to *stifle them in our embrace*." (Page 103 as above.)

Four years ago when the three Executives assembled in Berlin it might still be assumed that the exaggerations of the Bolshevik idea of organisation were a passing phenomenon, born from the stress and danger of that period when their regime was still insecure. Today it is clear beyond all doubt that the Berlin Conference was rendered possible only by a change in Bolshevik tactics.

During the four years elapsed since the Berlin Conference, it has become clearer and clearer, that for the Communist not unity, but their *manoeuvre* is the essential, that they never have in view the unity of the world proletariat, but the strengthening of the Communist International at the expense of the socialist parties.

Today we can view the events in a wide perspective. Today we know that in 1922 there began a new period of bolshevist tactics ; the era of abuse passed into the era of "unmasking", the era of frontal attack into that of the United Front *manoeuvre* ; for the *forcible attainment of Communism* has been substituted the *attainment by trickery*. The reply of the Bolsheviks to the I. L. P. proposal is as might be expected, that they would willingly be ready for *common action*, but that there is no need towards that end of a *common organisation*. The question of the relationship between a common organisation and common action is the determining question which separates true unity from the *manoeuvre* of the United Front. The I. L. P. in their motion are altogether right in pointing to the problem of the unity of the International as the root problem in the last analysis.

The socialist road towards common action sets out, like all socialist work, from an organisational basis. Organise in earnest and with forethought, in order to be armed at the moment of action! The Bolshevik notion of *manoeuvre* is based upon disorganisation. Steps by disorganised masses are the appropriate basis for angling feats in the interest of the Bolshevik element. Accordingly for anyone who perceives the connections it is perfectly clear that unity,

if it is to be not merely a manœuvre but a reality, must start from an honest intention of solving the problem of organisation along the lines of equal rights and of the right of self-determination of the working-class. This preliminary condition is wanting. From the first the Bolshevists have been clearly conscious that the tactical manœuvre of the United Front can only have a chance of success, so long as there is no question of common organisation. With perfect clearness their Fourth International Congress in December, 1922, declared :

"The attempts of the Second International to put forward as the United Front the *organisational fusion* of all "workers' parties", must of course be rejected with the utmost firmness."

(Page 101 German edition of Minutes of Fourth Congress.)

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Among the reasons advanced by the I.L.P. in support of its proposal to set on foot a joint conference between the L. S. I. and the Communist International, we read :

"The Communist Party of Russia has repeatedly shown its readiness to modify its policy in accordance with changed circumstances, e. g. N. E. P. . . . Tomsky's recent speech on Trade Union unity shows a modification in attitude on the Industrial side of the International . . . Zinovieff and the extremist leaders of the Third International have recently lost influence in Russia." . . .

These sentences touch indeed the mainspring of the problem of organisational unity in the International. Everything depends on the change of view at Moscow. This might come about in one of the ways, either by a modification in the outlook of the ruling clique in Moscow, or by some other element in the Bolshevist Party in the Communist International succeeding the Zinovieffs in the leadership. The decisive factor is the possible abandonment of the Bolshevist principle of organisation, which under present circumstances does nothing but harm.

The conversion of Losovsky to the organisational unity of the Trade Union International cannot, as we have shown above, be viewed by us as proof of a real change of opinion. Tomsky is somewhat cleverer than Losovsky, but there is no doubt that Moscow has now resolved on the tactics which were already put forward for discussion in the Theses of the 5th Congress (1924) and now were openly proclaimed in Losovsky's speech. With Tomsky as with Losovsky it is still only a matter of working for the greater service of the political interest of the Communist International. To the question as to the unity of the political International they will reply with as resolute a "No !" as Zinovieff himself.

It is true that Zinovieff has recently lost influence in Russia. The real exponent of the Bolshevist ideology, he is aware that the whole Russian experiment could only have a meaning in relation to the



world revolution. He clings to this phantom hope of imminent world revolution because he knows that only thereby could his policy even approximately come near to being justifiable for himself. The representatives of the Bolshevik ideology are now encountering an increasingly keen antagonism in the representatives of Russian realities. These latter, grouped around Stalin, feel the need of spreading a socialist tinge over these Russian realities, and when this fails, of presenting these melancholy realities as Socialism. The conflict between the two tendencies is unquestionable, and each of the two tendencies is right in its criticism of the adversary. Zinovieff is right when he says, that Stalin has abandoned the ground of Leninist ideology, and Stalin is right when he says that Zinovieff has lost contact with the true facts and the historical possibilities of the present age.

We are in agreement with the I. L. P. that the development of the antagonisms within the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International is of the utmost significance and needs the closest observation. But the conclusion of the I. L. P. that from these antagonisms any practical arguments can be drawn for a rapprochement between the Communist International and the L. S. I., is not justified in any degree by the facts. The more the representatives of Russian realities keep the upper hand over Zinovieff, the less prepared will they be at present to make their own struggle harder by challenging the resistance of the exponents of the true Leninist ideology. It is in the spirit of these latter that the Communist International will for the present continue to be conducted, and it is this that we must reckon with.

We are convinced that the actual course of the development of those workers who follow the Communist International will lead more and more surely to the realisation that the cessation of the conflict which divides the force of the working-class, waged by the Communist International against the Labour Parties and Trade Unions of all countries, is a vital duty for the labour movements in all countries.

We are convinced that the day will come in Russia also, when there will be an end of the insane system, under which a single party keeps in its hands the exclusive monopoly of political activity and suppresses socialist parties by arbitrary methods.

Only when the socialist parties can carry on their political activity within the Soviet Union legally, on the basis of free profession of their convictions as class conscious workers, without being exposed to terrorism, then will the moment have arrived for entering upon the discussion of the problems of the deep antagonisms of principles and tactics among the working-class, with any prospect of success.

But the strongest pledge that a check will be placed on the appalling expenditure of energy by the working-class arising from

the divisions, lies in the steady and unswerving advance in building up the Labour and Socialist International. The stronger it becomes the nearer is the day when the works of the world will once again be united in one all-inclusive International.

## (2) The Parties.

During the period reported the framework of the L. S. I. as an organisation has exhibited an ever-increasing *stability* and closeness of texture. The individual parties which are affiliated to the L. S. I. have almost without exception improved their capacities for action and the extent of their organisation. The section "Affiliated Parties" provides detailed particulars in this connection. The composition of the L. S. I. as regards the component parties has remained substantially the same. It has lost one and gained two parties. In order to pave the way for national unity the *Norwegian Social-Democratic Party* was compelled, notwithstanding grave reserves felt within its ranks, to abandon for the Norwegian workers the possibility of remaining for the immediate future attached to the L. S. I. Conversely the *Swiss Socialist Party* at its National Congress on 7th November 1926 accomplished its entry into the L. S. I. by a very large majority. Similarly the *Workers' Union of Iceland*, according to resolution of its Congress on 3rd—12th December, 1926, entered the L. S. I. Except in Norway, Ireland and Albania, the L. S. I. has affiliated parties in all the countries in Europe. Less satisfactory is the position in other parts of the world. There the number of the parties affiliated has remained the same as at the time of the *Marseilles Congress*, while their internal strength has not undergone any decisive improvement. An extension of the sphere of action of the I. F. T. U. is slowly becoming perceptible in other continents, a process which may also provide the foundation for developing international relationships in the political domain also.

In the countries in which several parties are affiliated to the L. S. I. a tendency towards a more closely knit structure has made itself apparent. In particular this has been the case in *Czechoslovakia* where the Joint Congress of Parties of 28th and 29th January, 1928, marks a vital advance. In *Poland* a part of the Independent S. P. has joined the Polish Socialist Party. The organic structure of the German Socialist Party in Poland has not only gained in solidity, but its cooperation with the P. P. S. has notably improved. In *Austria* the relations of the fullest understanding exist between the German and the Czech socialist parties. The only serious division has taken place in the *Argentine*, where by the side of the Socialist Party an Independent Socialist Party has come into being. Whereas the former has belonged to the L. S. I. since 1924, the latter resolved at its constituent Congress to apply for admission to the L. S. I. The Executive of the L. S. I. will have to consider the party conditions in the Argentine at its session in August 1928.

### (3) The Executive, Bureau and Administrative Committee.

#### (a) *The Executive of the L. S. I.*

The Executive has regularly held a two days' meeting every 6 months. During the period of this report its functional capacity and the amount of work performed by it has further increased.

Through the revision of the distribution of votes in the Executive on the occasion of the Marseilles Congress the following countries obtained direct representation in the Executive :—Bulgaria, Latvia, Austria, (Czech S. P.), Palestine. Holland and Poland obtained two seats instead of 1 on the Executive, France three instead of two.

In the course of the present period there have arisen a series of changes in the composition of the Executive, connected in part with the provision in article 15 of the Statutes according to which "if any member of the Executive joins a Government his membership of the Committee shall cease automatically". Other changes in the personal composition of the Executive occurred in consequence of former Executive members leaving a Ministry. Instances of the former case were comrade Zeelens (Latvia) and Hermann Müller (Germany) : instances of the second, comrades Hansson and Möller (Sweden), Stauning (Denmark), Zeelens (Latvia) and Vandervelde (Belgium). Comrade Etchegoin (Argentine) having joined the Argentine Independent Socialist Party, at the time of the division, passed therewith out of the Executive. At the moment of closing this report the new representative of the Argentine Party has not yet been appointed. Since the entry into the L. S. I. of the Swiss Socialist Party (1st January 1927) Comrade Grimm has belonged to the Executive.

Engberg and Lindström, who during the term of office of Hansson and Möller in the Swedish Ministry had taken their places on the Executive, gave way again to Hansson and Möller after the resignation of the Socialist Government of Sweden (July 1926). In January 1927 comrade Stauning returned to the Executive while Andersen who in April 1924 had stepped into his place then left the Executive. In the same month, in consequence of his entry into the Lettish government, Zeelens resigned his membership of the Executive and was replaced by Kalnin. In February 1928 after the resignation of the Lettish government comrade Zeelens again took the place of Kalnin. In November 1927 comrade Vandervelde re-entered the Executive of the L. S. I. while van Roosbroeck as Treasurer henceforth belongs to it in a consultative capacity. With the cessation of organic connection with the Norwegian socialists Nilssen's membership of the Executive expired (January 1927).

With regard to the right possessed by the parties of sending substitutes to attend the Executive in place of their regular represen-

tatives, the individual parties have availed themselves of it on various occasions in consideration of the requirements of the political situation in their own country.

Article 11 of the Statutes grants to countries (or nationalities) entitled to less than three Congress votes the right to combine into groups which receive one representative on the Executive for every three votes. In accordance with the scheme there were in existence at the time of the Marseilles Congress the following groups of countries or of parties : (I) Independent S. P. Poland, German S. P. Poland, Yugoslavia, Lithuania (II). Greece, Hungarian S. P. in Czechoslovakia, Hungarian Emigrant Group Vilagossag. (III) Estonia, Polish S. P. in Czechoslovakia.

During the period of this report the German S. P. in Poland has combined with the Socialist Party in Danzig to form a new group which has not yet nominated its representative on the Executive. The first Group of countries above-named, now possessing 5 Congress votes, has retained its representation in the Executive. The second group was dissolved in consequence of the Hungarian S. P. in Czechoslovakia having fused with the Czech Socialist Party (October 1926).

At present the following parties are without representation in the Executive : British Guiana, China, Greece, Hungarian Emigrant group Vilagossag, Iceland, Luxemburg, Portugal, Ruthenian S. P. in Czechoslovakia.

In conformity with the resolution of the Executive at Luxemburg (February 1924) 1 representative of the Socialist Youth International and 1 of the International Socialist Women's Committee sit in the Executive of the L. S. I. in a consultative capacity.

The Executive of the L. S. I. thus consists at present of the following members :

America (U. S.)	Berger, Hillquit
Argentina	not appointed as yet
Armenia	Isahakianz
Austria	
German S. P.	Bauer, Skaret
Czech S. P.	Vavrousek
Belgium	De Brouckère, Vanderveelde.
Bulgaria	Sakasoff
Czecho-Slovakia	
Czech S. P.	Soukup
German S. P.	Czech
Denmark	Stauning, Madsen
Germany	Crispien, Müller, Wels
Finland	Wiik
France	Bracke, Longuet, Renaudel
Georgia	Tseretelli
Great-Britain	Cramp, Henderson, Brockway
Holland	Vliegen, Wibaut
Hungary	Peidl
Italy	Modigliani, Treves
Latvia	Zeelens

Paestine	Kaplanski
Poland	Diamand, Niedzialkovski
Rumania	Pistiner
Russia S. D. L. P.	Abramovitch
S R. P.	Suchomlin
Spain	Besteiro
Sweden	Hanson, Möller
Switzerland	Grimm
Ukraine	Bezpalko

**Groups of Countries :**

1. Ind. S. P. Poland, Yugoslavia, Lithuania : Topalovic.
2. Esthonia, Polish S. P. in Czecho-Slovakia : Rei
3. Danzig, German S. P. in Poland: representative not yet appointed.

Youth International. Heinz.

International Women's Committee: Popp.

The following comrades, non-members, have attended either in a consultative capacity or as fraternal delegates certain sessions of the Executive :

Session in London (November 1925) Carlin, Gillies, Jenkins, Jowett, Williams. (Great Britain).

Session in Zurich (April 1926) : Gillies (Great Britain).

Session in Zurich (August 1926) : Gillies (Great Britain), Goebel (U. S. A.).

Session in Paris (February 1927) : Eang-Pien-Tang, Ly Wempey, Yang Kantao (China), Gillies (Great Britain).

Session in Brussels (September 1927) : Albarda (Holland), Blum (France), Gillies (Great Britain), Kleerekoper (Holland).

Session in Zurich (February 1928) : Gillies (Great Britain). In addition under article 19 of the Statutes during the time previous to the transfer of the Secretariat to Zurich, there took part at the session of the Executive in London (November 1925) in a consultative capacity comrade Mrs. Harrison Bell together with Brailsford and Buxton as members of the Administrative Committee.

The annexed table gives particulars of attendance at the Executive meetings :

Names	Member from to	Took part in the Meeting in						
		Marseilles 1925	London Nov. 1925	Zurich April 1926	Zurich August 1926	Paris Febr. 1927	Brussels Sept. 1927	Zurich Febr. 1928
America								
Beiger	May 1923	m	—	—	—	—	—	—
Goebel	C May 1923	x	x	x	C	x	x	x
Hillquit		m	—	—	—	—	—	—
Argentina								
Etchegoin <sup>(1)</sup>	March 1925	m	m	—	—	—	x	x
Armenia								
Isahakianz	March 1925	m	m	—	—	m	m	m

<sup>(1)</sup> Withdrew in consequence of membership of Independent Socialist Party of the Argentine (1927).

Names	Member from to	Took part in the Meeting in							
		Marseilles 1925	London Nov. 1927	Zurich April 1926	Zurich August 1926	Paris Febr. 1927	Brussels Sept. 1927	Zurich Febr. 1928	
<b>Austria</b>									
Bauer	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Wawrousek <sup>(2)</sup>	August 1925	—	—	m	—	—	m	—	
Ellenbogen	D May 1923	x	x	D	x	x	x	x	
Skaret		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>Belgium</b>									
De Brouckère	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	—	m	
van Roosbroeck <sup>(3)</sup>	July 1925	m	m	m	m	m	m	T	
Vandervelde <sup>(4)</sup>	November 1927	x	x	x	x	x	x	m	
<b>Bulgaria<sup>(5)</sup></b>									
Sakasoff		m	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>China</b>									
Eang-Tien-Tsan	C	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	
Ly Wempy	C	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	
Yang Kantao	C	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	
<b>Czecho-Slovakia</b>									
Soukup	August 1925	m	—	m	m	m	m	m	
Czech	D May 1923	m	—	m	m	—	—	—	
Taub		x	x	x	x	x	D	x	
<b>Denmark</b>									
Andersen	April 1924 — Jan. 1927	m	—	m	—	D	D	x	
Stauning	January 1927	x	x	x	x	—	—	m	
Madsen	May 1923	m	—	—	—	—	—	m	
<b>Finland</b>									
Wiik	D May 1923	m	—	—	m	—	—	—	
Swentorsetzki		x	x	x	x	D	x	x	
Helo	D	x	x	D	x	x	x	D	
<b>France</b>									
Bracke	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Longuet	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Renaudel	C August 1925 <sup>(6)</sup>	m	—	m	m	m	m	m	
Blum		x	x	x	x	x	C	x	
<b>Georgia</b>									
Tseretelli	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
<b>Germany</b>									
Wels	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Crispien	May 1923	m	—	m	m	m	m	m	
Müller <sup>(7)</sup>	May 1923 — June 1928	m	—	m	—	m	m	m	
<b>Great Britain</b>									
Allen <sup>(8)</sup>	May 1923 — Nov. 1925	m	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Brockway	November 1925	x	m	m	m	m	m	—	
Cramp	February 1924	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Henderson	February 1925	m	—	m	—	m	m	m	

<sup>(2)</sup> Since Marseilles Czechs in Austria have had their own representative in Executive.

<sup>(3)</sup> Up to November 1927 in place of Vandervelde, then as Treasurer of the L. S. I.

<sup>(4)</sup> Again member of the Executive after resignation of the Coalition Government (November 1927).

<sup>(5)</sup> Since Marseilles separate representation in the Executive.

<sup>(6)</sup> Since Marseilles representation of three in the Executive.

<sup>(7)</sup> Withdrew owing to entry into Ministry. Stelling takes his place.

<sup>(8)</sup> Resigned in November 1925 on grounds of health.

Names	Member from	to	Took part in the Meeting in						
			Marseilles 1925	London Nov. 1925	Zurich April 1926	Zurich August 1926	Paris Febr. 1927	Brussels Sept. 1927	Zurich Febr. 1928
Mac Donald	D		—	D	x	x	x	x	x
Kirkwood	D		x	x	x	x	x	x	D
Bell (Mrs.)	A		A	A	x	x	x	x	x
Brailsford	A		A	A	x	x	x	x	x
Buxton	A		A	A	x	x	x	x	x
Shaw	A		A	x	x	x	x	x	x
Carlin	C		x	C	x	x	x	x	x
Jenkins	C		x	C	x	x	x	x	x
Jowett	C		x	C	x	x	x	x	x
Williams	D		x	x	x	D	x	x	x
Gillies	C		C	C	C	C	C	C	C
<b>Holland</b>									
Vliegen		May 1925	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Wibaut <sup>(9)</sup>		August 1925	D	m	m	m	m	m	m
Albarda	C		x	x	x	x	x	C	x
Kleerekoper	C		x	x	x	x	x	C	x
<b>Hungary</b>									
Peidl		February 1924	m	m	—	—	—	—	—
Peyer	D		x	x	D	D	D	x	x
<b>Italy</b>									
Levi	D		D	x	x	x	x	x	x
Modigliani		May 1923	—	—	—	—	m	m	m
Treves		May 1923	—	—	—	—	m	m	m
Turati	D		D	D	x	x	x	x	x
<b>Latvia</b>									
Kalnin <sup>(10)</sup>		Jan. 1927 — Febr. 1928	D	x	x	x	m	m	x
Zeelens			—	—	—	—	x	x	—
<b>Norway<sup>(11)</sup></b>									
Nilssen			—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fostervoll	D		D	x	D	x	—	—	—
<b>Palestine<sup>(12)</sup></b>									
Kaplansky		August 1925	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Locker	D		x	x	D	D	D	x	D
Jarblum	D		x	x	x	x	x	D	D
<b>Poland</b>									
Diamand		May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	m	—
Niedzialkowski <sup>(13)</sup>		August 1925	D	—	m	—	m	m	—
<b>Rumania</b>									
Pistiner		December 1923	m	—	—	m	—	m	—
Voinea	D		x	x	x	x	D	x	x
<b>Russia</b>									
Abramowitsch		May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	—	m
Suchomlin		May 1923	m	m	m	—	m	m	—
Stalinsky	D		x	x	x	D	x	x	D
Dan	D		x	x	x	x	x	D	x
<b>Spain</b>									
Besteiro		May 1924	m	m	m	—	—	—	—

<sup>(9)</sup> Since Marseilles a second seat in the Executive.

<sup>(10)</sup> Since Marseilles separate representation in the Executive. To January 1927 Zeelens, then Kalnin, since February 1928 Zeelens.

<sup>(11)</sup> No connection as regards organisation since January 1927.

<sup>(12)</sup> Since Marseilles separate representation in the Executive.

<sup>(13)</sup> Since Marseilles a second seat in the Executive.

Names	Member from to	Took part in the Meeting in							
		Marseilles 1925	London Nov. 1925	Zürich April 1926	Zürich August 1926	Paris Febr. 1927	Brussels Sept. 1927	Zürich Febr. 1928	
<b>Sweden</b>									
Engberg	Oct. 1924 — July 1926	m	m	m	x	x	x	x	
Lindström	Oct. 1924 — July 1926	m	m	—	x	x	x	x	
Möller	July 1926	x	x	x	x	m	m	m	
Hansson	July 1926	x	x	x	x	m	m	m	
<b>Switzerland</b>									
Grimm <sup>(14)</sup>	January 1927					m	m	m	
<b>Ukraine</b>									
Bezpalco	June 1925	m	—	—	m	m	—	—	
Mazepa C		x	x	x	x	x	x	C	
Fedenko D		x	x	x	x	x	x	D	
Matjuschenko C		C	x	x	x	x	x	x	
<b>Group:</b>									
Ind. S. P. Polen: <sup>(15)</sup>									
German S. P. Poland									
<b>Jugoslavia:</b>									
<b>Lithuania:</b>									
Drobner	May 1923	m	—	m	—	—	—	—	
Topalovic D	May 1923	C	—	x	x	D	x	D	
Kruk D		x	x	x	x	x	D	x	
<b>Group: <sup>(16)</sup></b>									
Hungarian S. P. in Czecho-Slovakia:									
<b>Vilagossag:</b>									
Kunfi		m	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Yannios D									
<b>Group:</b>									
<b>Esthonia</b>									
<b>Polish S. P. in Czecho-Slovakia:</b>									
Rei		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>Group:</b>									
<b>Danzig</b>									
<b>German S. P. in Poland:</b>									
representative not yet appointed									
<b>Secretaries</b>									
Adler	May 1923	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	
<b>Women's Committee</b>									
Popp	February 1924	C	—	C	C	—	C	C	
<b>Youth International</b>									
Heinz	February 1924	—	—	C	—	—	C	—	

Explanation of signs:  
m = Member of the Executive      T = Treasurer  
D = Deputy                              C = Consultative Member  
A = Administrative Committee Member      — = Absent from the Meeting  
S = Secretary                              x = At the time not a Member of the Executive

<sup>(14)</sup> Party affiliated in November 1926.

<sup>(15)</sup> With Danzig now forms a new group.

<sup>(16)</sup> Since October 1926 this group has no longer existed, as a result of the union of the Hungarian S. P. in Czechoslovakia with the Czech Socialist Party.



We now append a summary of the sessions of the Executive since Marseilles and of its decisions :

**Session of the Executive in Marseilles.**

19th—21st and 27th August, 1925.

*Chair* : Henderson.

Immediately before the International Congress and also on the final day of the Congress the Executive of the L. S. I. held sittings at which preparatory steps for the Congress were decided, the transfer of the Secretariat to Zurich resolved upon, and the matters of organisation resulting therefrom settled. In addition the situation in Hungary was discussed.

*Decisions* :

Election of the Congress Commission for the Verification of Credentials.

Election of the delegates of the Executive to the International Women's Conference.

Re-arrangement in the distribution of votes.

Election of two Bureau members : Vandervelde elected in lieu of de Brouckère, Henderson in lieu of Cramp.

It was decided to transfer the Secretariat of the L. S. I. to Zurich. From the time of the transfer to Zurich of the headquarters of the Secretariat the Bureau was to act as Administrative Committee. Henderson elected President of the Executive, the Bureau and the Administrative Committee, Van Roosbroeck elected Treasurer.

Foundation of the group of Parties : Greece, Hungarian S. P. and Czechoslovakia, Vilagossag, and the delegation of Kunfi (substitute Yannios) to the Executive was noted.

Admission of the Socialist Party of China approved.

Socialist Party of Hungary and Socialist Labour Party of Hungary urged to mutual negotiations.

Representation of Russia in the Bureau : the resignation of Kautsky as Chairman of the Commission of Three (see p. 78 of Marseilles report).

Demonstration of sympathy by the Executive for the clerks on strike in Marseilles.

Protest against the Execution of a communist in Warsaw.

**Session of the Executive in London.**

4th and 5th November, 1925.

*Chair* : Cramp and Wibaut.

Agenda : (1) Treaties of Locarno, (2) Eight Hour Day, (3) Joint Committee with the I. F. T. U. on Migration Questions, (4) Affairs

relating to individual countries (Morocco, Hungary, Esthonia), (5) Organisation and Finance, (6) Miscellaneous.

**Decisions :**

Treaties of Locarno : see Section of the League of Nations.

Morocco : resolution as to admission of the Red Crescent and of the Red Cross-(see Bulletin Vol. 2 No. 4).

Migration Questions: de Brouckère, Cramp and Diamand elected as Commission to discuss with delegates of the I. F. T. U.

Italy (see report on fascism). Hungary (see report on campaign against political persecution).

Esthonia : the Secretariat instructed to address to the Party enquiry as to situation and its action.

Kurdish question : report and motion of Isahakianz submitted to Members of Executive for examination.

Financial : Fees of Italian, Hungarian, and Russian parties excused. Regulation of arrears.

**Session of the Executive in Zurich.**

11th and 12th April 1926.

**Chair :** Henderson.

**Agenda :** (1) Secretariat's and Treasurer's Report, (2) Migration Congress, (3) General Political Questions, (League of Nations, Economic Conference, Disarmament Conference, Colonial Policy, Relations with the Communist International, May Day Appeal), (4) Questions concerning particular countries, (5) Eight Hour Day, (6) Press Service and Archives of the International, (7) Organisational Questions, (8) Preparation of the International Congress 1927 and of the next Executive Meeting, (8) Miscellaneous.

**Decisions :**

Secretariat's and Treasurer's report noted.

Erection of Matteotti Monument.

Foundation of Matteotti Fund.

Appointment of Disarmament Commission.

Appointment of Colonial Commission.

Henderson and Adler delegates of Executive to World Migration Congress.

Decision to hold a Conference of Press Experts.

**Resolutions :**

League of Nations—see report on League of Nations.

Italian Representation in the I. L. O., see report on the campaign against fascism.

Unity Conference with the Communist International, see under that heading.

## Session of the Executive in Zurich.

28th and 29th August 1926.

*Chair* : Vliegen.

Agenda : (1) Press Reports of Executive Meetings, (2) Secretary's and Treasurer's Reports, (3) League of Nations, (4) Eight Hour Day, (5) Questions concerning various countries (Italy, Hungary, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia), (6) International Women's Committee, (7) Sport International, (8) Questions of Organisation, (9) Next International Congress and next meeting of Executive, (10) Miscellaneous.

### *Decisions* :

Permission given to members of Executive to publish reports of Executive sessions in their own names.

Secretary's and Treasurer's reports unanimously adopted.

Complaints on policy of Ukrainian Socialist Party referred to Minorities Commission.

Sport International : resolved to place on agenda of next Executive the whole problem of relations with working-class cultural organisations.

Election of two Bureau members : Möller, in lieu of Engberg, Cramp in lieu of Henderson during latter's absence.

Secretariat instructed to secure understanding between parties in Czechoslovakia as to distribution of votes.

Russian representation in Bureau : postponed.

Secretariat instructed to prepare proposals for an International Socialist Conference.

Telegramme of greeting sent to Georg Kutschin.

Decision to found a Press Fund of L. S. I. : see financial report.

Appointment of a Commission on the Democratisation of League of Nations.

### *Resolutions* :

On League of Nations : see that section.

Eight Hour Day : do.

## Session of the Executive in Paris.

12th and 13th February, 1927.

*Chair* : Henderson.

Agenda : (1) Secretary's and Treasurer's reports, (2) General Political Situation) : a) dangers of war (China, America, S. E. Europe), b) the fight for democracy and against political persecution, a) armament and disarmament questions, d) other League of Nations Questions, e) preparations for the Economic Conference,

(3) Eight Hour Day, (4) Questions concerning individual countries, (5) International Women's Organisation, (6) Distribution of Votes and other Matters of Organisation, (7) Press Questions and Archives of the International, (8) Arrangements for next Executive Meeting, (9) Miscellaneous.

*Decisions :*

Three representatives of Chinese Social-Democratic Party invited to attend.

Delegation of Van Roosbroeck and Wibaut to attend burial of Gustave Rouanet.

Secretary's and Treasurer's Reports adopted.

Nomination of a Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners (see report of Commission).

Protest against persecutions in Poland.

Publication of Pamphlets by German and French parties on the Russian despatches of arms to Germany : noted.

Measures for averting war (I. L. P. motion) referred to parties for opinion.

Decision in event of immediate danger of war for understanding between I. F. T. U. and L. S. I.

Proposal of British Labour Party entitled Draft Convention for the pacific settlement of International Disputes : referred to the parties for examination.

Entry of Socialist Party of Iceland : noted.

Allocation of votes to the Socialist Party of Switzerland.

Draft for institution of an International Conference : referred to parties.

Statutes for International Women's Conferences : adopted.

Protection of Youth Programme : accepted.

Subsidy to Socialist Youth International : granted.

Report of Secretariat on Archives of International : noted.

Date fixed for International Congress 1928.

*Resolutions :*

Manifesto on danger of war (see political report).

Fight for Democracy and against political persecution (see report on the campaign against political persecution).

**Session of the Executive in Brussels.**

11th and 12th September 1927.

*Chair :* Henderson.

Agenda : (1) Secretary's Report, (2) Treasurer's Report, (3) Preparations for the International Congress 1928, (4) Report of the

Disarmament Commission of the L. S. I., (5) Report of the Colonial Commission of the L. S. I., (6) a) attitude to death penalty, b) reform of penal procedure, (7) Eight Hour Day, (8) Questions of Organisation, (9) International Protection of Youth, (10) Questions concerning particular countries, (11) Next Executive Meeting, (12) Miscellaneous.

*Decisions :*

Secretary's and Treasurer's reports : approved.

Provisional Agenda fixed for International Congress.

Convocation of a session of the Women's Committee in Cologne. The proposal approved.

Relations to working-class cultural organisations : see that section.

Secretariat instructed to prepare a report on the possibilities of setting up a department of the Secretariat for World Economic Problems.

Penal Reform : the parties urged to send in material towards the preparation of a programme. •

*Resolutions :*

On Report of Disarmament Commission. See under that head.

On League against Colonial Oppression.

For the Abolition of the Death Penalty.

**Session of the Executive in Zurich.**

25th and 26th February 1928.

*Chair :* Henderson.

Agenda : (1) Secretary's report, (2) Treasurer's report, (3) Preparations for the International Congress in Brussels, (4) Report of Disarmament Commission of the L. S. I., (5) Report on the North Eastern Conference and other political Questions, (6) Eight Hour Day, (7) Questions of Organisation, (8) Questions concerning individual countries, (9) Arrangements for next Executive Meeting, (10) Miscellaneous.

*Decisions :*

Reports of Secretary and Treasurer : adopted.

Levy of a Congress Fee of 25% of the ordinary fees.

Increase in the fees from 1929.

Agenda of the International Congress determined.

Report of the Disarmament Commission : approved.

Report of the North Eastern Conference : noted.

Protest against maintenance of Bujor in prison.

Motion to be submitted to International Congress for abolition of death penalty.

Election of Commission on Questions relating to Democratisation of League of Nations.

Application for admission by a fractional socialist group of Poles in Czechoslovakia : refused.

Application for admission by the Social-Democratic Party of Turkey : referred back.

Motion to the Congress on alteration of Statutes.

*Resolutions :*

Against competition in naval armaments : see disarmament report.

On secret despatch of arms (St. Gotthard) : see report on the League of Nations.

On Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day.

On Ukraine.

(b) *The Bureau of the L. S. I.*

There have been the following changes in the composition of the Bureau of the L. S. I.: In August 1925 Henderson was elected in the place of Cramp and De Brouckère in that of Vandervelde. In February, 1928, Vandervelde returned in the place of De Brouckère. In August, 1926, Möller was elected in the place of Engberg (Sweden). Engberg took the place of Moeller during the duration of the latter's activities in the Swedish government. After the resignation of the Swedish government Moeller again entered the Bureau.

The question of Russian representation in the Bureau found no ultimate solution during the period reported. Suchomlin took part in the meetings of the Bureau.

Accordingly, the Bureau is at present composed of the following comrades : Abramovitch (Russia), Bauer (Austria), Bracke (France), Henderson (Great Britain), Modigliani (Italy), Möller (Sweden), Vandervelde (Belgium), Vliegen (Holland), Wels (Germany).

The following Table gives particulars of attendance at the Bureau meetings (for explanation of signs see p. II. 17.)

Names	Member from to	Took part in the Meeting in										
		London Nov. 1925	Zürich April 1926	Amsterdam May 1926	Zürich Aug. 1926	Paris Febr. 1927	Amsterdam Febr. 1927	Paris April 1927	Brüssel Sept. 1927	Zürich Febr. 1928	Brussels June 1928	
Armenia Isahakianz C		x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	
Austria Bauer	May 1923	m	m	m	m	m	—	—	m	m	m	
Belgium Vanderveelde v. Roosbroeck T	February 1928	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	m	m	
De Brouckère	June 1925—Febr. 1928	—	T	—	T	T	—	T	—	T	T	
Czecho-Slovakia Soukup Z		m	m	—	m	—	m	—	—	x	x	
France Bracke	May 1923	x	x	x	x	x	x	Z	x	—	x	
Evrard D		m	m	—	m	m	—	m	m	m	m	
Longuet C		x	x	D	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Renaudel C		x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	
Georgia Tseretelli C		x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	
Germany Wels M	May 1923	x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	
Great Britain Henderson	August 1925	m	m	m	m	m	—	m	m	m	m	
Gillies C		—	m	—	—	m	—	—	m	m	m	
Brockway C		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C	C	x	
Cramp D		x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	
Bell A		D	x	x	D	C	x	x	x	x	x	
Holland Vliegen	May 1925	A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Wibaut C		m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Italy Modigliani	May 1923	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	x	
Treves C		—	—	—	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Russia Abromowitsch	May 1923	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	x	
Dan D		m	—	m	m	m	—	m	—	m	m	
Suchomlin C		x	x	x	x	x	x	D	x	x	x	
Scandinavia Engberg	May 1925 – Aug. 1926	C	—	—	—	C	x	C	C	—	C	
Möller	August 1926	m	m	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Switzerland Grimm A	January 1927	x	x	x	x	m	—	—	m	m	—	
Yugoslavia Topalovic C		m	m	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Secretary Adler		x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	
		S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	

In addition to the participants mentioned in the Table, at the two joint meetings of the Bureau of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. the following were present as representatives of the latter :

Meeting in Amsterdam (26th February 1927) : Jouhaux, Mertens, Leipart, Buozzi, Oudegeest, Sassenbach, Brown.

Meeting in Paris (3rd April, 1927) : Jouhaux, Mertens, Jan Oudegeest.

Meeting in Amsterdam (11th May, 1926) : Brown, Jouhaux, Mertens, Leipart, Oudegeest, Sassenbach.

In the following we give a short summary of the meetings of the Bureau :

*(Meeting of the Bureau in London.)*

(5th November, 1925.)

*Chair :* Cramp.

*Agenda :* Transfer of the Secretariat to Zurich. Staff of the Secretariat. Staff regulations.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Zurich.)*

(10th April, 1926.)

*Chair :* Henderson.

The Bureau made preparations for the meeting of the Executive and dealt with a series of administrative measures.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Amsterdam.)*

(11th May, 1926.)

*Chair :* Vliegen.

The Bureau considered the situation in Great Britain and issued a manifesto on the General Strike in Great Britain. In addition administrative questions were settled.

*(Joint meeting of the Bureaux of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U.)*

(Amsterdam, 11th May, 1926.)

*Chair :* Jouhaux.

The discussions concerned the British General Strike. It was further decided, in view of the position in Great Britain, to postpone the World Migration Congress.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Zurich.)*

(27th August, 1926.)

*Chair :* Vliegen.

The Bureau considered the agenda for the Executive meeting, decided on the foundation of the Matteotti Fund and dealt in detail with the position in Norway.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Paris.)*

(11th February, 1927.)

*Chair :* Henderson.

Preparations for the Executive meeting : election of the Administrative Committee for the Matteotti Fund (see the latter).

*Joint meeting of the Bureaux of the L. S. I. and I. F. T. U. in Amsterdam.*

(26th February, 1927.)

*Chair :* Jouhaux.

Discussion concerned the position of the Italian labour movement. For resolution see report on the Fight against Fascism. A



meeting of representatives of the I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I. was called to make preparations for the World Economic Conference of the League of Nations. See there.

*(Joint meeting of the Bureaux of the L. S. I. and I. F. T. U. in Paris.)*  
(3rd April 1927.)

*Chair* : Adler, Oudegeest.

The joint deliberations concerned the danger of war in South-Eastern Europe and in China. The meeting further dealt with the attacks of fascism on the international institutions. For resolutions see the respective chapters of this Report.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Paris.)*  
(4th April, 1927.)

*Chair* : Vliegen.

The final text of the May-day manifesto was drafted, and the position in Lithuania, Hungary and the Dutch Indies discussed. (For resolutions see chapter on Political Persecutions.) Further, preparatory steps were taken towards the formation of the Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Brussels.)*  
(10th September, 1927.)

*Chair* : Henderson.

Preparations for the Executive meeting and the International Congress. Decisions were also arrived at with regard to the archives of the International.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Zurich.)*  
(24th February, 1928.)

*Chair* : Henderson.

Preparations for the Executive meeting and election of the Administrative Committee.

*(Meeting of the Bureau in Brussels.)*  
(4th June, 1928.)

*Chair* : Henderson.

The Bureau dealt with preparations for the International Congress and decided upon the final agenda. The Secretariat was charged to continue preparations for the publication of a Handbook of Socialism. For decision re Albert Thomas' journey to Italy, see report on the International Labour Office. Call to the socialist parties to move for postponement or reduction of Bulgarian's reparations liabilities.

### **(c) *The Administrative Committee of the L. S. I.***

The composition of the Administrative Committee of the L. S. I. is defined by Article 19 of the Constitution as follows :

"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."

In August 1925 the Administrative Committee consisted of : Allan, Mrs. Bell, Brailsford, C. Roden Buxton, Cramp, Henderson (Chairman), Wallhead (Treasurer), Adler (Secretary), Morrison (deputy).

The Executive decided at its session in Marseilles that, until the transfer of the Secretariat to Zurich, the existing Administrative Committee and Treasurer should continue to function in London. After the transfer the Bureau was provisionally authorized to act as Administrative Committee and Van Roosbroeck (Belgium) was provisionally elected Treasurer.

From the 1st December, 1926, the Bureau functioned as Administrative Committee, and in repeated deliberations discussed questions of administration.

The Bureau of the L. S. I. decided on 24th February, 1928, to proceed again to the election of an Administrative Committee. The following were then elected : Henderson (Chairman), Grimm (Switzerland), Van Roosbroeck (Treasurer), and Adler (Secretary). The Administrative Committee met on the occasion of the Executive session in February, 1928, and on that of the Bureau meeting in June, 1928, and discussed technical questions of the Congress preparations as well as current administrative business.

## **(4) Special Commissions and Conferences.**

### **(a) The Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners.**

At the session of the Executive of the L. S. I. in Paris on 15th February 1927 a thorough discussion took place of the political situation in the countries under fascism ; at this session an attitude was adopted towards the persecutions attending the free expression of socialist convictions in the countries without democracy, an extension of assistance to political prisoners was initiated, and it was resolved to set up a commission of 20 members for "enquiry into the conditions of political prisoners".

The constituent meeting of this commission was held on the occasion of the following Executive session on 12th September, 1927.

The Commission is composed as follows : Senator *Louis de Brouckère* (Belgium) ; Arthur *Crispien* and Otto *Wels* (Germany) ; C. T. *Cramp*, W. *Gillies*, A. Fenner *Brockway* (Great Britain) ; Jean *Longuet*, Emil *Kahn* (France) ; A. B. *Kleerekoper* (Holland) ; Dr. *Katia Adler* (*Austria*) ; Dr. *Leo Winter*, Dr. *Ludwig Czech* (Czechoslovakia) ; Robert *Grimm* (Switzerland) ; J. *Wischna* (Latvia) ; Th. *Stauning* (Denmark) ; Gustav *Möller* (Sweden) ; L. *Popovitch* (Yugoslavia) ; Dr. K. H. *Wüik* (Finland) ; Karl *Heinz* (Socialist Youth International) ; and *Adelheid Popp* (Women's Committee of the L. S. I.).

For the conduct of the business there was appointed at the first session of the Commission a Working Committee consisting of five members and two substitutes. To this the following were elected :

*De Brouckère* (Chairman), *Crispien* (Vice Chairman), *Brockway*, *Kleerekoper* and *Longuet*. *Winter* and *Grimm* act as substitutes.

All the Work of the Commission passes through the Secretariat of the L. S. I. In accordance with the plan of work adopted by the Commission and by the Working Committee there was first undertaken the issue of an Information Service which now appears as supplement to the "I. I.". The "Communications on the Position of Political Prisoners" (P. P.) include in the first place reliable material from the various countries, and are published with the collaboration of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. who are responsible for the material sent in by them. By means of these publications and by meetings to be started in the various countries by the affiliated parties, it is proposed to strengthen the public interest in the fate of the political prisoners. In addition the Commission considered as its province the promotion of the *Matteotti Fund*, the Fund to help the labour movement in the countries without democracy.

Among the Commission's most important tasks is the agitation for the abolition of the death penalty. The goal of this agitation is formulated as follows in the resolution submitted by the Commission to the Executive of the L. S. I. and approved by it unanimously at the session of 13th September, 1927 :

"To remove the death penalty everywhere from the penal-codes ; to urge upon the Socialist Parliamentary representatives in countries in which (or in whose colonies) capital punishment still exists to move in Parliament, for its total abolition ; and to call upon the working-class to support with all their might this claim of humanity and justice."

The task of the Commission very soon proved to be more extensive than is implied in its title. It was extended spontaneously to include the task of backing up the active campaign of the class-conscious proletariat against political persecution in the individual countries.

The perpetual terrorism in fascist *Italy*, the consistent persecution of all free speech and though in the *Hungary* of *Horthy*, the *Voldemaras* dictatorship in *Lithuania* and the abuse of penal law in the *Balkan States* received thorough consideration. The first num-

ber of the Communications was almost enterily devoted to the terrorism in Lithuania and the misdeeds of the Voldemaras courts-martial. Meetings of protest against the death penalty have been realised in *Holland*, where the struggle against the maintenance of the death penalty in the Dutch colonies is very much in the centre of interest, and in Germany, where the new penal code act is under consideration. In *Sweden* a very effective campaign of publicity against the terrorism in the countries without democracy was instituted. The Swedish socialists invited comrade *Tseretelli*, who in common with comrade *Möller* and other Swedish speakers lectured in 14 towns of Sweden. These meetings were also used to make collections on behalf of the Matteotti Fund which produced a very remarkable result.

At the session of the Executive of the I. S. I. on 23rd of February 1928 it was resolved on the initiative of the Commission to submit to the International Congress in Brussels the following motion for the complete *abolition of the death penalty* :

"The International Congress, considering,

"that the application of the death penalty as a punishment for common crimes has proved to be unnecessary and useless, since it has been statistically shown that such crimes do not occur in greater numbers in the countries where the death penalty has been abolished than in those where it still exists ;

that however, the existence of the death penalty in some countries still gives occasion to reactionary governments to apply it likewise against political opponents ;

that in general the death penalty ought to be considered as a barbarity and as a blot upon civilisation ;

that, moreover, in most countries the death penalty is still frequently carried out even in the cases where criminal proceedings have led to no fully conclusive result, so that miscarriages of justice recur again and again and offend the sense of justice of the people ;

calls upon the representatives of the Socialist parties in all countries where the death penalty still exists to do all that lies in their power that this barbarous penalty may disappear from the penal code."

The announcement of the amnesty in Soviet Russia in November 1927 brought into the forefront of public interest the problem of the socialist political prisoners in Russia.

In number 2/IV "Communications" action for the *amnesty in Soviet Russia* was introduced by a full statement of the whole problem and by detailed biographies of a number of socialists detained in Russian prisons and places of banishment. The demand for an universal political amnesty in Russia was put forward in resolutions and meetings by certain of the parties affiliated to the I. S. I., such as for example, Belgium, France and Sweden. A special importance attached to the letter addressed by the Secretary of the I. L. P., comrade Fenner Brockway, to the President of the Council of People's Commissaries, A. I. Rykov. It was first published in the "New Leader", of 4th November, 1927, and then reproduced in number 3 of the "P.P." and thereafter further reproduced in the Continental and American press. In this letter Brockway bases his

refusal to participate in the anniversary celebrations in Russia on the fact that there are still socialists in banishment and prison in Soviet Russia.

In connection with this November amnesty in Soviet Russia, which was elastic in its terms and altogether inadequate, a letter of protest was addressed by De Brouckère and Crispin, the two Chairman of the Commission, to Kalinin, President of the Soviet Union, pointing out that the fact of the continued terrorism and political persecution in Soviet Russia impedes the campaign against persecutions by the reaction. To this letter no reply was received. In a second communication by the two chairmen on 2nd February 1928 they pointed out again from the instance of the banishment of the Trotzkyist opposition how the system of persecution in Soviet Russia had done away with all freedom of opinion for socialists.

For further particulars of these and other important pronouncements of the Commission the reader is referred to the section "for the victims of political persecution". Since the Commission began its activities only in the last quarter of the period reported, it was more convenient for the sake of uniformity in the narrative to present these in connection with the account of the whole action of the L. S. I. against political persecution.

In connection moreover with the campaign against Italian fascism to which a special section is devoted in this report, the Commission has played a part in it by publishing accounts of the conditions of the political prisoners in the islands, the compulsory settlements in Milan, the re-introduction of the death penalty, and the crime of the murder in prison of the communist G. Sozzi. It has moreover repeatedly called attention to the perversion of legal institutions in Hungary as to which a full account is also given elsewhere.

A special initiative was concerned with comrade Michai Bujor who has been languishing for eight years in a Rumanian Goal. The publications in the "Communications" depicting the fate of this "forgotten" figure were successful not only in promoting a demand for his release in the labour press of all countries but also in bringing about a marked stimulation of the public movement on his behalf in Rumania. At the session of the Executive of 25th February 1928 the following resolution moved by the Commission was adopted unanimously :

"The Executive expresses its indignation that Michai Gh. Bujor is still held in prison by the masters of Rumania. It is a disgrace to humanity to bury a political opponent alive in a dungeon. In the name of millions of socialists in all countries the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International demands that Bujor be set at liberty."

The penal institutions in the Balkan States still apply in an absolutely mediaeval fashion a system of cruel and abominable ill-treatment of prisoners. It was necessary in particular to expose in

detail the conditions in the Rumanian penal institution of Doftana and in the city prison in Belgrade. Evidence of the barbarity of the ruling classes in the Balkan States is visible likewise in the collective trials which in consequence of demonstrations of popular indignation have been conducted under the semblance of trials of communists. By systematic publications relating to these and similar conditions offensive to the moral sense of mankind, by rousing public opinion and the opinion of the entire socialist working-class, the Commission is contributing most effectively to the reinforcement, and extension of the L. S. I.'s campaign against reaction and oppression.

The first number of the "Communications" appeared in October 1927. During 1927 6 numbers, and in the first six months of 1928 7 numbers were issued. Their success in the press was very satisfactory, the information being widely reprinted.

The Commission still has before it a number of suggestions for the elaboration and extension of its field of work.

#### (b) The Minorities Commission of the L. S. I.

The Executive of the L. S. I. resolved at its session of 10th May 1925 to appoint a Commission to deal with the question of national minorities. This Commission consists of *Abramovič* (Russia), *Bauer* (Austria), *C. R. Buxton* (Great Britain), *de Brouckère* (Belgium).

The Commission held its constituent meeting on the 4th July 1925 in London. De Brouckère was elected Chairman, and a provisional distribution of the work among the members of the Commission was undertaken.

The first session of the Commission took place in Zurich on 13th April 1926. It concerned itself especially with the questions of Czechoslovakia in connection with which the attendance was invited of Soukup as representing the Czech, and Czech as representing the German socialists in Czechoslovakia. The deliberations resulted in the following resolution on which all present were agreed :

"The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has referred the matters in dispute between the Socialist parties in the Czechoslovak Republic to the permanent Minorities Commission for preliminary consideration."

"The Minorities Commission has held a meeting in Zurich on 13th April. It has resolved to obtain from the socialist parties in the Czechoslovak Republic definite proposals and documentary evidence and after receipt of these to meet in Dresden on 6th June to enter upon the actual discussion of the questions at issue."

On 19th May the Executive of the Czech Socialist Party communicated that it considered it impossible to hold a discussion of the fundamental question of national-democratic autonomy, since the Party Congress had not yet pronounced upon it. Thereby the holding of the meeting became impossible.

At its session of August 1926 the Executive of the L. S. I. considered the report of the Minorities Commission delivered by its Chairman De Brouckère, and passed the following resolution thereon :—

- (1) The Executive approves the steps of the Minorities Commission and begs it to carry its work to a conclusion.
- (2) It begs the Parties concerned to do their utmost in the interim to come to a direct understanding upon the problems involved, and thus to pave the way for the work of the Minorities Commission.
- (2) It requests the Minorities Commission to report to the next Executive meeting on the outcome of the negotiations."

At the next session of the Executive which was held in Paris in February 1927 the representative of the German socialists in Czechoslovakia, Czech, was prevented by illness from attending and it was therefore necessary to postpone the report.

During the ensuing months there opened promising direct negotiations between the socialist parties in Czechoslovakia which rendered superfluous any further action by the Minorities Commission on this question. The negotiations ultimately led to the convocation of the Joint Congress of Socialist Labour Parties in Czechoslovakia which assembled in January 1928. At this Congress the Secretary of the L. S. I. and the President of the Minorities Commission De Brouckère were present as delegates of the L. S. I.

A further group of questions which claimed the attention of the Minorities Commission concerned the policy of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party affiliated to the L. S. I. At the Executive session of August 1926 Abramovitch called attention to the action of the Ukrainian socialists in connection with the discussion raised by the murder of Petlioura on 25th May 1926 as to his responsibility for the pogroms in the Ukraine. The Executive referred the matter to the Minorities Commission for consideration.

In this question very voluminous material was submitted to the Commission both by the Ukrainian and the Russian socialists. At the meeting of the Minorities Commission in Zurich in February 1928, this material formed the basis of a debate lasting several hours. The representative of the Russian socialists, Abramovitch, was able to agree upon a joint resolution with Fedenko and Mazepa representing the Ukrainian socialists. On behalf of the Minorities Commission the Chairman De Brouckère reported to the Session of the Executive of 25th February 1928 and submitted the joint resolution, which ran as follows :—

"In the atmosphere of an intense struggle between nationalities and a mutual embitterment on the part of nationalities, which still prevails in Soviet Ukraine under the influence of the appalling acts perpetrated in the civil war and the Jewish pogroms, in this atmosphere it is doubly necessary for socialist parties aiming at representing the interests of the working-class in the fight for the liberation of their nations, in which they must take part, to preserve their independence towards the universal bourgeois-nationalist movement, and to avoid everything which might give the working masses the impression that the socialist party was iden-

tifying itself with bourgeois jingoism and its national tactics. Only by a sharp and distinct division from the incitement to nationalism practised by the capitalist and bourgeois parties—which are striving to divert the masses from the class-war and to mobilise them for the national fight—only thus is it possible for the socialist parties to form a “third power” between and above the conflicting factions of nationalism.

“In order to fight successfully nationalism and reaction it is essential that the socialist parties of the individual nations in the countries of the Soviet Union should enter into relations with one another, which will strengthen the present confidence and solidarity of the masses of the workers.”

This resolution was adopted unanimously, after a short debate by the Executive.

The third group of questions with which the Minorities Commission has had to deal is that of the national Macedonian minorities in the Balkans. The meeting of the Minorities Commission of 23rd February 1928 had before it letters from comrade Sakasoff (Bulgaria) in which he proposed a Conference for the consideration of these questions. It was then decided to hold a meeting of the Minorities Commission in conjunction with the International Congress in Brussels in order to study the questions relating to the national minorities concerned in the Macedonian problem.

Shortly before the Congress, however, the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party sent word that in consequence of the economic crisis in Bulgaria, greatly aggravated as it is by the recent earthquake catastrophe, it would not be in a position to despatch a delegation to the Brussels Congress, and it requested that the meeting be held at a later date in a place nearer to the Balkans. Accordingly this meeting of the Minorities Commission has been for the present postponed.

### **(c) Conferences on the technical problems of the Socialist press.**

The socialist press being one of the most important instruments of the activities of the international movement (as witness the now 354 dailies of the International, not to speak of the periodicals), the L. S. I. has necessarily had to keep constantly before it the task of securing fruitful collaboration with this press. It has rightly been felt that closer international coordination of the press concerns of the national labour movements was needed. As early as the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International and also in the Congress at Copenhagen the question was broached in an informal manner, but more in respect of editorial policy and, moreover, the time then proved unripe for any coordinated effort in this sphere.

Following upon a suggestion emanating from the Daily Herald, a conference for the discussion of technical press questions was called at the Marseille Congress of the L. S. I. in 1925 (Marseille Report pages 257, 283, and 293). Some 70 representatives of the socialist press were present. The conference decided, in order to continue the exchange of mutual information, to set up a sub-com-



mittee which was instructed first of all to work out a questionnaire to be circulated to the press of all affiliated bodies and to serve as a basis of further inquiry. This was unanimously adopted by the Congress on the 27th of August.

This questionnaire was drafted during the Congress in Marseille on the basis of the draft already prepared by Robert Williams of the Daily Herald.

During the winter 1925-1926 many replies came in and in 1926 the preparations had so far matured that the "Second Conference of the L. S. I. for technical press questions" could be called for the 20th and 21st November 1926 in Berlin. Replies to the questionnaire had then been received from 19 parties of 16 countries with reference to 276 daily papers. Replies were still lacking altogether from 9 parties with respect to 32 dailies and 4 parties had given incomplete answers, containing no information about 11 papers. Answers as regards periodicals (weeklies etc.) were received only from very few countries.

The conference in Berlin met at the head-quarters of the German Social-Democratic Party and was attended by 32 delegates from 11 countries. The discussion first centred round the questions of the development of an international socialist news service. The need for and possibilities of utilising the various forms of material which were contemplated proved to be very divergent. General news, political information, party affairs and signed articles by the leading personalities of the international movement are items each of which could only correspond in varying degrees to the desires of the press of the different parties.

The points of view as to the organisation of such a service differed accordingly. In the event of a predominantly political news service it seemed inappropriate to have its organisation centre separate from the headquarters of the L. S. I. From the point of view of general news, however, the present seat of the secretariat did not seem convenient. Above all the material difficulties revealed themselves. Only in relatively insignificant degrees were the organs of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. able to offer any guarantees as to the economic side of the various schemes.

The shining exception was the German Social-Democratic Press Service (Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst). By means of foreign correspondents, for instance in London, this organisation provides (1927) 188 German socialist dailies with the elements of an international socialist press service. The material basis of this service is fully guaranteed through the centralised economic organisation of the German socialist press. At the international Press Exhibition at Cologne 1928 it has been able to provide an imposing exposition of the growth and importance of the Socialist Press in Germany, assisted by the Austrian Socialist Press and the Italian Anti-Fascist Press Exposition in the People's House of Cologne.

To some extent indeed the Germans are already responding to applications for collaboration and advice on technical questions from the socialist press of other countries and the socialist foreign correspondents resident in Berlin are admitted to the facilities of the "Vorwärts" and the social-democratic press service. Similar facilities are provided in London by the Daily Herald as was the case before the world war between L'Humanité and the Daily Herald.

Bearing in mind the economic situation of the socialist press, especially outside Germany, the conference had to limit its proposals as to positive steps accordingly. It agreed that an international socialist press service should be aimed at. The international secretariat was requested to extend the press service already in existence and to further an intensive news service between the socialist press in all countries.

The desire was expressed for a permanent commission of experts with a view to assisting the secretariat of the L. S. I. in the study of questions relative to a more intimate collaboration between the socialist press of the various countries, as for instance :

Wider development of the exchange of news with a view to the establishment of an international news service ;

The full utilisation of existing facilities ;

Improvement of the printing processes ;

Practical arrangements for the purchase of news print.

The situation of the socialist press in the various countries was described in detail by their respective delegates. The conference voiced its indignation at the treatment according to the press in a number of countries. As Robert Williams pointed out : "Where the socialist and labour press has a great influence, there is the least danger of a dictatorship from right or from left."

The third press conference of the L. S. I. is meeting on the 11th August 1928 during the Brussels Congress.

## (5) The Secretariat of the L. S. I.

The decision of the Executive of the L. S. I. in Marseilles to transfer the Secretariat of the L. S. I. from London to Zurich was carried out on 1st December, 1925. The intention to facilitate relations between the parties by having the Secretariat in as central a position as possible has been quite successfully realized, an advantage which has made itself felt particularly, during the period under report, with regard to the Italian labour movement.

Certain difficulties arose for the Secretariat through the headquarters being in Switzerland in relation only to the Swiss police department dealing with foreigners, but it was possible in the course of time to diminish these too. An international secretariat cannot, on account of linguistic requirements, refrain from selecting a considerable number of its employees from abroad. In addition, in a

political institution every single appointment implies a certain political confidence, so that the circle of those in question is a restricted one. After initial difficulties the Swiss police department for foreigners has seen that consideration must be paid to this point of view, and that a political secretariat cannot be treated under the system applicable, say, to a commercial office in respect of the protection of home labour.

On the occasion of the meeting of the Executive in Zurich in August, 1926 the Secretariat had to inform members of the Executive that their public appearance at political meetings would be viewed as a breach of its undertakings, and might call into question the possibility of the Secretariat remaining in Switzerland. In this matter there ensued a voluminous correspondence between the Secretary of the L. S. I. and the Federal authorities. The Swiss socialist press energetically attacked this ban on speeches and an inquiry by Comrade Graber in the Swiss parliament, led to an exhaustive exchange of views there on 9th October, 1926. When the Executive met again in Zurich in February 1928 these difficulties had been overcome, and the Zurich comrades were able to arrange a Socialist Week, in which a number of members of the Executive spoke. In connection with this Socialist Week there also took place a social gathering between the Executive and the representatives of the Swiss socialists in the Belvoir Park, Zurich, at which Councillor Klöti spoke on behalf of the Swiss comrades and the President of the Executive, Henderson, for the former.

The work of the Secretariat has steadily increased during the period under report. Nevertheless, considering the limited financial means available, the existing staff has had to suffice without any serious increase in its numbers. At the end of the period under report the Secretariat had in addition to the Secretary five full-time employees and two part-time employees. In addition there were a number of assistants, who were taken on as the work required, and of whom five were almost continuously employed during the months of the preparatory work for the Congress. In addition the Secretariat has had a number of external assistants, whose work is to survey the press in languages other than those known by the staff of the Secretariat, and to do the necessary translation from these languages.

The direction of the translation service into English has been performed by Comrade Beresford *Kemmis*, into French by Comrade May *Landry* and into German by Comrade Adolf *Sturmthal*; financial business has been conducted by Comrade Edith *Kemmis*, and technical work by Comrades Hans *Adank*, Anna *Oetzmann* and Franziska *Schwitz*. Comrades *B. Kemmis* and *Sturmthal* have collaborated in the preparation of the "I. L." : Comrade *E. Kemmis*, the "Women's Supplement", and Comrade Kathia *Adler* the "Communications on the Conditions of Political Prisoners". With such a restricted body of assistants, as the Secretariat has had at its dis-

posal, fruitful collaboration is only possible on the basis of complete solidarity and of not too strict demarcation of grades of work. The Secretary expresses his warmest thanks to all his staff for the readiness with which they have responded to the frequent heavy demands made on them in the interest of the cause.

The Secretariat of the L. S. I. has submitted to the Executive of the L. S. I. at all its meetings a written report, the main parts of which have been used in the preceding report. The Executive at all its meetings adopted the reports of the Secretariat.

## (6) The Archives of the L. S. I.

The war and the confusion in the labour movement resulting from it did grave damage to the archives of the International which up to 1914 were in full course of development in Brussels. When Brussels was liberated from the hostile occupation, there set in a vigorous impulse towards the reconstruction of the Belgian labour movement. The space within the Maison du Peuple became too limited, and the premises held by the International before the war were the first to be sacrificed. The Belgian Labour Party, which in those first years, in view of their experiences in the war, refrained from participating in international conferences, no longer considered itself responsible for the International, so that for a while it was the lot of the archives to be treated as unclaimed property. There is no need to describe here in detail the wanderings of these archives, how they were first removed out of one room in the Maison du Peuple into another and in the end to the building of the Workers' College of Uccle and when there was no space there either, into an annexe. A large portion of the books had been mingled with the Library of the Education Ouvrière; the documents and parts of the files of newspapers were ultimately taken by comrade Huysmans personally to his home in Antwerp in order to safeguard them against destruction. A portion of the newspapers was presented by him when he found no other way of housing them, to the city library in Antwerp.

At the moment of the outbreak of war a portion of the documents of the International was outside of Belgium, viz. : the documents referring to the First International, together with a whole series of documents which were in the private possession of an ex-member of the Executive of the International, the Belgian comrade Louis Bertrand, were handed over as a loan by the Secretary of the International in the years just preceding the war, to the Anton Menger Foundation in Vienna, since this body contemplated an edition of the documents for the history of the First International as the first publication on a large scale with the funds of the endowment. The Russian comrade N. Rjasanov, was entrusted with this work by the Menger Foundation. He received facilities for devoting himself entirely to this work during several years and for under-

taking the necessary journeys in Europe. The first volume of the work was to appear on the occasion of the International Congress in August, 1914, and in fact that portion of it which reproduced the documents was at the moment of the outbreak of war fully set up in type in the printing works of the publishing firm of Dietz in Stuttgart. The documents remained during the war period in the hands of Rjasanov, and after the war he handed over the entire material, which for the purposes of the work he had borrowed or purchased from various quarters, to the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow of which he became Director.

The materials were accordingly divided among four places : (1) in the Library at Uccle, (2) in the Library at Antwerp, (3) at Huymans private house, (4) in the Library of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow.

A further portion of the materials has been lost and is probably not to be recovered. The matter in question is presumably reserve stocks of minutes of earlier congress and the like. For example Comrade Huysmans points out that there is now no trace in existence of the Copenhagen Minutes (1910) and of the Stockholm Report (1917), whereas before the removal from the Maison du Peuple in Brussels some hundreds of copies of them were available.

At its sessions of April 1926, February 1927 and September 1927, the Executive of the L. S. I., gave attention to the question of restoring and assembling the materials of the former archives. With regard to the materials in the hands of comrade Huymans, the Executive, at its meeting of February 1927, passed the following resolution :

Since Comrade Huysmans intends with the aid of the material at his disposal to write a history of the International before the war, the matter in his hands should be left in his possession, as a loan, for this purpose, the period of the loan to be fixed at one year, reckoned from the time of his leaving the Ministry. In any case the return of the material to the L. S. I. should be effected at the latest by the 31st December, 1928.

In respect of the other materials the Secretary of the L. S. I. was instructed to open communications with all the bodies concerned in the matter. At the session of the Executive in September 1927, he was able to report as follows as to the success of these endeavours, which demanded much time :

I. The material in the Library of the Labour College at Uccle were sifted by the Secretary of the L. S. I. ; and with regard to any books and pamphlets the ownership of which was open to any doubt, the decision was reached in consultation with Comrade Delsinne, the Director of the College. In September 1927 this material was moved to Zurich in a furniture van. Out of the stock of material stored in Uccle and belonging to the L. S. I., a number of magazine series not at present required in the Library of the Secretariat and capable of being used for the purposes of the Library in Uccle, can be left where they are as a loan to the Labour College,

subject to the right being reserved to the L. S. I. to require their return at any time, provided at least two months notice be given. Further the Library in Uccle would undertake that in case of the same being removed to another place or dissolved, the Secretariat of the L. S. I. should be previously notified of such intention.

II. The Municipal Library and Administration of the City of Antwerp have with extreme courtesy declared themselves ready to give up all such books and magazines, derived from the Archives of the International and available for its use, as are at present housed in that Library. This restoration, which was facilitated by the fact that this material had not yet been embodied in the Catalogues of the Antwerp Library, is owing in the first place to the intervention of Comrades Huysmans and Eckelers; with the very obliging co-operation of the Head Librarian De Bom and of Librarian l'Hermitte, the Secretary of the L. S. I. was able to sort out the material in question, and in full agreement with them to settle what portions were relevant for the L. S. I. These were then removed on 5th September 1927 by motor-lorry, first to Uccle, and thence together with the material already there to Zurich.

III. The material in the keeping of Comrade Huysmans was viewed by the Secretary of the L. S. I., and duplicates of books, pamphlets and Congress Reports, in addition to copies of books not directly wanted for the work of Comrade Huysmans, were removed in agreement with him, first to Uccle and thence together with the remaining material to Zurich.

IV. With reference to the portion of the Archives in Moscow, the Secretary of the L. S. I. had an opportunity of speaking personally with the Director of the Marx-Engels Institute Prof. N. Rjasanov. The latter had already just before come to an arrangement with Comrade Louis Bertrand (Brussels) as to the documents belonging to him personally, whereby these latter are to pass by purchase into the possession of the Marx-Engels Institute. The documents and literature belonging to the Brussels Archive of the International itself will be sorted out at the Marx-Engels Institute; a small portion has already been ceded to the archives of the L. S. I.

All the materials which it was possible to secure in this way were transported to Zurich and provisionally arranged in a library attached to the Secretariat which had been prepared for this purpose. With regard to the ultimate arrangement and cataloguing of them the views expressed in the annexed statement by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. were approved by the Executive at its session of September 1927.

#### **The sphere of utility of the L. S. I. Archives.**

Since the International Congress at Paris in 1920 decided that the task of "founding the archives of the International" should fall to the Secretary of the International, the development of the labour

movement and its institutions has made such progress as to require a re-examination of the problem as to what purposes the archives of the L. S. I. have to fulfil. At that time and indeed up to the war the idea was to link with the Secretariat a large and most comprehensive library and collection of documents on international socialism. To-day a division of functions might be considered desirable. From this point of view the archives of the L. S. I. would be restricted to those books and documents which could serve the immediate work of the Secretariat. The practical political purpose would thus be the determinant one in the selection, while historic, economic and scientific study would be pursued by other institutions. Certainly a large comprehensive library might continually be of use to the Secretariat of the L. S. I. also in its work. But the material means and assistance which a library of such a kind would require, would prove a heavy burden out of proportion to the value which such a library would give to the Secretariat itself. But there is another aspect too. After the experiences we have had in many countries, and above all with the archives of the International, it is undesirable to link such a library directly with the Secretariat of a Party or with the Secretariat of the International. The politically active institutions which are represented by the Secretariats are liable, especially in periods of political disturbance, to meet with fortunes by no means conducive to the preservation and development of a scientific library. These dangers are even greater in an international Secretariat which is not stable nor bound to one place, than in a national Secretariat.

The collection of a great library on international socialism remains an extraordinarily important goal at which to aim. But the expense of such a library would only be justified if it were not merely at the disposal of one Secretariat but really served the work of all socialists interested in theory.

The creation of libraries of social science is certainly the duty of a state as it is for other branches of science. And as a matter of fact state libraries and university institutions have in the course of the last quarter of a century worked in ever increasing measure along these lines; a specially strong such development since the war can be observed in the United States of America and Japan, while the Library of the British Museum, in earlier days the leading one, in this connection, is beginning to show for more recent times more and more serious gaps, and actually a lack of interest in this part of the work is discernible. The greatest effort in this field has been achieved by the Russian Soviet Government, by means of the abundant resources which it placed at the disposal of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. The Marx-Engels Institute undoubtedly owns to-day by far the largest international socialist library and collection of documents. It has at its disposal its own building of about 60 rooms, and has by the purchase of a great number of

private socialist libraries already very nearly approached the maximum attainable completeness. The task of this library for the future is certainly restricted since it is designed to house not socialist literature in its entirety, but only that which is connected more or less directly with the life work of Marx and Engels. In spite of the scientific value of the library, it will apart from the remoteness, of Moscow, be only of limited importance for the labour movement so long as this is divided against itself.

The Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt a. M. is to create, not by state means, but from a private bequest, a large library which is at present only in its very beginnings but can rapidly develop owing to the considerable means at its disposal. The Library of the I. L. O. in Geneva will likewise become important, especially for modern social literature. In spite of these libraries founded by states or societies there still remains for the socialist movement the task of providing libraries which are to serve its special purposes. Indeed, nearly all the Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. have larger or smaller libraries to support their own political work. As far as we know the following institutions have libraries of a character which makes them available to a wider circle :

(a) *The Party Archives of the German Socialists in Berlin.*

This has special significance since the bequests of Marx and Engels came to it, the library as well as the manuscripts.

(b) *The Library for Social Scientific Study in the Chamber of Labour in Vienna.*

It is incorporated as loans a number of valuable socialist libraries, especially those of Pernerstorfer and Victor Adler through the Party of Austria, and that of Anton Menger through the University of Vienna.

(c) *The Central Library for Social Literatur in Zurich.*

It has, in spite of its modest means, achieved by its long duration a very fine collection.

(d) *The Library of the Labour College in Uccle.*

This possesses the whole library of Hector Denis and is thereby of the greatest value for the history of the labour movement in Belgium and France.

(e) *The archives of the Swedish labour movement (Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv, Folkets hus, Stockholm).*

This contains especially documents of much value on the Scandinavian Labour movement.

The libraries in Berlin, Vienna, Uccle and Stockholm are under direct or indirect control of Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. In Zurich the Party is represented in the governing body but the majority is capitalist.

Very considerable means are necessary to keep a large library up-to-date. There is not only the new literature which has always to be procured at once in order to provide readers with the most topical material, but in addition a considerable staff is necessary to ensure a really efficient library service. The Vienna Library is most favourably placed in this connection, it has the largest fund for additions and the largest staff.



The question as to whether an international library can be created by the L. S. I. is only likely to find a solution at a later date. The question will then arise whether it will be linked with one of the libraries already in existence or whether it is to be conducted as an entirely independent institute. But even in the former case stress should be laid on a special complete inventory being compiled of the contents of the L. S. I. library, so that at any time the detachment of this library would be possible without difficulty. For the practical requirements of the moment it suffices to determine that the archives of the L. S. I. ought to be confined to the tasks of present-day politics. But even within this realm further sub-divisions will be required, particularly in the matter of newspaper material. Whereas every newspaper from the early days of the labour movement is of great historical documentary value, socialist newspaper material has to-day grown to such an extent that the task of collecting it is scarcely any longer to be achieved by any central library. The national parties collect the press organs of their own country but in many cases, as in Germany, they are already obliged to arrange the collection according to provinces or other sub-divisions. For the archives of the L. S. I. only the most important organs can compete for permanent preservation, those in one of three congress languages being of special importance for practical work.

With all these considerations in mind, the Secretariat of the L. S. I. suggests a division of the existing material into the following three categories :

(1) Books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents, which are to be incorporated with the archives of the Secretariat of the L. S. I.

(2) Books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents, which are to be preserved apart, in order subsequently to be handed over to an international socialist library.

(3) Series of newspapers which are not leading organs and which also are not of vital interest for the historical development of the labour movement, and should therefore be handed over to the archives of national parties.

Group 1 will have to comprise in the first place the following books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents :

- a) literature of value for the history of the socialist parties and of the International itself ;
- b) literature important for the present problems with which the L. S. I. is faced ;
- c) the leading works on socialism ;
- d) works of reference ;
- e) series of newspapers and periodicals.

Group 2 will comprise works on the theory and history of the labour movement in general and works on social economy, philosophy, history and other sciences.

## C. Relations towards other International Organisations.

### (1) International Federation of Trade Unions.

The relations between the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions are exhibited in so many passages of the present Report, that it is superfluous to emphasise in particular that the community of interests of the two forms of organisation has consistently been recognised as an obvious fact. Representatives of both bodies have repeatedly met in joint sessions to decide upon important questions, and in addition there has been permanent intercourse between the two secretariats. Of the joint meetings held the following may be specially pointed out :

11th May, 1926 in Amsterdam. British general strike.

26th February, 1927 in Amsterdam : Problems of the Italian labour movement.

3rd April, 1927 in Paris : Danger of war in South Eastern Europe and in China, attacks of fascism on international institutions.

24th July, 1928 in Cologne : Problems of the Italian labour movement.

In addition, for the organisation of the World Migration Congress, which took place in London in June 1926, there was set up a joint committee of three representatives of the L. S. I. and three of the I. F. T. U., which held two meetings. Moreover the costs of this Congress were borne in equal shares by both organisations.

At the Congress of the I. F. T. U. in Paris in August 1927 the L. S. I. was represented by the Secretary, Adler, Bracke (France) and Modigliani (Italy). In the speech of greeting which Adler delivered on behalf of the delegation, there occurred the following passage :

There are two distinct fighting fronts,—the political and the economic. That involves the employment of two armies : on the one side, that of the political, on the other, that of the trade union organisations. But both these armies are recruited from the same mass, namely that of the working-class. The ideal towards which we are striving is that every man and every woman of the working-class shall be at the same time organised in both armies and shall work at both tasks. This union of the two in the person of every individual member entails a *linked destiny* between these two great international organisations, the I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I. Despite this close connection socialists are convinced that the trade unions can fulfil both their task in their daily struggle and their great mission in the future by working under conditions of *entire independence and autonomy* at self-appointed tasks. Socialists believe they

can best fulfil their duty by *servicing the trade union struggle as good trade unionists*. Thus the relationship of the two organisations should be the *utmost degree of freedom and independence* in tactics and organisation, combined with the *most intimate connection* as regards their mission and rôle.

The problems which arose through the united front manoeuvres of Moscow with regard to the trade unions, were simultaneously political problems of the first order. Thus the L. S. I. had repeatedly to deal with these problems which were studied in special detail in the Memorandum submitted by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. to the Executive in April, 1926, (D. D. No. 16, 22nd April 1926, in particular pages 10—16) and in the article by Adler on the Paris Congress of the I. F. T. U. (in I. I. of 13th August, 1927).

## (2) Socialist Youth International.

Between the Socialist Youth International and the Labour and Socialist International a permanent connection has been maintained throughout this period also. The President of the Socialist Youth International, comrade Karl Heinz (Vienna), was re-elected as its representative in the Executive of the L. S. I. and took part at its sessions in April 1926 in Zurich and in September, 1927, in Brussels. Comrade Arthur Crispian has acted as permanent representative of the L. S. I. at the sessions of the Youth International. He has been in sustained contact with the Secretariat of the Socialist Youth International in Berlin, attended its gatherings at the Castle of Hinds-gavl in Denmark on 14th—18th June, 1927, and also the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Youth International, which was celebrated by a great demonstration in Stuttgart on 28th August, 1927.

Between the Socialist Youth International, the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions an understanding was reached as a result of prolonged discussions on a Programm for the Protection of Youth, the text of which is published in the I. I. 1927, p. 538.

## (3) Other International Organisations.

Relations with the International Socialist Education organisations have existed since the foundation of the L. S. I.

The International Socialist Federation for Workers' Sports and Physical Culture (Lucerne Sport International "L. S. I.") adopted as its platform the policy represented by the L. S. I. In this way a possibility of closer relations was opened. The L. S. I. was represented at the Conference in Helsingfors by Comrade Crispian. Comrade Crispian submitted a full report to the Executive in September, 1927, and on the motion of Grimm (Switzerland) it was decided that :

"The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International requests the affiliated parties, in whose countries there exists an independent workers' gymnastic and sport movement, to support it to their utmost, and also in particular to give attention to the wireless movement.

The Bureau is instructed to reexamine the question of working out relations with the Lucerne Sport International and to report to one of the next sessions of the Executive."

On the occasion of the International Workers' Athletic and Sports Festival in Vienna there met on the 12th July a *Conference of Workers' Self-Defence Organisations*, in which Comrade Bauer took part on behalf of the L. S. I. (D. D. No. 30.) The Conference at which organisations of the Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. were represented decided to found an *International Commission for resistance to fascism* with its headquarters in Vienna, which conducts its activity in close unison with the L. S. I. It publishes an information sheet of its own.

At the same time there met a *Conference of the Workers' "Samaritan" Organisations* (medical aid), which likewise resolved on fusing internationally (I. I. No. 29).

#### (4) The Communist International and its Auxiliary Institutions.

During the period reported there has been no intercourse of any kind with the Communist International and its auxiliary institutions. The L. S. I. had to perform the task of exposing the duplicity of many of these auxiliary institutions which pretend to be "neutral", and likewise in a number of parties affiliated to the L. S. I. decisions were taken to a similar effect. The general attitude towards these auxiliary institutions found expression in an article in the I. I. of 10th February 1927, in which the history of the "Red Aid" as an organisation of the Communist Party was unfolded. This article opens as follows :

The most disagreeable task which the Communists force upon the socialist working-class is the exposure, which is so repeatedly necessary, of their "united front" swindle. If the open feud between the working-class parties is a tragedy, the poisonous element introduced by the deliberate trickery which the Communists pursue quite systematically under ever-changing forms, is absolutely repulsive. Of course every such endeavour wears out after a certain time, it is seen through, and therewith loses its power of attraction for the "innocents", for whose benefit it was designed. Such has been the fate of the "Workers International Relief" ("W. I. R."), whose character as a tool of the Communist Party was made known widely especially through the pamphlets issued by the German General Federation of Trade Unions and by the Belgian Labour Party. Whereas the W. I. R. was designed from the start by the Communists as an instrument of the "united front" manoeuvre, the International Red Aid has a more creditable past. In contra-distinc-

tion to the W. I. R. it was proclaimed openly as an instrument of the Communist Party. The two institutions, often confounded, were also distinguished from the start as to the aims they intended, to serve, or at least pretended to serve. The W. I. R. was designed to bear the character of a general philanthropic organisation, and has opened collections for the famine in Russia and for Germany, for the victims of the floods in Belgium : in short, it put forward objects for which any bourgeois also might subscribe, if he was convinced of the honesty of the organisation. The Red Aid on the other hand was from the outset constructed as an organisation meant to serve the political struggle and its victims, and was publicly proclaimed as an instrument of the Communist Party. (The "Red Aid" also bears the name of the "International Class for Prisoners" Aid.)

No one will deny to the Communists the right to provide for their prisoners in the jails of the capitalist States. By doing so they are only carrying on the good old traditions of the revolutionary labour movement, and in particular of the Russian socialists. So long as the Red aid had this character of a Communist relief institution, no exception what ever could be taken to it. Now however since the W. I. R. has forfeited its reputation endeavours are being made to adapt the Red Aid to the purposes of the "united front" manoeuvre. The instructions from Moscow have obviously gone out to all its sections. For now the watchword is being sounded in the various countries : "*the Red Aid is not to be a Party institution*". The indignation which pervades the international working-class against fascism, is to be exploited for the creation of a "*mass organisation*", the reins of which are in the hands of the Communists.

The Communists are able to attempt to persuade artists, professors, and other people insufficiently instructed politically, into believing that to-day a *political* organisation is conceivable, which is "not a Party institution", and is alleged not to have proceeded from an open and conscious understanding between political groups. In view of the development attained by the political party machinery in the socialist and communist parties, every relief organisation in so far as it is not purely philanthropic, must necessarily be subordinated to a party machinery : and any joint institution of communist and socialist parties, and thus subordinated to both, would only be possible along the lines of public and honest agreement between these parties. No such agreement has even existed, nor has it ever been sought by the Communists and it runs counter to their intentions and interests to create a relief organisation for political prisoners, which is built on the principles of proletarian democracy.

The Bolshevists attached specially high hopes to the foundation of "The League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression". Towards this League the Executive of the L. S. I. at its session of September, 1927, defined its position in the following resolution :

"The Labour and Socialist International is filled with the warmest sympathy for the peoples who are waging the fight against imperialist and colonial oppression ; it will continue now as before to lend the most vigorous support to their struggle and will do all that lies in its power to have the closest contact with the movements towards liberation of these peoples.

But what the International views as its chief task is to rally the working-class elements of these nations under the banner of international socialism, and not to create a new international organisation having for its aim the blending of these elements into a pan-national movement, nor to subordinate their interests and those of the whole nationalist movement to the political interests of any Power. Therefore the Executive holds that it cannot be any part of the task of the L. S. I. or of the parties affiliated thereto, to join the so-called "League against Colonial Oppression".

For the sake of a complete presentment of the real connections that exist the "I. I." in its number of 7th October, 1927, published a detailed article "The History of the League against Colonial Oppression". This article helped to straighten out the situation, especially in Holland where a number of social-democrats had affiliated to the League. The headquarters of the League, which had been transferred to Paris in order to create the impression of being independent of its founder, the communist deputy Münzenberg, was in 1928 removed back to Berlin and now is quite openly under Communist direction, exercised by its Secretary Münzenberg.

### (5) Other International Federations.

In certain international federations socialist and communist organisations are conjointly represented. This is especially the case with the International Cooperative Alliance, which seeks to dodge the difficulties by declaring itself neutral towards both the Labour and Socialist International and the Communist International. Its congress in Stockholm 1927 showed how these antitheses come to light in spite of all endeavours, and at this congress it was clearer than ever before that the overwhelming majority of the members of the International Cooperative Alliance profess political agreement with the fundamental conceptions of the L. S. I.

Even more complicated is the position in the International of Proletarian "Free-thinkers", in which at the Cologne congress on 4th January, 1928, the communists have managed to exploit this organisation for their own purposes. In consideration of these circumstances the L. S. I. was not in the position to accept the invitation to this congress (see I. I. of 28th February 1928, pages 80—81).

The Executive of the L. S. I. had again to concern itself indirectly with the "International Socialist Bureau of Revolutionary Parties", which exists in Paris. The correspondence with the I. L. P. in this regard was published in I. I. 1928 page 81 to 86.

Further, the Executive of the L. S. I. adopted a report of the Secretariat of the L. S. I. on the "Socialist League of the New East" (see I. I. 1928 pages 87 to 91).

## D. The Financial Situation of the L. S. I.

The period under consideration comprises two and a half years, from 1st July, 1925, to 31st December, 1927. For the first six months of this period the accounts were in pounds sterling ; since the 1st January, 1926, they have been in Swiss francs. Because of this alteration, necessitated by the transfer of the Secretariat from London to Zurich, a separate report has been prepared for the first six months of the period. The report is subdivided as follows :

- A. Financial Report on the second half of 1925 (Table I).
- B. Financial Report on 1926 and 1927 (Tables II and III).
- C. "International Information".
- D. Press Fund.
- E. Budget for 1928 (Tables IV and V).
- F. System of Affiliation Fees (Tables VI, VII and VIII).
- G. Audit of the books and accounts.

At the beginning the Treasurer of the L. S. I., van Roosbroeck, used to submit a report on each period of six months to the Executive Committee : since 1927, however, the financial situation being considered sufficiently stable, he has submitted both verbally and in writing a report on the whole year. The principal facts given in the following are taken from these detailed reports.

### A. FINANCIAL REPORT ON THE SECOND HALF OF 1925.

During the second half of 1925 the Marseilles Congress and the transfer of the Secretariat from London to Zurich both took place, so that the heavy expenses involved make it difficult to compare this half-year with the preceding period, the accounts of which were given in detail in the Report of the Marseilles Congress (pages 102—108).

At its meeting in January, 1925, the Executive Committee of the L. S. I. had decided to begin with the second half of 1925 for the calculation of fees under the new system to be finally adopted by the Marseilles Congress. Therefore parties could not be asked for these fees until after the Congress, which caused considerable delay in payment. In order to meet the heavy requirements of this period money had to be borrowed. The Austrian Socialist Party declared its willingness to place the necessary sum of £600 at the disposal of the L. S. I. As a matter of fact only £273 of this sum was actually needed, and this was repaid in 1926 (see Table III).

Table I.

## Balance Sheet

## Income

Ordinary.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance from 30. 6. 1925 . . . . .		343. 4. 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Affiliation fees:		
Germany . . . . .	661. 3. 5.	
United States of America . . . . .	45. 1. 3.	
Austria (Germans) . . . . .	250. 0. 0.	
Belgium . . . . .	209.19. 6.	
Bulgaria . . . . .	7. 3. 8.	
Denmark . . . . .	51. 5. 5.	
Danzig . . . . .	2. 0. 0.	
Spain . . . . .	63. 1. 1.	
Finland . . . . .	49. 0. 0.	
France . . . . .	99.16. 0.	
Great Britain L. P. . . . .	350. 0. 0.	
"    "    I. L. P. . . . .	9.13. 4.	
Greece . . . . .	9. 9. 2.	
British Guiana . . . . .	9. 0.	
Lithuania . . . . .	2.14. 6.	
Norway . . . . .	1.16. 9.	
Palestine . . . . .	10. 0. 0.	
Poland P. P. S. . . . .	50. 2. 0.	
Sweden . . . . .	45. 6. 9.	
Czecho-Slovakia:		
Czechs . . . . .	87. 5. 0.	
Germans . . . . .	45.19. 4.	
Yugo-Slavia . . . . .	5. 7. 9.	
Total		2,056.13.11.
"I. I." and Bulletin . . . . .		53.17. 7.
Other publications . . . . .		3. 3.
Bank interest . . . . .		8. 4.
 Extraordinary.		
Marseilles Congress:		
Congress fees:		
94 at 25/- = . . . . .	117.10. 0.	
158 at 20/- = . . . . .	158. 0. 0.	
169 at 15/- = . . . . .	133. 0. 0.	
Total		408.10. 0.
Sale of office furniture in London . . . . .		51.13. 8.
Loan from Austrian Party . . . . .		273. 0. 0.
		3,187.11. 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>



# 1st July to 31st December, 1925.

## Expenditure

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<b>Ordinary.</b>			
Offices (rent, cleaning, light, telephone)		153.10. 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Printing and duplicating . . . . .		200.19. 8.	
General expenses (stamps, paper, telegrams etc.) . . . . .		135. 2. 6.	
Secretary . . . . .		350.11. 7.	
Staff . . . . .		440. 5. 8.	
Translations . . . . .		40. 5. 0.	
Delegations . . . . .		237.19.11.	
Executive and Bureau meetings . . . . .		52.13. 0.	
Bank and postal cheque charges . . . . .		1. 7.10.	
<b>Total ordinary expenditure</b>			1,612.15.10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
<b>Extraordinary.</b>			
<b>Marseilles Congress:</b>			
Translators . . . . .	107.10. 0.		
Assistants . . . . .	15.19. 3.		
Secretariat . . . . .	161. 2. 0.		
Press, etc. . . . .	68.10. 0.		
<b>Stenography:</b>			
German . . . . .	39. 0. 6.		
French . . . . .	24. 7. 3.		
English . . . . .	62.17. 5.		
Report . . . . .	43. 0. 0.		
Paper, transport, telegrams . . . . .	15. 4. 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		
Local Committee . . . . .	65.14. 3.		
Loss on currency exchange . . . . .	3. 6. 4.		
Donation to Marseilles bank clerks on strike . . . . .	12.14.11.		
Printing costs of Congress Report . . . . .	34.12. 9.		
Refund of excess Congress fee . . . . .	10. 0.		
<b>Total expenditure on Congress</b>		655. 9. 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Removal to London . . . . .		350. 0. 0.	
Removal to Zurich . . . . .		190.10. 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Part cost of installation of offices in Zurich . . . . .		35.14. 1.	
Miscellaneous . . . . .		20.11.11.	
<b>Total extraordinary expenditure</b>			1,252. 5.11.
<b>Balance at 31. 12. 1925.</b>			322. 9. 3.
			<b>3,187.11. 0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></b>

Table II.

Fees of affiliated parties<sup>(1)</sup>

(in Swiss francs.)

Parties	paid in 1926		paid in 1927		Total fees paid	Arrears at 31. 12. 1927
	for period to end of 1926	for 1927	for period to end of 1927	for 1928		
Allemagne—Germany	19,752.50	11,173.—	8,182.—	20,169.—	59,246.50	
Amérique (U. S. A.)	2,762.—		2,072.—		4,834.—	2,762.—
Argentine	1,746.—		1,455.—		3,201.—	
Armenia	585.45		360.—		945.45	1,034.55
Austria: Germana	6,455.—	3,000.—	4,260.—	6,000.—	19,715.—	
Czechs	680.—		1,190.—		1,870.—	
Belgium	5,356.—		7,186.—		12,542.—	
Bulgaria			960.—		960.—	1,680.—
China	50.—				50.—	225.—
Denmark	7,583.—		6,084.—	288.50	13,955.50	
Danzig	125.—		100.—		225.—	
Espagne—Spain			1,320.—		1,320.—	
Estonia	336.—		279.—		615.—	
Finland	2,875.—		2,342.—		5,217.—	
France	8,100.—	720.—	8,780.—	2,500.—	17,100.—	
Georgia	721.—		720.—		1,441.—	539.—
Great Britain: L. P.	19,708.—	91.55	21,884.45	433.05	42,117.05	
I. L. P.	2,963.—		2,999.40	0.75	5,963.15	
Greece						275.—
Guyane anglaise — British Guiana	122.50				122.50	63.50
Holland	5,621.—		3,744.—		9,365.—	
Hungary			3,000.—		3,000.—	1,500.—
Vilagoasag						180.—
Italy			3,840.—		3,840.—	
Latvia	250.—		792.—		1,042.—	386.—
Lithuania	178.—				178.—	142.—
Luxembourg						221.—
Palestine	400.—				400.—	2,732.—
Poland: P. P. S.			1,034.—		1,034.—	6,297.—
Germans	165.—		94.—		259.—	26.—
indep.						263.—
Portugal	59.—				59.—	295.—
Rumania						2,703.—
Russia: S. D.			1,440.—		1,440.—	
S. R.		6,342.—				1,440.—
Sweden			497.—	6,839.—	21,606.—	
Switzerland	7,928.—		2,572.—		2,572.—	
Tchécoslovaquie — Czechoslovakia:						
Czechs	3,202.—		2,827.—		6,029.—	
Germans	2,872.80		1,839.—		4,711.80	
Poles	169.—		82.—		251.—	
Ruthen.			706.—		706.—	
Turkey						630.—
Ukraine			720.—		720.—	960.—
Yugo-Slavia			291.—		291.—	
Total	100,765.25	21,326.55	90,621.55	36,230.30	248,943.95	24,354.05

The expenses of the Marseilles Congress appear in Table I as £655.9.2¼. To this sum must be added £20, which had been paid in June, 1925, for translation (see Marseilles Report page 107), and other expenses for the printing of the Report which were not settled until 1926 and 1927, and which amounted, to 5,607.10 Swiss francs or £224.6.0. The total expenses of the Marseilles Congress thus amount to roughly £900. It should be noted that a part of the printing costs of the Reports in the three languages had been borne by the Belgian, British and German parties, to the extent of about £573, which sum does not of course appear in the present accounts. Not even half of the total expenses of the L. S. I. Congress (£900) was covered by the delegates' cards, which amounted to only £408.10.0. All the other expenses, amounting to some £491.10.0 had to be covered by the ordinary income.

#### B. FINANCIAL REPORT ON 1926 AND 1927.

At its meeting in April, 1926, the Executive Committee, on the motion of van Roosbroeck, the Treasurer, expressed an urgent desire that parties should in future pay their fees in advance, so that at the beginning of a quarter each party should pay in advance at least one-fourth of its annual affiliation fee ; any necessary adjustments due to changes in membership being made on the occasion of the last quarterly payment. It is particularly desirable that the parties in a relatively better financial position should pay the whole of their annual fees at the beginning of the year. Several parties have already responded to the wishes of the Executive by paying their fees in advance.

Table II shows the actual payments made by the affiliated parties during 1926 and 1927. These total fees amount to 248,943.95 Swiss francs for the two years. At the 31st December, 1927, arrears of 24,354.05 Swiss francs were still outstanding. Since the L. S. I. does not dispose of any reserve fund, it has been possible to balance the accounts only by certain parties (especially the German, Swedish and Austrian parties) having been willing to pay in advance their fees for the ensuing year. These payments on account amounted in 1926 to 21,326.55 Swiss francs and in 1927 to 36,230.30 Swiss francs.

The extraordinary expenditure due to the Marseilles Congress and the transfer of the Secretariat from London to Zurich, as well as the installation of the Secretariat in Zurich, could only be covered by an extraordinary fee from the parties. On the motion of the Treasurer, van Roosbroeck, the Executive Committee, at its meeting in April 1926, unanimously agreed that a special fee of one-quarter the ordinary annual fee should be levied in 1926. This special fee appears in the income together with the ordinary fees for 1926 (Tables II and III).

Table III gives the balance sheet for 1926 and 1927. The classification of the various items has undergone some slight change in

Table III.

## Balance Sheet for 1926 and 1927.

(Swiss francs)

### Income:

	1926			1927		
	Actual	Estimated	Difference	Actual	Estimated	Difference
Balance at 1st January .		8,061.47	8,061.47		10,358.29	10,358.29
Fees						
to end of 1925 . . . .	5,396.—					
" " " 1926 . . . .	95,369.25			6,016.40		
" " " 1927 . . . .	21,326.55			84,605.45		
	122,091.80	122,478.10	— 386.30	90,621.85	121,724.90	— 31,103.05
" " " 1928 . . . .	—	—	—	36,230.30	—	+ 36,230.30
"I. I." and Bulletin . . . .	4,293.94	1,500.—	+ 2,793.94	3,169.32	5,000.—	— 1,830.68
Other publications . . . .	16.05	—	+ 16.05	—	—	—
Bank and postal cheque interest . . . . .	104.55	—	+ 104.55	393.71	100.—	+ 293.71
Press Fund . . . . .	50.—	—	+ 50.—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous . . . . .	77.28	—	+ 77.28	8.—	—	+ 8.—
<b>Total Income . . . . .</b>	<b>134,694.09</b>	<b>132,039.57</b>	<b>+ 2,654.52</b>	<b>140,781.47</b>	<b>137,183.19</b>	<b>+ 3,598.28</b>

### Expenditure:

	1926			1927		
	Actual	Estimated	Difference	Actual	Estimated	Difference
<b>Ordinary:</b>						
Rent of offices, light, heating, cleaning . . . . .	6,122.41	6,000.—	+ 122.41	6,400.78	5,800.—	+ 600.78
Printing . . . . .	1,538.75	5,000.—	— 3,461.25	288.19	3,000.—	— 2,711.81
Salaries: Secretary and permanent employees . . . . .	48,358.40			48,897.22	45,000.—	+ 3,897.22
Temporary employees: a) internal . . . . .	1,905.50	60,000.—	— 9,066.10	5,161.75	6,000.—	— 838.25
b) external . . . . .	670.—			1,034.—	2,000.—	— 966.—

Insurance of staff . . . . .	3,525.80	—	+ 3,525.80	3,271.70	4,000.—	— 728.30
Translations . . . . .	3,725.80	1,000.—	+ 2,725.80	2,417.20	2,000.—	+ 417.20
Paper and similar materials . . . . .	9,714.50	4,000.—	+ 5,714.50	14,217.25	10,000.—	+ 4,217.25
Delegations and travel. exps. . . . .	8,617.55	12,000.—	— 3,382.45	12,005.15	12,000.—	+ 5.15
Meetings of Bureau and Executive . . . . .	2,517.80	8,000.—	— 5,482.20	6,256.45	4,000.—	+ 2,256.45
Stamps, telegrams, telephone . . . . .	6,144.96	3,000.—	+ 3,144.96	9,603.04	7,500.—	+ 2,103.04
Papers and books . . . . .	1,285.80	1,000.—	+ 285.80	2,143.96	3,000.—	— 856.04
Bank and postal cheque charges . . . . .	182.—	100.—	+ 82.—	227.89	200.—	+ 27.89
Special articles for "I. I." . . . . .	900.—	2,600.—	— 1,700.—	2,300.—	2,600.—	— 300.—
Miscellaneous . . . . .	718.23	200.—	+ 518.23	1,019.98	800.—	+ 219.98
Payments to Matteotti Fund (tees of countries without democracy) . . . . .	—	—	—	8,580.—	12,000.—	— 3,420.—
<b>Ordinary Expenditure . . . . .</b>	<b>95,927.50</b>	<b>102,900.—</b>	<b>— 6,972.50</b>	<b>123,824.56</b>	<b>119,900.—</b>	<b>+ 3,924.56</b>
<b>Extraordinary:</b>						
Transfer of offices to Zurich . . . . .	1,018.90	—	+ 1,018.90	—	—	—
Installation of offices . . . . .	9,854.55	8,000.—	+ 1,854.55	3,288.60	2,000.—	+ 1,288.60
Marseilles Report . . . . .	5,300.10	5,000.—	+ 300.10	307.—	800.—	+ 493.—
World Migration Congress . . . . .	3,258.—	4,000.—	— 742.—	6,265.30	3,750.—	+ 2,515.30
Transport and installation of archives . . . . .	—	—	—	5,202.65	5,000.—	+ 202.65
Typewriters . . . . .	1,076.50	—	+ 1,076.50	688.75	2,000.—	— 1,311.25
Miscellaneous . . . . .	72.50	2,450.—	— 2,377.50	—	—	—
Refund of loan . . . . .	6,827.75	6,828.60	— 0.85	—	—	—
Youth International . . . . .	1,000.—	1,000.—	—	1,000.—	1,000.—	—
<b>Extraordinary Expenditure . . . . .</b>	<b>28,408.30</b>	<b>27,278.60</b>	<b>+ 1,129.70</b>	<b>16,752.30</b>	<b>14,550.—</b>	<b>+ 2,202.30</b>
<b>Balance at 31st December . . . . .</b>	<b>10,358.29</b>	<b>1,860.97</b>	<b>+ 8,497.32</b>	<b>204.61</b>	<b>2,733.19</b>	<b>— 2,528.58</b>
<b>Total Expenditure . . . . .</b>	<b>134,694.09</b>	<b>132,039.57</b>	<b>+ 2,654.52</b>	<b>140,781.47</b>	<b>137,183.19</b>	<b>+ 3,598.28</b>

the period under report, and in order to facilitate a comparison we have taken as a basis the classification as it was made in 1927.<sup>(1)</sup>

The balance at 31st December, 1925, amounting to £322.9.3 as given in Table I appears again in Table III as the equivalent sum of 8,061.47 Swiss francs. A comparison of the actual expenses with the estimated expenses will show that the total expenditure does not exceed the sum estimated. But the different items show some divergencies. First and foremost, with regard to the expenditure on paper and similar materials, there has been a considerable increase over the sums estimated during the two years; this is accounted for by the development of the correspondence of the Secretariat and above all by the heavy increase in volume of "International Information". In 1926 the cost of the meetings of the Executive Committee was much below the estimate, all the meetings having been held in Zurich; in 1927, on the other hand, it exceeds the estimate, the meetings having been held outside Switzerland.

In the extraordinary expenditure for 1926 the cost of transferring the Secretariat from London to Zurich appears as 1,018.90 Swiss francs. To this must be added the sum of £190.10.8¼ which appears in the balance sheet for the second half of 1925 and which in Swiss currency is 4,763 francs; so that the total cost of the transfer amounted to 5,782 francs. The cost of installing the Secretariat at Zurich as shown in the balance sheets for 1926 and 1927 amounts to a total of 13,143.15 francs. The balance sheet for the second half of 1925 gives £35.14.1 for this item, which is covered by the income of £51.13.8, accruing from the sale of office furniture in London. A surplus of £16 or 400 Swiss francs resulted, so that the total expenditure on the installation of the Secretariat amounted to about 12,740 francs up to the end of 1927. For the transport to Zurich of the books which formed part of the International's archives in Brussels, and for the equipment and installation of the library, a sum of 5,202.65 francs has been paid. In addition, the L. S. I. had to pay a total of 9,523.30 francs for the costs of the World Migration Congress and of the publication of the Report of this Congress, expenses which were equally shared by the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. The balances represent in each case the total cash at bank, in the postal cheque accounts, and in hand. Since the 1st January, 1927, the balance includes the Press Fund, which at the moment amounts to only 50 francs, and for which a separate account has not yet been opened.

An account separate from the general accounts has, however, been opened for the Matteotti Fund. The Matteotti Fund appears in the L. S. I. accounts only where mention is made of a payment from the L. S. I. general funds to the Matteotti Fund. In past years the parties of countries without democracy were exempted by the Executive Committee from paying their fees, in full or in part, to

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(1) For 1927 telephone charges are included under the item "stamps, telegrams, telephone" and for 1926 they appear under "offices etc."

enable such sums to be used for the parties for the benefit of the victims of the struggle ; but, at its meeting in February, 1927, the Executive Committee decided to cease relieving the parties directly from the obligation to pay their fees, and instead to pay over the fees of countries without democracy to the Matteotti Fund, returning them through the medium of the Matteotti Fund to the countries concerned. Such a procedure makes it possible to see in the L. S. I. balance sheets how much of the total fees is devoted to assistance of this kind, and to see in the Matteotti Fund accounts how much help the countries without democracy get through their exemption from paying fees, and how much they get from direct donations as a result of collections. The estimates for 1927 provided a sum of 12,000 francs to be paid into the Matteotti Fund to meet fees in this way ; as, however, by the end of the year all the parties concerned had not settled their accounts, the sum of 8,580 francs only was actually paid over for this purpose.

### C. "INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION".

The publication of "International Information" was begun in September, 1924. At first it was expected that it would consist of from three to four pages per week, that is, about 180 pages per year. But this number was doubled in 1926, and in 1927 it was trebled, the "I. I." extending to 600 pages per year. The "I. I." has been amplified by the following supplements : "Documents and Discussions, Supplement for Record Purposes to I. I." ; "Women's Supplement" ; "Communications on the Conditions of Political Prisoners".

In 1927 the "I. I." itself comprised 65 numbers with a total of 410 pages, the "D. D." 14 numbers with a total of 82 pages, "Women's Supplement" 11 numbers with a total of 78 pages, and the "Communications"—the first number of which was issued in October, 1927—6 numbers with a total of 31 pages. The number of despatches that year reached 79 for each language. At the end of 1927 the following number of copies of the "I. I." was being issued :

343	copies for the German edition
157	" " " French "
260	" " " English "
Total	760 copies

In corresponding proportion to the increase in volume and circulation of the "I. I.", the consumption of paper and similar materials has steadily grown. In 1927 the "I. I." required 450,000 sheets of paper, 1,800 clichés for the Gestetner, and a corresponding quantity of printing ink and envelopes. On account of this increase it was decided that the expenses of publication must be reduced as much as possible. Accordingly, the Secretariat has obtained offers from several firms, and, by contracting for the annual supply and using a cheaper quality of clichés, it will be possible to effect considerable economy.

Subscribers to "International Information" receive also the three Supplements as well as the Bulletin without any extra charge.

These publications may also all be procured by individual subscribers. The subscription rates to "I. I." (including enclosures) per quarter are :

for papers with a circulation	Swiss frs.	£	s.	d.
up to 3,000 . . . . .	7.50	or	6.	6.
over 3,000 . . . . .	15.—	or	13.	0.
over 10,000 . . . . .	30.—	or	1.	6. 0.
over 50,000 . . . . .	45.—	or	1.	19. 0.

For weeklies, periodicals, and personal subscribers . . . . . 7.50 or 6. 6.

For booksellers and news-agencies, where there is no check on the use made of the publication . . . . . 45.— or 1. 19. 0.

For the despatch of several copies to the same address every further copy will be charged one-tenth only of the above rates.

For Party organisations, who want the "I. I." despatched direct to their members for their personal information, the charge will be, up to 10 copies, at the rate of 3 francs or 2s. 7d. per copy. For every further copy, 2 francs or 1s. 9d.

For single copies of the "I. I.", of the Supplements, or of the Bulletin, the charge will be 60 Swiss centimes or 6d.

Of the 760 copies issued nearly half are free copies sent to the members of the Executive Committee, to the Secretariats of affiliated parties, to public institutions, or are copies exchanged for other publications ; the cost of these is of course borne by the general funds of the L. S. I.

The cost of an individual subscription to the "I. I." is a minimum one, and indeed scarcely covers the expenditure on material and postage per copy during a year. The maximum prices to the large dailies are by no means excessive, considering the use of the "I. I." made by the socialist press. Unfortunately only some of the papers respond to the circular notices sent to them periodically. The L. S. I. accounts for the "I. I." have been reorganised for 1928, and in future subscribers will receive individual notices of their subscriptions. If these reminders have no result, it will be necessary to consider ceasing despatch of the "I. I." to those in question. It ought to be possible to get at least double the present income in subscriptions. Owing to the development of the "I. I." the importance of the printed Bulletin has diminished. In 1927 an attempt was made to do without it altogether. But experience has shown that certain facts and information should be printed from time to time, and that it is also very useful to have a printed text of the resolutions of the Executive Committee. And therefore a new series of the Bulletin has begun to appear in 1928. Henceforth it will be in the style of the L. S. I. Report and will appear at irregular intervals according to need ; subscribers to the "I. I." will get it without extra charge.

#### D. PRESS FUND.

In his report to the meeting of the Executive Committee in August, 1926, the Treasurer proposed that a Press Fund of the L. S. I. should be created, and gave the following reasons :



"There are paid into the funds of the L. S. I. the ordinary affiliation fees of the parties and subscriptions to "I. I." and the Bulletin. But in addition to these there are occasions when organisations or comrades would be prepared to give voluntary donations for the work of the L. S. I. Up to the present this possibility has not been provided for. There is now the Matteotti Fund which receives donations; but these do not apply to the whole work of the L. S. I. but only to countries without democracy. The best means would be to create a Press Fund which could not, of course, be assisted from the Matteotti Fund. This Press Fund would serve for exceptional needs, for which the ordinary funds of the L. S. I. are insufficient, and especially to provide the financial basis for an international revue to be published by the L. S. I."

On the recommendation of the Bureau of the L. S. I., the Executive Committee at its meeting in August, 1926, resolved to create a Press Fund of the L. S. I., into which would be paid voluntary individual donations or collective donations from organisations.

The difficulties for workers' organisations throughout Europe, involved by the general strike in Great Britain and the lock-out of miners, with all their consequences, rendered the situation unfavourable for the collection of voluntary contributions. For this reason no steps were taken to this end, but the proposal to set up a Press Fund should be revived as soon as circumstances offer prospects of a better result.

#### E. BUDGET FOR 1928.

Table IV gives the bases of calculation of the fees of each party at 30th April, 1928, and in addition the new fee for 1928, calculated in accordance with these data. These sums may undergo some adjustment during the year arising from changes in membership, congress votes or group classification.

Table V shows the budget for 1928, drawn up at the beginning of the year and submitted to the Executive Committee at its meeting in February, 1928.<sup>(1)</sup>

It has been drawn up to correspond to the balance sheet of 1927 and guided by experience of the cost of the International Congress of Marseilles.

The expenses of the International Congress at Brussels have been reckoned at a total of 40,000 francs. They are higher than the expenses of the Marseilles Congress because the parties which on that occasion undertook the publication of the Congress Report, expressed the wish that at the next Congress the L. S. I. itself should bear all the costs of publication. Taking as a basis the cost of publishing the Marseilles Report, the budget sets aside a sum of 24,000 Swiss francs. The Secretariat obtained estimates from various labour printing houses and has now been able to assure the execution of the work under more favourable conditions than were

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<sup>(1)</sup> As Table V relates to 1st January 1928, while Table IV relates to 30th April 1928, there is a difference in the estimated fees amounting to 661 francs owing to adjustments made in the interval.

Table IV.

## Affiliation Fees for 1928.

Party	Group of countries	Total number of members calculated	Basic amount per member in Swiss centimes	Number of Congress votes	Fee per Congress vote in Swiss centimes	Estimated fee for 1928 in Swiss francs	Extra fee for Congress 1928 in Swiss francs
Great Britain L. P.	1	1,000,000 <sup>(1)</sup>	11/4	38	20,000	21,976	5,494
Germany	1	867,671	11/4	40	20,000	20,721	5,180
Austria (Germans)	3	546,124	8/4	17	12,000	7,260	1,815
Belgium	2	296,543 <sup>(2)</sup>	1	17	16,000	7,186	1,797
Sweden	1	189,122	11/4	13	20,000	6,839	1,710
France	2	88,542	1	25	16,000	6,271	1,568
Denmark	1	144,680	11/4	12	20,000	6,084	1,521
Italy	3		8/4	16	12,000	3,840 <sup>(4)</sup>	960
Holland	1	41,184	11/4	11	20,000	3,744	936
Czecho-Slovakia (Czechs.)	3	114,975	8/4	8	12,000	2,947	737
Finland	1	37,722	11/4	7	20,000	2,815	704
United States of America	1	15,000	11/4	11	20,000	2,762	691
Poland (P. P. S.)	3	61,560	8/4	11	12,000	2,618	655
Hungary	3	68,355 <sup>(2)</sup>	8/4	10	12,000	2,600	650
Switzerland	1	31,252	11/4	7	20,000	2,572	643
Czecho-Slovakia (Germans)	3	57,616	8/4	5	12,000	1,839	460
Great Britain (I. L. P.)	1	30,000	11/4	2	20,000	1,525	381
Russia S. D.	3		8/4	6	12,000	1,440 <sup>(4)</sup>	360
Russia S. R.	3		8/4	6	12,000	1,440 <sup>(4)</sup>	360
Argentina	1	9,692	11/4	4	20,000	1,164	291
Spain	2	8,555	1	5	16,000	1,056	264
Bulgaria	3	30,126	8/4	3	12,000	1,038	260
Palestine	2	13,200	1	4	16,000	1,036	259
Armenia	3		8/4	3	12,000	720 <sup>(4)</sup>	180
Georgia	3		8/4	3	12,000	720 <sup>(4)</sup>	180
Ukraine	3		8/4	3	12,000	720 <sup>(4)</sup>	180
Austria (Czechs.)	3	14,200	8/4	3	12,000	680	170
Latvia	1	5,000	11/4	3	20,000	394 <sup>(8)</sup>	99
Danzig	3	5,100	8/4	2	12,000	355	89
Poland (Germans)	3	8,406	8/4	1	12,000	309	77
Rumania	3	3,000	8/4	4	12,000	274 <sup>(8)</sup>	69
Czecho-Slovakia (Ruthen.)	3	5,150	8/4	1	12,000	236	59
Estonia	2	4,500	1	2	16,000	228 <sup>(8)</sup>	57
Lithuania	3	2,000	8/4	2	12,000	142 <sup>(8)</sup>	36
Hungary (Vilagossag)	3		8/4	1	12,000	120 <sup>(8)</sup> <sup>(4)</sup>	30
Turkey	3		8/4	1	12,000	120 <sup>(8)</sup> <sup>(4)</sup>	30
Portugal	2	2,500	1	1	16,000	118 <sup>(8)</sup>	30
Yugo-Slavia	3	4,000	8/4	1	12,000	105 <sup>(8)</sup>	26
China	3	3,500	8/4	1	12,000	100 <sup>(8)</sup>	25
Luxembourg	2	1,155	1	1	16,000	98 <sup>(8)</sup>	25
Greece	3	2,700	8/4	1	12,000	90 <sup>(8)</sup>	23
Poland (Indep.)	3	2,500	8/4	1	12,000	88 <sup>(8)</sup>	22
Iceland	3	2,424 <sup>(2)</sup>	8/4	1	12,000	87 <sup>(8)</sup>	22
Czecho-Slovakia (Poles)	3	2,000	8/4	1	12,000	82 <sup>(8)</sup>	21
British Guiana	3	537 <sup>(2)</sup>	8/4	1	12,000	66 <sup>(8)</sup>	17
Total		3,720,591		316		116,625	29,163

(1) In accordance with Art. 24 there is a maximum membership for which fees have to be paid, i. e. one million.

(2) In accordance with Art. 25 in countries where the Trade Unions are affiliated in a body to the Party only 50% of the membership is counted.

(3) In accordance with Art. 27 parties with less than 5,000 members pay only half.

(4) In accordance with Art. 28 illegal parties which cannot determine their membership, pay instead of the fee on membership, twice the amount of their Congress vote fee.

foreseen in the budget. We can therefore rely on a certain saving on this item. A portion of the printing costs, at most one quarter, will later be covered by the sale of the Report in bookshops.

To meet the cost of the Congress the same procedure has been followed as for the Marseilles Congress. A part of the cost will be met by the contribution to be paid by the parties for each delegate sent to the Congress (in accordance with Article 30 of the Constitution) ; this contribution has been fixed for the different groups of countries at 32, 26 and 20 francs. Judging from our experience at Marseilles we can count on an income of about 11,000 francs from delegates' cards. But an extra fee from the parties is also necessary. At its meeting in February, 1928, the Executive Committee decided to fix this extra fee at 25% of the ordinary fees of the parties for 1928. The actual amount which each party will have to pay is given in the last column of Table IV.

The principal income of the L. S. I. is derived from the affiliation fees of parties. A round sum of 116,000 francs is estimated in the budget for 1928. Of this income more than 16,000 francs will be paid over to the Matteotti Fund. For current expenses we can thus count on only 100,000 francs. But the whole of even this sum is not at our disposal for the requirements of 1928. More than 36,000 francs made available by advance payments from certain parties were used in 1927. It is true that they are in part compensated by the arrears of parties amounting to more than 24,000 francs. But even if we could assume that the whole of these arrears would be paid in 1928, there would still remain a debit of 11,671.64 francs as follows :

	Francs
Payments in advance for 1928 . . . . .	36,230.30
Fees due to the end of 1927 . . . . .	24,354.05
	<u>Difference 11,876.25</u>
Balance at 31st December, 1927 . . . . .	204.61
	<u>Debit . . 11,671.64</u>

From affiliation fees, therefore, we will have only 88,000 francs at our disposal, to which must be added 5,000 francs from subscriptions to the "I. I.". It has been possible to balance the budget only because certain parties have again declared themselves ready to pay in 1928 sums on account of their affiliation fees for 1929. These advance payments are estimated in the budget at 30,000 francs.

The expenditure for 1928 has been estimated as modestly as possible in view of the exceptional demands of the International Congress. On the other hand the Executive Committee has had to realise that in the long run it will be impossible to avoid taking measures to increase the income. The Secretariat of the L. S. I. has already reached the limit of its powers with the resources at present at its disposal. The work done even surpasses the actual income. If the work develops in the same manner—and it will certainly do so—it will become absolutely necessary to provide the

Table V.

## Budget for 1928.

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Income		Swiss Francs		Expenditure		Swiss Francs	
<b>A. Ordinary</b>				<b>A. Ordinary</b>			
Balance at 1. 1. 1928 . . . . .			204.61	Office (rent, light, heating, cleaning) . .	6,600.—		
Affiliation fees due, 1927 included: . .	24,366.05			Printing . . . . .	3,000.—		
Affiliation fees 1928: 115,964.— . . .				Secretary and permanent employees . .	52,000.—		
paid in advance for 1928: 36,230.30 . .	79,733.70			Temporary employees,			
Affiliation fees in advance for 1929 . .	30,000.—	134,099.75		(a) internal: . . . . .	6,000.—		
l. t. and Bulletin . . . . .		5,000.—		(b) external: . . . . .	2,000.—		
Bank & postal cheque interest . . . . .		350.—		Insurance of staff: . . . . .	4,000.—		
Total . . . . .		139,654.36		Translations . . . . .	2,500.—		
				Special articles for "I. I." . . . . .	4,000.—		
<b>B. Extraordinary</b>				Paper & similar materials . . . . .	13,000.—		
Delegates' cards to International				Delegations & travelling expenses . . .	12,000.—		
Congress: . . . . .		11,000.—		Bureau and Executive Meetings . . . . .	2,000.—		
Extraordinary fee from parties towards				Stamps, telephone, telegrams . . . . .	8,500.—		
expenses of Congress: . . . . .		26,000.—		Newspapers, books etc. . . . .	2,200.—		
Sale of Report of International Congress:				Bookbinding expenses . . . . .	2,000.—		
Total . . . . .		40,000.—		Bank & postal cheque charges . . . . .	200.—		
				Contributions to Matteotti Fund (pay-		16,254.—	
				ments of countries without democracy)		500.—	
				Miscellaneous . . . . .			
				Total . . . . .		136,754.—	
				<b>B. Extraordinary</b>			
				Stock of reports Hamburg & Marseilles			
				Congresses . . . . .	300.—		
				Installation of Offices . . . . .	500.—		
				Typewriter & Duplicating machine . . .	1,000.—		
				Brussels Congress 1928, general			
				expenses . . . . .	16,000.—		
				Report of Brussels Congress 1928. . . .	24,000.—		
				Total . . . . .	41,800.—		
				Balance for 1929 . . . . .	1,100.36		
				Total of ordinary & extraordinary ex-			
				penditure . . . . .		179,654.36	
<b>Total of ordinary &amp; extraordinary</b>							
<b>income: . . . . .</b>			179,654.36				

Secretariat with the essential funds. For this purpose it is necessary to envisage from 1929 an increase in the affiliation fees amounting to 25% of the present rate. Even with this increase the Secretariat of the L. S. I. will dispose of small sums in comparison with other international secretariats.

#### F. SYSTEM OF AFFILIATION FEES.

The system of affiliation fees as laid down by the Marseilles Congress (1925) has since required special interpretation on one point only. The meeting of the Executive Committee in April, 1926, decided this point as follows :

"The membership for calculation of fees is to be reckoned according to the number on a definite day, which may be either the 1st January or any date stipulated in their Annual Reports, according to the choice of the parties."

Table VI shows clearly the effect of the distribution of countries into three groups. Three-fifths of all parties, i. e. 27 (column a) belong to the third group, that is to say, to the one which pays the lowest contributions. It will be seen, by considering the total membership (column b), that less than one-sixth of the total number of members fall into this third group. And if, for the sake of comparison, only the membership taken as a basis for calculation of fees is considered, (column c), then there is still less than a quarter of the total number of members who come under this third group. The proportion is similar for the congress votes : of the 316 votes of all

Table VI.

	Groups of countries	I	II	III	I+II+III
a	Number of parties . . .	11	7	27	45
b	Actual number of members . . . . .	4,759,609	711,538	1,005,588	6,476,735
c	Number of members taken as basis for calculation of fees . .	2,371,323	414,995	934,273	3,720,591
d	Congress votes :				
e	for legal parties . . . . .	148	55	74	277
f	for illegal parties . . . . .	—	—	39	39
	for all parties . . . . .	148	55	113	316
g	Total affiliation fees in Swiss francs:				
h	for legal parties . . . . .	70,596	15,993	20,916	107,505
i	for illegal parties . . . . .	—	—	9,120	9,120
	for all parties . . . . .	70,596	15,993	30,036	116,625
k=g/b	Average fee in francs:				
l=g/c	per actual member . . . . .	0.0148	0.0225	0.0208	0.0166
m=i/f	per member calculated per congress vote . . .	0.0298	0.0385	0.0224	0.0289
		477.—	291.—	266.—	369.—

parties only 113 fall to the third group (column f). It is the 11 parties in group 1 which form the majority of the members of the L. S. I. They pay more than half all fees (column i). Their payment on congress votes (column m) is the highest. On the other hand, if one considers the average fee per member calculated (column l) the parties in group I are exceeded by the parties in group II, and if one considers the average fee per actual member (column k) they are exceeded even by group III.

Of the total sum of affiliation fees from all parties amounting to 116,625 francs, a sum of 9,120 francs applies to the illegal parties<sup>(1)</sup>, which are all in group III. To calculate the average fee per member (columns k and l) we have taken as a basis the total fees less those of the illegal parties (column g). The average fee per member calculated is thus 2.89 Swiss centimes, the average fee per actual member is only 1.66 centimes. To calculate the average fee per congress vote (column m) the illegal parties having together 39 votes have been taken into account. The average per congress vote is 369 francs.

By a comparison of each party respectively per member, per congress vote, we find much greater differences. Table VII shows the fees paid annually by the parties per member. The figure is equal to the total fee divided by the number of members calculated. For those parties in whose case the actual number of members does not serve as a basis of calculation, we have indicated in brackets the fee per actual member. The Socialist Party of the United States of America pays the highest fee per member, that is, 18.1 centimes ; Austria pays the lowest fee per calculated member, that is, 1.4 centimes ; and, per actual member, Belgium pays 1.2 centimes and Great Britain 0.7 centimes.

The four largest parties, i. e. Great Britain, Germany, Austria and Belgium, alone remain below the average per member calculated, in each group of countries (see Table VI). If, therefore, one wished to fix an average fee per member, valid for all countries, one would considerably increase the obligations of these large parties. And on the other hand certain other parties would not be contributing to the finances of the L. S. I. to the extent of their means and above all their influence within the L. S. I.

This is shown by Table VIII, which gives a summary of the payments of parties according to the number of congress votes at their disposal. The lowest fee per congress vote is 69 francs, the highest 763 francs. This difference in the level of fees arises from two circumstances. The parties of the L. S. I. do not exercise their influence altogether in proportion to the number of their organised

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(<sup>1</sup>) Including Turkey where the total membership is unknown to us.

members, but also according to the total of their electors and the general state of the labour movement in their country, a state which can be judged from the level of trade union organisation. There is, moreover, the tendency not to give to the large parties an unduly preponderant influence over the small parties. This result is obtained by a proportionate increase, as the total membership rises, in the number of members necessary to give the right to a congress vote. While the first 10,000 members give the right to three congress votes, and the first 100,000 to ten votes ; as from 100,000 members a further 50,000 members gives the right to only one vote. Moreover, the total number of votes of a party is limited to forty.

And by a similar procedure the affiliation fees of the large parties are relatively lower than those of the small parties. As the maximum number of congress votes has been fixed at 40, so it has been decided that a million members of any party should be the maximum number counted for determining the annual fee. This article of the Constitution is applied in only one case. On the other hand, the diminution of the fee per member in proportion to the increasing number of members is of great importance for the whole system of affiliation fees. As a matter of fact, there are four categories of fees : the following gives the fee per *member* in Swiss centimes for the countries in :

	1st group	2nd group	3rd group
A. for parties with up to 5,000 members	$1\frac{7}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$
B. for parties with more than 5,000 members :			
(a) for the first series of 50,000 members	$3\frac{3}{4}$	3	$2\frac{1}{4}$
(b) for the second series of 50,000 members	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$
(c) for members above 100,000	$1\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{3}{4}$

Parties having relatively the heaviest obligations are those with about 10,000 members, because it is in these parties that the highest fee per member coincides with the largest number, comparatively, of congress votes.

From a comparison of Tables VII and VIII there results—if not quite regularly at least in the main—that as the fees per congress vote increase so those per member decrease. This is why the three countries at the head of Table VIII, i. e. Great Britain, Austria and Belgium, are the last in Table VII.

The idea of balancing the fee per member by means of the fee per congress vote has, therefore, been achieved in the main. However, in examining the importance in itself of the fees of parties, calculated in Table IV and arranged in order of importance, it can clearly be seen that many parties could pay more than the fee required by our financial system. But it is not to be concluded that the system of fees in force should be replaced by another. It would probably be impossible to draw up an absolutely perfect system ; every system has its drawbacks. The present system has the great

Table VII.

Countries:	Affiliation fee per member in Swiss Centimes		
	Groups of countries		
	I	II	III
United States of America . . . . .	181		
Spain . . . . .		13.2	
Argentina . . . . .	12.0		
Holland . . . . .	9.1		
Rumania . . . . .			9.1
Luxembourg . . . . .		8.5	
Switzerland . . . . .	8.2		
Latvia . . . . .	7.9		
Palestine . . . . .		7.8	
Finland . . . . .	7.5		
France . . . . .		7.1	
Lithuania . . . . .			7.1
Danzig . . . . .			7.0
British (Guiana) . . . . .			6.7
Estonia . . . . .		5.1	
Portugal . . . . .		4.7	
Poland . . . . .			4.1
Denmark . . . . .	4.2		
Hungary . . . . .			3.8 (1.9)
Iceland . . . . .			3.6
Sweden . . . . .	3.6		
Bulgaria . . . . .			3.4
Greece . . . . .			3.3
China . . . . .			2.9
Czecho-Slovakia . . . . .			2.8
Yugo-Slavia . . . . .			2.6
Germany . . . . .	2.4		
Belgium . . . . .		2.4 (1.2)	
Great Britain . . . . .	2.2 (0.7)		
Austria . . . . .			1.4
Details for countries with several parties:			
Poland: P. P. S. . . . .			4.3
" Independent S. P. . . . .			3.5
" German S. P. . . . .			3.8
" all parties . . . . .			4.1
Czecho-Slovakia: Czech S. P. . . . .			2.6
" " German S. P. . . . .			3.2
" " Ruthenian S. P. . . . .			4.6
" " Polish S. P. . . . .			4.1
" " all parties . . . . .			2.8
Great Britain: L. P. . . . .	2.2 (0.7)		
" " I. L. P. . . . .	5.1		
" " all parties . . . . .	2.2 (0.7)		
Austria: German S. P. . . . .			1.3
" Czech S. P. . . . .			4.8
" all parties . . . . .			1.4



Table VIII.

Countries	Affiliation fee per Congress vote in Swiss francs		
	Groups of countries		
	I	II	III
Great Britain . . . . .	588		
Sweden . . . . .	526		
Germany . . . . .	518		
Denmark . . . . .	507		
Austria . . . . .			397
Belgium . . . . .		423	
Finland . . . . .	402		
Switzerland . . . . .	367		
Bulgaria . . . . .			346
Czecho-Slovakia . . . . .			340
Holland . . . . .	340		
Argentina . . . . .	291		
Hungary . . . . .			260
Palestine . . . . .		259	
United States of America . . . . .	251		
France . . . . .		251	
Armenia . . . . .			240
Georgia . . . . .			240
Italy . . . . .			240
Russia . . . . .			240
Ukraine . . . . .			240
Poland . . . . .			232
Spain . . . . .			
Danzig . . . . .		211	
Latvia . . . . .	131		178
Hungary, Vilagossag . . . . .			120
Turkey . . . . .			120
Portugal . . . . .		118	
Esthonia . . . . .		114	
Yugo-Slavia . . . . .			105
China . . . . .			100
Luxembourg . . . . .		98	
Greece . . . . .			90
Iceland . . . . .			87
British Guiana . . . . .			72
Lithuania . . . . .			71
Rumania . . . . .			69
Details for countries with several parties:			
Poland: P. P. S. . . . .			238
" Independent S. P. . . . .			88
" German S. P. . . . .			309
" all parties . . . . .			232
Czecho-Slovakia: Czech S. P. . . . .			368
" German S. P. . . . .			368
" Ruthenian S. P. . . . .			236
" Polish S. P. . . . .			82
" all parties . . . . .			340
Great Britain: L. P. . . . .	578		
" I. L. P. . . . .	763		
" all parties . . . . .	588		
Austria: German S. P. . . . .			427
" Czech S. P. . . . .			227
" all parties . . . . .			397

advantage of imposing on no party charges it cannot bear. It demands from no party more than the maximum of its forces permits.

This consideration of the limits of the financial powers of some parties has necessarily had as a consequence that certain other parties have by no means been levied in accordance with the maximum of their forces. But it would scarcely be possible, in view of the diversity of conditions, to establish a rule requiring from all parties the maximum financial effort. But it would nevertheless be desirable that parties whose resources allow it, should pay to the International a higher fee than that required from them by the present system. Such a result could only be obtained by *voluntary contributions*.

We would retain the system practised up to the present, but we would propose that the fee calculated in accordance with the rules fixed in the Constitution should be considered as the *minimum fee*. Parties whose financial position permit, would pay *at their own free will* a higher fee. If for example a party should declare itself prepared to pay voluntarily an average fee higher per member (or per congress vote) than the minimum fee laid down for its category, such a voluntary payment would bring a considerable increase in the income of the L. S. I. without imposing a heavier obligation on parties not in a position to make such sacrifices. In reports on the income of the L. S. I. it would be necessary to indicate separately which sums the party in question had to pay as *minimum fee* and which it had paid as *voluntary extra fee*.

This voluntary extra fee might be based on the circumstance that the large parties should renounce the advantage they have in relation to the small parties. If a party of more than 50,000 members could decide to pay voluntarily for *all its members* the maximum figure given in the Constitution, that is to say, 3¼ centimes for group I (and 3 centimes or 2¼ centimes for the other groups), then there would result at once a considerable increase in the payments.

This form of increase would come into consideration only for parties with less than 5,000 members or more than 50,000 members. For the other parties, as for those mentioned, if they are prepared to do more, it would be necessary for each party to establish at its own will a basis of calculation per member or per congress vote higher than that required by the Constitution.

It is obvious not all the parties, nor even the majority, will be in a position to undertake voluntarily extra obligations, but it should be possible for certain parties.

In the event of its being advisable to mention in the Constitution this possibility of paying voluntary extra fees, it would be possible

to do so by adding after article 29 of the Constitution an article in the following terms :

“Article 29 a. The affiliation fee fixed in accordance with articles 23—29 is the *minimum fee* of a party. Parties whose resources allow of the payment of a *voluntary extra fee* make such a payment by declaring to the Secretariat of the L. S. I. that they are prepared to pay for all their members the fee fixed for the category of parties having up to 50,000 members, or by themselves fixing the higher average fee per member or per congress vote which they are prepared to pay. The difference between the fee based on this average and the minimum fee of the party will be entered as a *voluntary extra fee*.”

#### G. AUDIT OF THE BOOKS AND ACCOUNTS.

The books and vouchers have been audited at Zurich by the Treasurer, van Roosbroeck, at the close of each half-year. Since 1st January, 1926, the Secretariat has adopted the American system of book-keeping which affords a clearer survey of the administration of the funds of the L. S. I. At every audit the Treasurer has found the books, vouchers and accounts in perfect order. In the reports which he has regularly submitted to the Executive Committee he has expressed his thanks to the Secretariat and in particular to Comrade Edith Kemmis who has kept the accounts of the L. S. I. during the whole period under report.

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## E. The Matteotti Fund.

At its meeting of 11th April, 1926, the Executive decided to found the "Matteotti Fund, International Fund to help the labour movement in countries without democracy", and in the May-day Manifesto of 1926 the bases of this new institution were established as follows :

The workers in all reactionary countries are struggling very hard. But especially bitter and difficult is the fight in those countries where *democracy is completely repressed*, where not only the right of meeting and the freedom of the Press are restricted, but where not even a charge uttered in parliament against the autocratic regime is allowed to reach the masses. Those countries need in a far greater measure than other countries the proof of the international solidarity of the working-class. The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has therefore decided to create a special fund for the fulfilment of this task. It will be called the *Matteotti Fund, International Fund to help the labour movement in countries without democracy*. It calls upon the various Parties to lay the foundation stone of this fund on the *10th June*, which will be the second anniversary of the death of Matteotti.

To comrades in those countries in which the action of the working-class is so much more difficult, we want at least to offer material succour, to save the sacrifice of the fight from the deepest misery.

When the first collections for the Matteotti Fund should have been taken in hand, the General Strike broke out in Great Britain. The Bureau of the L. S. I. at its meeting in Amsterdam on 11th May, therefore, in its manifesto to the socialist parties of all countries, decided to take the following stand in solidarity with the British working-class :

"The Bureau of the L. S. I. has decided to postpone the campaign for the Matteotti Fund arranged for the 10th June until the first week in July, so as to concentrate at the present moment every effort on the action for solidarity on behalf of the British workers."

But in July also the right moment for a great international effort for the Matteotti Fund did not occur. Only in Austria was it possible, on the occasion of the great sport festival in Vienna, in July, 1926, to carry out an activity on a large scale on behalf of the Matteotti Fund.

Appeals for contributions to the Matteotti Fund were repeatedly made in the socialist press, but at first the success was very restricted. The miners' lock-out, lasting many months, compelled not only the British labour movement but also the Continental movement to devote all the financial means at their disposal in the first place to this fight.

In 1927 the situation was somewhat improved and in particular the parties in Holland and Sweden were successful in collecting large sums for the Matteotti Fund. But on the whole the result of efforts made cannot be regarded as altogether satisfactory. It will be seen from the Table given herewith that it is especially the small

parties which give relatively considerable amounts, while the large countries are quite in the background. The Bureau of the L. S. I. has repeatedly concerned itself with the question as to how the income of the Matteotti Fund can be increased. In the difficulties in which many parties found themselves owing to currency depreciation and other economic circumstances in their country, it was clear that no binding rule could be made. The parties were, however, urged to pay at least 10% of their annual fees to the L. S. I. for the Matteotti Fund. Some few parties have responded to this call. On the other hand some parties, and in particular Sweden, Austria and Holland, have paid such large amounts into the Matteotti Fund that the total income in each of the two years during which the Fund has existed has reached a level of about 40% of the total income which the L. S. I. received from affiliation fees. It is thus obvious that if the other parties were to make similar endeavours to those already mentioned, then the means at the disposal of Fund could be substantially augmented.

At the meeting of the enlarged Bureau of the L. S. I. on 4th April, 1927, a Committee was set up to deal with the current business of the Matteotti Fund. The undersigned were elected to this Committee. This Committee meets when required and presents a report to the Executive and the Bureau of the L. S. I. On its proposal the Executive of the L. S. I., at its meeting of February 1928, decided to issue a Matteotti Card for the 1st May, 1928. Parties were left free to sell this card at any price they chose. Half of the selling price accrues to the Matteotti Fund, and this must be a minimum of 5 Swiss centimes per card. Owing to difficulties in the technical preparation and in despatch, this effort has unfortunately not fulfilled expectations. Nevertheless over 200,000 cards could be sold. The financial result of this step will not be known until the second half of 1928; in the Table herewith no receipts from the sale of these cards are to be seen. The issue of another card for 1929 is to be recommended, but the matter should be put in hand at a much earlier date.

With regard to the expenditure from the Matteotti Fund, the principle has always been maintained that the *whole* means of the Fund have to be used for purposes of assistance only, and all charges of an administrative or propagandist character have to be borne by the general funds of the L. S. I. The allocation of the resources of the Fund is carried out according to agreement between the administrators of the Matteotti Fund and the socialist parties in countries without democracy, and according to proposals by the former.

The Table given in connection with this report comprises the first two years of the existence of the Matteotti Fund. The first collection, as mentioned, was to have taken place on the anniversary of Matteotti's death, 10th June, 1926, but had to be postponed for the aforesaid reasons. Nevertheless shortly after the May-Day manifesto of 1926 donations came into the Fund, so that in order to

Table IX.

Matteotti

1. 5. 1926 to

Swiss

## Income

	1926	1927	1. 1. to 10. 6. 1928	Total 1. 5. 1926 to 10. 6. 1928
Balance at 1st January . . .		23,618.65	19,686.63	
<b>Contributions in cash:</b>				
<i>From parties affiliated to the L. S. I.</i>				
Germany . . . . .	3,680.—	2,017.—	6,200.—	11,897.—
Austria . . . . .	20,080.88			20,080.88
Belgium . . . . .			2,355.80	2,355.80
China . . . . .	12.50			12.50
Denmark . . . . .	2,706.36	1,388.—		4,094.36
Finland . . . . .	389.61			389.61
France . . . . .	640.—			640.—
Great Britain I. L. P. . . . .		125.35	114.15	239.50
Holland . . . . .		12,284.16	182.—	12,466.16
Latvia . . . . .		81.30		81.30
Norway . . . . .		666.75		666.75
Palestine . . . . .	100.—			100.—
Rumania . . . . .	193.—			193.—
Sweden . . . . .	6,901.30		25,000.—	31,901.30
Switzerland . . . . .	385.—			385.—
Czecho-Slovakia, Czechs . .		3,073.37		3,073.37
" " Germans . . . . .		1,767.50		1,767.50
<i>From various organisations:</i>				
"Frei eit" (Vienna) fr. 43.80; Ital. Party in France 13.20; Swiss Fed. of staffs of public services 1,000; Matteotti day Zurich 203.50; Soc. Party of Lugano 10; Soc. P. Zurich 1,000; Zug section of Ital. Party 210;		2,480.50		
Soc. Youth of Switz. 52.50; "Het Volk" (Amsterdam) 5; Swiss Fed. of Me- tal. Lugano 20.50; May-day Berne 207;			285.—	2,765.50
<i>From individuals:</i>				
Andreas Scheu (Rapperswil) 20; Max Vogel (Zurich) 100; J. van Anrooy (Zur.) 25; O. Zollinger (Zur.) 30;	175.—			
C. Perry (S. Die, Voages) 20; Ano- nymous (Steiermark) 5; Dr. Schmid (Oberentfelden) 6.55;		31.55		
Arthur Henderson, Secretary of British Labour Party 126.16;			126.15	332.70
<b>Contributions by transfer from L. S. I. general funds:</b>				
(Fees of countries without democracy) . . . . .		8,580.—	5,340.—	13,920.—
<b>Total income</b>	<b>35,263.65</b>	<b>56,114.13</b>	<b>59,289.73</b>	<b>107,362.23</b>

**Fund**  
10. 6. 1928  
francs

**Expenditure**

	1926	1927	1. 1. to 10. 6. 1928	Total 1. 5. 1926 to 10. 6. 1928
<b>Donations in cash:</b>				
Hungary . . . . .			15,000.—	15,000.—
Italy . . . . .	10,600.—	15,631.30	7,200.—	33,431.30
Lithuania . . . . .		1,400.—	300.—	1,700.—
Rumania . . . . .		1,400.—	1,000.—	2,400.—
Russia . . . . .		6,500.—	3,000.—	9,500.—
Assistance to individuals . .		102.60	35.—	137.60
Matteotti Monument . . . . .	1,045.—	2,813.60		3,858.60
<b>Donations by transfer:</b>				
<b>(Fees of countries without democracy)</b>				
Armenia . . . . .	360			
Georgia . . . . .	720			
Hungary . . . . .	1,500			
Italy . . . . .	3,840			
Russia . . . . .	1,440			
Ukraine . . . . .	720			
Hungary . . . . .	1,500	8,580.—		
Italy . . . . .	3,840			
			5,340.—	13,920.—
<b>Balance at 31. 12. . . . .</b>	11,645.—	36,427.50	31,875.—	79,947.50
<b>Balance at 10. 6. 1928 . . . .</b>	23,618.65	19,686.63	27,414.73	27,414.73
<b>Total expenditure</b>	35,263.65	56,114.13	59,289.73	107,362.23

present a clear survey, we are dealing with the period of two whole years and in addition the time up to the anniversary of Matteotti's death, 10th June, 1928. The total income of the Fund in these two years, from collections and individual donations, amounts to 93,442.23 Swiss francs. Of this sum 90,344.03 francs were paid into the Fund through the parties affiliated to the L. S. I., while 2,765.50 francs came from individual organisations or as the proceeds of special events. In addition 332.70 francs accrued from individual contributions.

Of these sums so collected up to the present 66,027.50 francs have been paid out, while on 10th June, 1928, the balance stood at 27,414.73 francs. Of the sums paid out the larger half was devoted to Italy, a quarter to Hungary and the remainder to Lithuania, Rumania and Russia. Having in view the limited means at disposal the utmost care had to be exercised in making donations and it was by no means possible to meet all demands to the extent desirable.

The Labour and Socialist International at its Executive meeting in June 1924 had already asked the Russian comrades to use the fee due to the International for the prisoners in Russia. And it similarly decided at that time to refrain from levying fees on Italy, where fascism rules. Since then parties from countries without democracy have regularly been excused from paying their fees to the L. S. I. In accordance with a resolution of the L. S. I. Executive at its meeting in February, 1927, it was decided to show this assistance, which accrues to affiliated parties by the remission of their fees, also in the documents of the Matteotti Fund. There is here involved merely the necessary book-keeping entries of these fees. In the Table on the Matteotti Fund it will be seen that the general funds of the L. S. I. has transferred 13,920 francs to the Matteotti Fund during the period under report, and accordingly amounts covering their fees to the L. S. I. have been placed at the disposal of parties in countries without democracy. These transfers to the parties equal as a total the income paid from the general L. S. I. funds so that no cash amounts of any kind coming from collections are used in this way. The sum of 13,920 francs is, as can be seen, a cross-entry in the accounts of the Matteotti Fund.

The demands upon the Matteotti Fund are steadily increasing, but unfortunately resources to meet all requirements are not forthcoming. It is therefore essential to remind the Parties that if at all possible, in spite of all economic difficulties which the increasing number of great political campaigns bring with them, they should subscribe at least the established minimum of 10% to the Matteotti Fund. This request is addressed in particular to those parties which up to the present have paid no donation to the Matteotti Fund.

*The Committee for Administration of the Matteotti Fund :*  
Friedrich Adler, Robert Grimm, Joseph van Roosbroeck.

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**Women  
in the  
Labour and Socialist International**

**Report**  
submitted to the  
**Third Women's International Conference of the L. S. I.**  
and the  
**Third Congress of the L. S. I.**  
by the Secretariat of the L. S. I.

## Women in the L. S. I.

### 1. International Organisation.

The decision of the Marseilles Congress that an International Advisory Committee of Socialist Women should be set up within the L. S. I., as proposed by the Women's Conference held just prior to the Congress, has been fulfilled during the period covered by the present Report.

The Executive of the L. S. I. repeatedly considered the question of setting up such a Committee and, finally, at its meeting of 29th August 1926, it had before it a draft Constitution, submitted by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. providing for an International Committee of women within the L. S. I.

The Executive unanimously resolved to hold a meeting of the representatives of the women organised within the L. S. I. in December of that year at Brussels, at which, according to the strength of the different organisations, the various countries should have respectively 1 up to a maximum of 3 representatives, the purpose of the meeting to be the consideration of the Secretariat's draft scheme for the organisation of the Women's Committee and of any other alternative proposals. The Executive postponed to its next meeting its final decision regarding the constitution of the Women's Committee.

#### BRUSSELS CONFERENCE, DECEMBER, 1926.

Accordingly, a two-days' Conference was held in Brussels on 4th—5th December, 1926. 18 delegates from 12 countries and 4 fraternal delegates attended. (For full report see "Women's Supplement", January, 1927, Vol. 1. No. 1.) After earnest discussion the following Constitution for the Women's Committee was unanimously approved :

#### *International Advisory Committee of Women in the L. S. I. Constitution.*

(1) In order fully to understand the aims and methods of Socialist women in the various countries, an International advisory Committee of Socialist women is formed, consisting of women representatives of Socialist Parties affiliated to the L. S. I., with the special duty of advising the Executive Committee of the L. S. I. on questions of special interest to women, and of assisting to organise international conferences of Labour and Socialist women to be called together at the same time as the International Socialist Congress. This Committee will meet at least once a year.

(2) The members of the Women's Committee will be elected by the Executives of the Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. The election shall, in accordance with the circumstances of organisation in a country, be so carried out as to ensure that the representatives in the International Women's Committee are in fact representative of the women organised in the Party.

(3) The women members of the Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. shall be represented in the International Advisory Committee of Socialist Women by one, two or three members for each country, or each nationality in countries with several nationalities, according to a scale drawn up by the Executive Committee of the L. S. I., which may be periodically revised.

(4) Voting at meetings of the International Advisory Committee of Socialist Women shall be by show of hands. When there is a difference of opinion, the countries or nationalities voting for and against a recommendation will be recorded for the information of the Executive Committee of the L. S. I.

(5) The Women's Committee elects from its numbers a Presidium<sup>(1)</sup> of 5 members, which will, between the meetings of the Women's Committee, assist the Secretariat of the L. S. I. in an advisory capacity in maintaining the continuity of relations between the various countries, and which can, in case of need, be called together by the Executive of the L. S. I.

(6) The administrative work in connection with the International Women's Committee falls within the general tasks of the Secretariat of the L. S. I., for which the Secretary of the L. S. I. is ultimately responsible.

The practical carrying out of this administrative work, especially the correspondence with the women's organisations in the various countries and with the members of the Women's Committee and its Presidium<sup>(1)</sup>, will be deputed as far as possible to a woman member of the Secretariat of the L. S. I., who will perform this work in agreement with the Secretary.

#### *Representatives in Women's Committee.*

Along the lines of par. 3 of the Statutes :

3 representatives : Great Britain and Germany.

2 representatives : Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia (1 Czech and 1 German), Poland.

1 representative : all other countries.

The Executive of the L. S. I. at its meeting in Paris on 12th February, 1927, adopted unanimously this Constitution proposed by the Brussels Women's Conference, the German, Danish and Belgian delegates, however, abstaining from the vote. (See Women's Supplement, March, 1927, p. 16,17.)

#### MEETING OF THE PRESIDIUM IN PARIS, 31st JULY, 1927.

The International Socialist Women's Committee was invited to be represented at the Women's Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Paris on 29th and 30th July, 1927, and the Presidium agreed to depute Susan Lawrence (Great Britain) as the delegate of the Women's Committee to this Conference. As other

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<sup>(1)</sup> Originally known as "Bureau" but altered to "Presidium" at Cologne meeting, December, 1927.

members of the Presidium were also attending the Trade Union Women's Conference, it was decided to take advantage of the occasion for a meeting of the Presidium, which was held on 31st July, 1927. The five members of the Presidium were present, and also the Secretary of the L. S. I. This meeting dealt chiefly with arrangements for calling a meeting of the Committee later in the year, (See Women's Supplement, July, 1927, p. 44,45), and in drawing up the agenda for the forthcoming meeting. It was also decided to prepare a full report on the organisation of socialist women in the various countries. The final outcome was a proposal to call the Women's Committee together in Cologne in December, 1927, and this was endorsed by the Executive of the L. S. I. at its meeting in Brussels on 11th September, 1927.

#### COMMITTEE MEETING IN COLOGNE, 10th and 11th DECEMBER, 1927.

Accordingly, an ordinary meeting of the Women's Committee was held on 10th and 11th December in Cologne, and was preceded by a meeting of the Presidium on 9th December. The main task of this meeting was the selection of subjects for study and report to the International Conference of Socialist Women to be held on the occasion of the International Congress of the L. S. I. in 1928. (Women's Supplement, December, 1927, p. 70—72.) The outcome was the following choice of subjects :

- I. The socialist demands of the political labour movement :
  - (a) for the mother and child ;
  - (b) for the woman in industry ;
  - (c) respecting the care of the sick, crippled, invalid and aged.
- II. Tendencies to mobilise women for military service.

The reasons for the choice of the second subject were embodied in the following resolution, which was carried with one vote against (France) and two abstentions (Belgium) :

"In various countries there are signs of an intention to establish legally the mobilisation of women for compulsory military service. Such tendencies, even where non-combatant services only are in question are dangerous as making for a further reinforcement of militarism. The Women's Committee of the Labour and Socialist International accordingly decides to put on the agenda of the International Women's Conference of 1928 in Brussels the item : Tendencies to mobilise women for military service."

This choice of an agenda by the Women's Committee was endorsed by the meeting of the Executive of the L. S. I. held in Zurich on 25th February, 1928. It was decided by the Executive that a maximum of 20 delegates be allowed each Party at the *Third Women's International Conference of the L. S. I.* to be held at Brussels on 3rd and 4th August, 1928. (Women's Supplement, March, 1928, p. 12.) This Conference is to be preceded by meetings of the Presidium and Committee.

..

*The International Socialist Women's Committee* consists of the following members :—

Mariette Adam (Belgium), Lily Becker (Luxembourg), Fanny Blatny (Germans in Czecho-Slovakia), Eva Broido (Russia, S. D. P.), Henriette Crone (Denmark), Agnes Dollan (Great Britain, Labour Party), Gertrud Duby (Switzerland), Gertrud Hanna (Germany), Rahel Janaith (Palestine), Dorothy Jewson (Gt. Britain I. L. P.), Marie Juchacz (Germany), Klara Kalnin (Latvia), Betty Karpiskova (Czecho-Slovakia), Doroty Kluszynska (Poland), A. Susan Lawrence (Great Britain, Labour Party), Alma Ostra-Oinas (Esthonia), E. Ribbius Peletier (Holland), Alice Pels (Belgium), Marion Phillips (Great Britain, Labour Party), Adelheid Popp (Austria), Gabriele Proft (Austria), Louise Saumoneau (France), Toni Sender (Germany), Hilde Seppala (Finland), Nelly Thuring (Sweden), J. Budzynska-Tylicka (Poland), Signe Vessman (Sweden), Athène Gaetanon Yannios (Greece).

The following are members of the *Presidium of the Women's Committee* :

Marie Juchacz, Doroty Kluszynska, A. Susan Lawrence,  
E. Ribbius Peletier, Adelheid Popp.

The *representative of the Women's Committee in the Executive of the L. S. I.* is Adelheid Popp, who also represents the Women's Committee on the *Committee of Enquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners*.

#### REPRESENTATION ON OTHER BODIES :

At the International Trade Union Women's Conference held at Paris on 30th and 31st July, 1927, under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Socialist Women's Committee was represented by A. Susan Lawrence (Great Britain). At the International Cooperative Women's Guild Congress held at Stockholm on 12th and 13th August, 1927, it was represented by Signe Vessman (Sweden).

#### "WOMEN'S SUPPLEMENT".

At the Conference of women organised within the Labour and Socialist International held at Brussels on 4th and 5th December, 1926, it was decided that a monthly "Women's Supplement" to "International Information" should be issued by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. (Women's Supplement, January, 1927, p. 13). During 1927 11 numbers of the "Women's Supplement" were issued with a total of 73 pages. During 1928 the Supplement has averaged 6 pages per month.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST "WOMEN'S DAY".

International Socialist "Women's Day", inaugurated at the International Socialist Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1910, has

been given a new impetus by the creation of the International Socialist Women's Committee. During 1927 "Women's Day" was celebrated by mass meetings and demonstrations in many countries, including Austria (Women's Supplement, 1927, p. 18, 26), Great Britain (W. S. p. 18, 36), Germany (W. S. p. 18), Czecho-Slovakia (W. S. p. 20), Holland (W. S. p. 67), Esthonia (W. S. p. 26), France (W. S. 20, 26), Hungary (W. S. p. 26), Switzerland (W. S. p. 18, 20, 26), and Yougo-Slavia (W. S. p. 20). In 1928 imposing demonstrations were held in Austria (W. S. 1928, p. 7, 13, 20, 26); in Germany the "Day" formed part of the general election campaign (W. S. p. 20, 28); Belgium (W. S. p. 3); Czecho-Slovakia (W. S. p. 13); Esthonia (W. S. p. 28); France (W. S. p. 28); Latvia, Luxemburg (W. S. p. 20); Switzerland (W. S. p. 20) and Yugo-Slavia (W. S. p. 20) also organised special meetings and fêtes, while in Great Britain the whole month of June is being devoted to special organisation among women. In several countries "Women's Day" has already been extended to cover two or more weeks.

#### OBITUARY.

On 25th March, 1928, the International Socialist Women's Committee suffered the severe loss of one of its members, Comrade Nina Bang, who died at Copenhagen after a long and painful illness. (Women's Supplement, April, 1928, p. 18.) Nina Bang had been nominated as one of the two representatives of Denmark in the International Socialist Women's Committee, but her severe illness which lasted nearly a year prevented her from attending the meeting in December, 1927, at Cologne. At the funeral there was laid on the grave a wreath from the International Socialist Women's Committee bearing the inscription: "To the inspiring example to our movement."

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## 2. National Organisation.

The following report covers the organisation of socialist women in the following countries :

Austria	Great Britain <sup>(2)</sup>
Belgium	Greece
Bulgaria	Holland
Czecho-Slovakia <sup>(1)</sup>	Hungary
Danzig	Latvia
Denmark	Luxembourg
Estonia	Poland
Finland	Sweden
France	Switzerland
Germany	Yugo-Slavia

They thus include nearly all the countries of Europe where there is an organised movement of socialist women. Italy and Russia are excluded, the socialist movement being illegal in those countries : Norway is omitted as the socialist movement there is not at present affiliated to the L. S. I. : and in Spain there does not seem to be more than the very beginnings of a political socialist movement amongst women, who are, however, to some extent organised on the trade union side of the workers' movement.

The information on women's organisation is tabulated under the following heads :

- I. *Statistics on Women's Organisation.*
- II. *Methods of Organisation.*
- III. *Special Activities of Women's Sections.*
- IV. *Collaboration with similar Organisations.*
- V. *How Women are recruited for the Party.*
- VI. *Membership, whether or not individual.*
- VII. *Women members of Executives and Congresses.*
- VIII. *Women as Parliamentary Candidates.*
- IX. *Press.*
- X. *Conclusion.*

The replies received from the various countries will appear under each head in the order of countries given above.

### I. STATISTICS ON WOMEN'S ORGANISATION.

*Austria* : Number of women members of Party, 30. 6. 1926 : 170,427 ; 31. 12. 1926 : 171,347 ; 30. 10. 1927 : 190,000 ; 1928 : 221,500, i. e. 31.35%.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Czech and German Parties.

<sup>(2)</sup> Labour Party and I. L. P.

*Belgium* : At present a total of 157,380 women, organised as follows : 20,000 in the political groups, 77,380 in the friendly society groups, 60,000 in the trade union centres.

*Bulgaria* : 1,490, i. e. 5.6%.

*Czechoslovakia*: *Czechs*: in 1923 : 17,513 ; in 1927 : 18,822 ; *Germans* : at present 24,000 women in the Party. They form one third of the whole membership.

*Danzig* : 950, i. e. 17.6%.

*Denmark* : 48,469, i. e. 32.6%.

*Esthonia* : 800 women in the Party, 16% of the total.

*Finland* : about 8,000 ; 2,515 belong to the Social-Democratic Women's Federation.

*France* : No statistics available, as the Party has only a small number of women members : probably not under one thousand, i. e. about 1%.

*Germany* : End of 1926 : 165,492 women out of a total of 823,520 i. e. about 20% ; at present 181,541 out of 867,671 i. e. 20.9%.

*Great Britain* : *Labour Party* : A rapid growth in membership since women were enfranchised in 1918. Prior to that date only a few thousands were organised for political purposes, now the number is between 280,000 and 300,000. This applies to women organised individually in Women's Sections ; in addition there are women affiliated to the Party through trade unions, bringing the total up to some 380,000, but exact figures cannot be given as many trade unions do not give their membership for women separately.

*I. L. P.* About 14,000 women in the I. L. P.

*Greece* : About 200 women.

*Holland* : at present 15,364 women, i. e. 29%.

*Hungary* : About 20,000 out of total membership of 190,000.

*Latvia* : 858, i. e. 22%.

*Luxembourg* : At present 250, i. e. 20%.

*Poland* : Up-to-date figures not yet available, as a new census of the whole Party is being taken. Last year 9,600 out of a total membership of 61,560.

*Sweden* : 26,018 women out of a total membership of 189,122. 5,100 women are organised in a Social-Democratic Federation.

*Switzerland* : Something over 2,000 women.

*Yugo-Slavia* : 300.

## II. METHODS OF ORGANISATION.

*Austria* : Joint organisation of men and women : there is a central office and a National Women's Committee consisting of 8 members from Vienna and one member for each of the provinces : there are national, constituency, district and local organisations.



*Belgium* : Women are organised with men in the political, friendly society, cooperative and trade union movements. Nevertheless, the Party having recognised that propaganda among women is more easily conducted by separate groups, women's sections have been formed. They are not autonomous—with very few exceptions—in the political or the friendly society movement ; their aims are always purely educational and propagandist.

*Czecho-Slovakia* : *Czechs* : At first women and men were in mixed organisations. Shortly before the war it was recognised that the method of special women's organisations was better since this gave more opportunity of effective action, but collaboration with the men's organisation remained undisturbed. The form of organisation is by women's propaganda groups, which, in accordance with the Party rules, are to be formed in every organisation. This year there are 7 provincial groups, 19 district groups and 126 local groups. *Germans* : The socialist women have no special organisation but are members of the whole party. However, women members form special sections in the local organisations of the Party. In the localities there are women's district committees, in the constituency organisations there are women's constituency committees, and the general direction is in the hands of a National Women's Committee.

*Denmark* : All the women belong to the socialist societies (the party organisations). There are no independent women's groups or sections. There is, however, in Copenhagen a women's discussion Club or Educational League for women members of the Party.

*Estonia* : At present there is only one separate organisation of women which is in Reval ; in the other parts of the country women work in mixed organisations. Women's groups in the party organisations are to be established shortly. The Reval women's organisation is directly subordinate to the Central Committee. It exists as an autonomous organisation within the limits of resolutions passed by the Party Congress : it makes its own arrangements, which are endorsed by the Central Committee and has 44 members. The Executive consists of 5 members and the Revision Committee of 3.

*Finland* : There are 80 women's groups with 2,500 members. Members are bound to belong to the Socialist Party also. In addition many women belong to the Party but not to the Women's Federation. The Federation consists of local groups : there are no district federations.

*France* : Women belong on the same terms as men to the Party, but there has also been created a Group of Women belonging to the Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.). The present rules provide for a central organisation to which all active members throughout the country can belong, either as individual members or, if there are a number of them, by forming local or national sections.

*Germany* : Women are organised in over 4,000 district groups of the Party and have nearly 1,500 special women's groups throughout the country.

*Great Britain : Labour Party :* Women join the Labour Party as individual members by joining the Labour Party for the constituency in which they live. These individual women members constitute Women's Sections of the Constituency Parties. The present number of those is more than 1,700. There are now 30 Central Committees, 36 Federations and 53 Advisory Councils. Individual membership is open to men in exactly the same way as to women, but up to the present the organisation of Men's Sections has been developed through Ward Committees. All women individual members do not work in the Women's Section although they have a right to do so. In some cases there is a joint section of men and women in addition to the Women's Section and in a few there are only Joint Sections. The latter are mainly in villages, where the difficulties of finding two sets of officers and two meeting-places are great and where very often the women form a majority of the members. There may be several Women's Sections in one constituency as will be seen from the fact that there are only 615 constituencies with some 1,700 Sections. The aim is to have a Women's Section for each Ward (i. e. Electoral area for local government purposes) in urban areas and for each polling district (broadly speaking each village) in rural areas. This is not yet by any means complete.

*I. L. P. :* The Independent Labour Party is a Socialist Society affiliated to the National Labour Party of Great Britain. Its women members play an important part in their own organisation and in helping to build up the organisation of women in the National Labour Party. Branches of the Party are encouraged to form Women's Groups and a large number of these have been formed. These groups are definite sections within the branch, and the women who compose their membership are full members of the ordinary branch taking their share in all the normal activities of the branch besides doing their special work in the group. No woman outside the Party can join a Group, but must come to membership of a Group through membership of the branch. At the Easter Conference of 1928 a National Advisory Committee of the Women's Groups was set up. National propagandists appointed by the National Administrative Council of the I. L. P. are excluded from this Committee.

*Greece :* The Socialist Party of Greece contains, in addition to those women whose names are entered as members of the Party, a Group of Socialist women, in which the young women workers acquire their socialist education.

*Holland :* In the early years of this century women's propaganda clubs were formed in various local branches of the Party. In 1908 the existing women's clubs joined to form a League of Women's Clubs. The League was officially recognised by the Party Conference of 1914 and obtained the right henceforth to send 2 official delegates to the Conference. In 1925 relations were revised between the League and the Party, and it was agreed that the Party should henceforth have two secretaries, one of them being a woman. The

Party has 600 branches in the country, and in more than 200 of these there is a women's club or women's propaganda committee, the other branches being too small to have a separate women's organisation or local conditions being unfavourable to the running of a women's club. Only those women who are willing to become members of the Party are allowed to join the women's club. On the other hand, membership of the Party does not imply membership of the women's club, a special declaration being necessary to join the latter.

*Hungary* : Unfortunately, the women's secretariat in the Party has had to be closed on financial grounds. This means a severe setback for the organisation of women in the Party. The methods of organisation are similar to those in Germany and Austria : national women's conferences, district women's committees. The trade union women's committees also follow the same lines as those in Germany and Austria, with the great difference, however, that there are much fewer possibilities of a political movement.

*Latvia* : On the whole it is difficult to organise the working women. The reasons for this are the exceptionally low wages paid to women in Latvia and the obsolete household work, which has experienced no technical innovations in the homes of the working-class in Latvia. The Party organisation is especially crippled by the tradition left behind by the illegal period when the masses stood unitedly behind the Party but did not belong to the Party. In working-class circles the idea is still predominant that only the active comrades belong to the Party. Consequently women are difficult to organise, but they vote conscientiously for the Party list at elections. 55 per cent of all votes cast in Riga for the Party were women's votes.

There is no independent women's organisation in Latvia. Women are organised in the whole Party and form 22% of all organised comrades. According to the Party statutes women's sections may be formed in local organisations. Every women member of the Party has a right to collaborate in the women's section, but is not obliged to do so. The Women's Committee in every district is elected in the general meeting of women members. The annual Conference of the women members elects the Women's Central Committee and the Women's Board, which delegates a comrade to the Central Committee in an advisory capacity. There are Women's Sections in all the large towns.

*Luxembourg* : It is planned to unite women in local groups—as the Party organisation is built up on local groups—which will be in touch with the local Party Executive. As Women's Groups they are subordinate to the Women's Committee which consists of delegates from local groups and one woman representative of the Party directing body.

*Poland* : Women, like men, become members of the Party when they have signed the Party declaration and have been introduced

by two Party members. In order to facilitate propaganda and national educational work, women's committees are attached to the local committees. A Central Women's Committee is elected by the Annual Women's Conference.

*Sweden* : There are 198 women's clubs among 17 districts. Women are organised in women's clubs within the Women's Federation, and become members of the Socialist Party by collective affiliation with the appropriate labour group. In order to make propaganda and educational work more effective, and also to give opportunity to the members to meet comrades from other districts, the various clubs in the provincial organisations are linked up. These provincial organisations are called "Women's Districts". The Clubs pay a definite subscription per quarter to the "Districts" and to the Federation. Every Women's Club has the right to join the Federation if it belongs to the Socialist Party and recognises its statutes. Under similar conditions women who belong to industrial unions are entitled to become members of the Women's Federation.

*Switzerland* : Women belong to the Party on the same terms as men. Efforts are being made to set up women's groups in all the larger sections of the Party. These women's groups are not independent organisations : they are constructed on the same principle as in Germany, Austria etc. In 1925 there were 29 women's groups, in November, 1927, there were 43. The progress is expressed also in the attendance at Conferences : in 1925 there were only 40 delegates, in November, 1927, there were 90 delegates and 24 visitors.

### III. SPECIAL ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN'S SECTIONS.

Under this head are included those activities of the women's groups within Socialist Parties which are in addition to the general work of the whole Party.

*Austria* : The political education of women through special women's meetings, women's schools, excursions, inspections, lectures, lantern slides. Women's *meetings* are held regularly, in addition to those held on special occasions such as "Women's Day" and during election campaigns. During 1927 1717 meetings were held. In the 21 districts of Vienna and throughout the whole country numerous meetings are held on the occasion of "Women's Day", and women's schools are organised.

*Belgium* : *Meetings* : The local Committees meet every week or fortnight. District Committees meet every month and Provincial Committees every three months. The National Committee meets about once every three months. Local meetings for women are held every month : regional meetings every three months, provincial meetings every three or six months, and national gatherings are held when occasion demands, but preferably every three months. The women's sections endeavour to educate the woman of the working-class politically, intellectually and morally, and to inspire

her with a communal spirit. This education is pursued in the political and friendly society groups by means of meetings, conversations, readings with comment on all questions which specially interest women. Visits with explanations are organised to public social institutions : practical courses in cooking and in darning are given during readings and conversations for socialist education : courses in how to bring up children and in hygiene are also organised. The cooperative groups, without neglecting general education, are more especially occupied with spreading the cooperative ideal. At their meetings they deal with such questions as the rational arrangement of household work, public washhouses, the adulteration of foodstuffs, the struggle against trusts, etc. Finally, the entertainment groups, such as the choirs, the gymnastic groups, the dramatic sections, provide a good means of grouping women. Joint work between the trade union centres, the National Women's Committee and the trade union and political federations of the localities is in the course of preparation. Questions of general politics, national or international, are examined in the meetings of the Party, which women members have the right of attending and where they are given every opportunity of expressing their opinion.

*Czechoslovakia : Czechs :* The Women's Groups have as their task the work of propaganda for the Party. They offer women a good opportunity of working in public life, and the special achievements of the women add to the general well-being of the Party. *Meetings :* From 1923—1926, 2,066 committee meetings were held, 1,782 public meetings, 943 lectures and 722 courses of instruction. The special activities of women are in the sphere of education, social welfare and in gymnastics. There are more than 12,000 women organised for the latter. There are women's schools and various practical sewing and cooking courses. Lectures on medicine have also a strong attraction for the women. *Germans :* Women's meetings are held when necessary, as a rule each month. The task of all women's sections, which are a part of Party organisation, of the district and local committees and of the National Committee, is propaganda among women, the instruction of women members of the Party.

*Denmark :* Women's meetings are held regularly during every election campaign. The Party Congress of June 1927 adopted a detailed report on methods of propaganda as guiding lines for Party branches, and on that occasion propaganda among women was discussed under a special part of the report. It is not held to be advisable to organise special women's groups. On the other hand, the branches are recommended to prepare special activities for women, such as special lectures for women, study circles on special women's questions, meetings for the women workers in the larger industries, propaganda by letter to the addresses of women electors, with special material for the various categories of working women (factory workers, office employees, nurses, teachers, etc.) ; more

large meetings of women than formerly : propaganda meetings in trade unions having women members ; courses and evening schools to draw women into more active participation in the Party work, in the cooperatives, in the municipal meetings and in parliament. The Party Executive is now concerned with the carrying out of these decisions.

*Esthonia* : Women's organisations were founded chiefly to organise the working women and to secure their interest for political life, but they have also in mind work among children. General women's *meetings* are held as required. As a rule women's groups meet weekly for discussion or lectures with discussion on various questions. On these occasions non-members can also attend. The Reval women's organisation has founded a servants' trade union and has assisted it in its work of organisation. The women's organisation has taken an active part in parliamentary elections. At the last elections (1926) its members made 119 propaganda speeches and it published a special leaflet. It also took an energetic part in the Reval municipal elections, and arranged meetings before the ballot.

For the fulfilment of its tasks the organisation has 3 committees. (1) The Organisation Committee, which has to found new women's branches in town and country, and has to obtain new members and conduct campaigns in factories where a large number of women are employed. (2) The Social Committee which has to arrange joint gatherings, Teas, Working Evenings, Christmas Trees for the Children, Social Evenings, where political questions of the day are discussed. (3) The Political Committee, for the organisation of propaganda meetings and the editing of the women's column in the Party paper : there have also been committees for welfare and hygiene work, literature and art.

*Finland* : The Women's Federation conducts important work among the children of the workers and agitates in favour of teetotalism ; it holds lectures on child welfare and publishes pamphlets on this with State financial support. In March "Women's Day" is celebrated throughout the country. The foundation of study circles and the question of professional training were last year the main points of the programme. The funds collected will support working girls who intend to study in the Workers' College. The Federation has afforded every year support for two students. An attempt is being made to continue two weeks' training courses each year.

*France* : General *meetings* are held every three months. A meeting is held every year in Paris on the occasion of the session of the National Council of the Party. A report on the state of the Group and on its finances is submitted to this meeting, which elects the Bureau and the Committees. "Women's Day" is held in March. Special numbers of the women's paper are distributed every year on "Women's Day". General quarterly meetings are held and devoted to the work of publicity.

*Germany* : The Women's Groups direct their activities towards attracting women to the Party enterprises arranged for the whole membership (members' meetings, public demonstrations and gatherings, courses etc.). In addition they try to extend and amplify their own arrangements (public meetings, Women's Evenings, conferences, congresses, courses, communal work, so-called women's "social hours"), which are educational as well as social. In all the special arrangements by women, political, economic, educational and social questions are dealt with, in which the point of view of the woman is emphasised. Women's public *meetings* and district conferences are held and regular "evenings" in most local groups. Courses of study for women are also held regularly in districts and localities.

*Great Britain : Labour Party* : The main task is the general work of organising women. There is a special department at the Party Headquarters with a Chief Woman Officer and Staff, and nine women organisers, one for each of the organising districts into which England, Scotland and Wales are divided. There are the same number of men organisers. Linking up of Women's Sections : (1) *Within the Constituency* : In County Constituencies Sections are linked up by the formation of Women's Federations. Such Federations have a Central Council of delegates of sections and hold aggregate meetings and conferences periodically. The Councils usually meet monthly and the general meetings or conferences are held quarterly. In Borough Constituencies the usual method is to form a Central Committee or Council composed of delegates from Women's Sections within the area. The purpose of these is to bring the members in the whole constituency together for educational meetings, to stimulate growth of membership and to help open new Sections where needed. They also co-ordinate the organisation and electoral work. (2) *In more than one constituency* ; Women's Advisory Councils are formed to cover several constituencies. Sometimes these cover a county of many constituencies, e. g. Durham : sometimes a portion of a Country, e. g. East Kent ; and in some cases only a very large city with several constituencies, e. g. London and Birmingham. In some cases the Advisory Council (e. g. London, Manchester, Glasgow) has a special relation with the Labour Party covering the whole area which appoints women representatives to serve on it and gives financial help. The work of the Advisory Councils is mainly : (a) to co-ordinate the work of women's Sections of Constituency Labour Parties. (b) To organise Conferences of working women. (c) To draw up a list of women speakers for use in the district. (d) To promote the formation of Women's Sections. (e) To organise educational work and to promote One Day Schools, Summer Schools, etc. These are what may be termed the minimum activities of Advisory Councils. The work of the Durham Advisory Council is the best example of fuller development. This Council has raised a Parliamentary Fund

to be used in helping the candidature of a woman selected by themselves if she is adopted for a Constituency within their area. The Councils mainly consist of one member from each constituency in the area and the officers (President and Secretary). A few Advisory Councils also include representatives of Trade Unions having women members and Women's Cooperative Guilds. The Councils *meet* four to eight times in the year and most of them hold two or three conferences. Usually these conferences consist of two sessions, a morning one which is private and an afternoon public session. The private session is attended only by delegates of Women's Sections: visitors who are members of women's Sections are admitted. At the public session delegates are invited from Women's Sections and from organisations having women members which are eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party. Visitors are also invited. Delegates must be women. Visitors may include men. As an indication of the scope of the Conference the attendances at a few typical ones are given. The smaller number are in rural counties:

Advisory	Number present	Date
Durham . . . . .	1,000 . . . . .	Feb. 1926
Monmouth . . . . .	800 . . . . .	Sept. 1926
West Wales . . . . .	400 . . . . .	Sept. 1925
London . . . . .	400 . . . . .	Oct. 1925
East Glamorgan . . . . .	350 . . . . .	March 1926
South Staffs . . . . .	300 . . . . .	Jan. 1926
Liverpool and District . . . . .	250 . . . . .	April 1926
Edinburgh and South East Scotland . . . . .	250 . . . . .	May 1926
Devon . . . . .	200 . . . . .	Oct. 1926
East Middlesex . . . . .	180 . . . . .	Oct. 1926
Hampshire . . . . .	160 . . . . .	March 1926

Women's Sections meet as a rule once a week. Some meet fortnightly and a very few meet monthly. Their work is educational, electoral and social. The method advocated is to hold four meetings monthly arranged as follows: (a) Business meeting (there may be a speaker as well if it is thought the business will be short). (b) Lecture. (c) Business. (d) Social. This is a general plan which is adapted to local circumstances. Some sections have, in addition, special speakers' or workers' classes. The following is a typical agenda for an ordinary members' meeting:

- (1) Minutes of last meeting.
- (2) Business arising out of Minutes.
- (3) Correspondence: (a) from Local Labour Party, (b) from Chief Woman Officer.
- (4) Proposed deputation to Borough Council re working women on Housing Committee.
- (5) Report from delegate to Conference arranged by Advisory Council.
- (6) Report of Delegates to Central Committee of Local Labour Party.



- (7) Chairman's introduction of speaker.
- (8) Speaker, Mrs. X. on Unemployment amongst Women.
- (9) Questions and Discussion.
- (10) Announcement by Literature Secretary of Literature on sale at the meeting.
- (11) Next meeting, date, place and speaker.
- (12) Any other business.

Some sections draw up a regular syllabus covering the period September to April. During the summer the meetings are not usually so formal and most sections hold no meetings in August. The speakers are more often women than men, though some Labour men give their services too. Especially is this so with local Government representatives. Efforts are made to get women used to speaking by reading from pamphlets or from "The Labour Woman". Most of the speakers get their first experience at Conferences arranged by the Advisory Councils. *Annual events : Women's Month.* The whole month of June is devoted to special women's activities. The sections are expected to arrange activities for recruiting members and doing propaganda work. Nearly all their efforts are then outdoor. These efforts include open-air meetings in the Wards, mass canvassing in the byways, garden parties, poster parades and mass meetings. Most sections have some kind of an Annual Outing and visits from one Section to another are frequent. In addition to these activities the sections join in the larger demonstrations arranged by the Advisory Councils. These are County demonstrations and usually take the form of a procession of women carrying banners led by bands and sometimes accompanied by tableaux of children or grown-ups. After the procession a mass-demonstration is held with national speakers, both men and women. These demonstrations vary in numbers from a hundreds to many thousands and in the case of Durham, the most highly organised County, have even reached 20,000. The places of the demonstrations are usually changed each year. *National Conference of Labour Women.* A National two days' public Conference for women is held annually, the place being changed from year to year. The representation at this Conference is as follows : Women's Sections or Labour Parties, 2 delegates each : Women's Ward Sections 1 each : National organisations having women members affiliated to the Labour Party or represented on the Standing Joint Committee up to 30 delegates each. At the Conference held in May, 1928, there were 660 delegates. The public Conference is preceded by a one-day private Conference to discuss organisation. This Conference is only open to delegates from Women's Sections and Labour Parties as it deals with purely organisation work. All arrangements for this Conference are made by the Labour Party and it is presided over by the Chief Woman Officer. Under the auspices of the Scottish Executive Council a Women's Conference for the whole of *Scotland* is

held annually, on a similar basis of representation to that in England. Organisation amongst women in Scotland is less developed than in some other places and some of the constituencies are very scattered. As the National Conference is always held south of the border this special Scottish Conference is very valuable. Some Scottish problems are also different from those of other parts as some legislation is special to Scotland and they have certain separate Government departments. The decisions of the National Conference of Labour Women do not come automatically before the General Party Conference for ratification. A report of the proceedings is included in the Executive Committee's Report to the Annual Conference of the Party and resolutions specially referred by the women's conference to the Executive Committee are also reported on in the same document. The Women's Conference in 1927 appointed a deputation to put its views to the Executive Committee on a certain subject. The Executive Committee received this deputation and reported on it to the Labour Party Conference. Some of the resolutions passed by the women's conference are also sent in for the agenda of the Annual Party Conference by the Constituency Labour Parties or national organisations. At the Annual Conference of May, 1928, the following resolutions were passed: (1) that the annual conference be extended over 3 days; (2) that the Conference should have the right to put down three resolutions at the National Party Conference; (3) that the Party constitution should be so amended as to provide that the four women members of the Executive (of the Party) be elected by ballot at the National Conference of Labour Women. *One Day, Week-end and Summer Schools*. The arrangements for these are mainly carried out by the Advisory Councils, though some sections, Federations and Central Committees have had One-Day Schools under their own auspices. The Summer Schools are the most advanced in character and most helpful in results. Durham, Northumberland, London, and Yorkshire have held these for the past three years. Usually they last a week and take place at some country house with beautiful surroundings and quietness. Some of the students win scholarships provided by the Women's Sections or Labour Parties within the area of the Council. Others pay their own expenses. Holders of scholarships are chosen by competitive examination on certain books and pamphlets on some aspect of the Party's work, which are announced at the beginning of the winter. The examination takes place in the spring. Sometimes the week's lectures are devoted to a single subject with the same lecturer at each session: in others with a single subject with a change of lecturer, and sometimes over a wide range of subjects and lecturers. General experience has proved it to be better to concentrate. At the Week-end Schools there are usually five sessions. Sometimes these schools are held near enough for most of the students to sleep at home. One-Day Schools are generally devoted to training in the work of the Sections and the duties

of Officers. Last year, for example, the Advisory Councils in South Wales arranged a One-Day School in each constituency. These were usually of three sessions, morning on the work of Sections and duties of Officers : afternoon, on election work, and evening on local government work. During the eight months of the Miners' Lock Out in 1926 the activities of the Advisory Councils were almost entirely concentrated on the raising of funds or the distribution of them to the miners' families. Altogether over £ 313,000 was raised. At the Conference of May, 1928, the women pledged themselves to raise £ 10,000 as their quota to Labour's National Fighting Fund. *I. L. P.* The groups of women in the *I. L. P.*, having separate meetings, encourage and develop new women members and enable them to take a more effective part in the work of the Party. They are active in training women as propagandists and for Parliamentary and local Government Bodies. They do work of special propaganda among women through the organisation of Conferences, meetings and debates, and some of the groups organise dramatic sections, choirs, and social activities of various kinds.

*Greece* : Members of the Women's Group meet once or twice a week for two hours. Party leaders explain to them social problems, questions of organisation, the general activity of the Party, of the *L. S. I.*, and of the International Socialist Women's Committee.

*Holland* : During the winter the Women's Clubs generally meet once a month. These *meetings* are sometimes business meetings, and sometimes lectures and discussions. Subjects for the lectures relate to politics, trade unionism, cooperation, education, hygiene, occasionally housewifery, new books etc. Apart from these monthly meetings many clubs organise reading circles. These circles consist of a small group of women (10 to 12) who meet weekly or fortnightly. They are devoted to the reading of books and pamphlets, discussion of current events etc. Of course the level of the reading circles varies greatly according to the requirements of the members of the circle and the leader's abilities. In order to provide the leaders with subject matter for the circles the League has started issuing at frequent intervals simple articles on current events, written especially for the circles. Lecture courses of 4 to 6 lessons are arranged by the clubs with the help of the League. In 1925 a woman lecturer travelled about the country talking on the subject "The Child and the Community". In the winter 1926—1927 (it was the year of the municipal elections) the League compiled a series of 4 lecture syllabuses on socialist municipal politics, illustrated by lantern slides, which were circulated. The rank and file took a keen interest in the lecture courses. A thorough propaganda for disarmament was initiated just preceding Christmas, 1926, a leaflet for the purpose being sold in many thousands. This was repeated in 1927. As it often proved difficult to get younger women to join the women's clubs, some clubs started reading circles especially for young people. Of course only those girls are admitted who have

reached the age at which they are eligible for membership of the Guild of Youth. In addition, many Clubs organise a public meeting once or twice a year. Generally music and recitations are added to the meeting. Clubs also organise for their members trips to places of interest, festivals for the children on May-Day, Santa Claus or Christmas. In the smaller branches, where women members are not sufficient to start a women's Club, the League tries nevertheless to interest the members in women's work and to get some of them to distribute pamphlets and the women's paper. Often it is possible to set up a reading circle for the women in such a small branch. The assistance of a club member of a neighbouring branch is secured for this purpose. In various parts of the country the League has set up a centre where a small group of women from branches in the district meets monthly for a study course. The aim of this course is to make students able leaders for clubs or reading circles. Further, a regular school was organised during a fortnight in September, 1926. A small number of women, carefully chosen, stayed at a beautiful country house for this fortnight's course, and afterwards used their experience for the benefit of the movement. In the summer the League organised week-ends in the country, i. e. from Friday afternoon until Monday morning. These week-ends are meant for recreation, but lectures on subjects of general interest, good music, poetry, nature study, etc. render these gatherings a high form of recreation. For many housewives these week-ends are quite a revelation.

*Hungary* : In Hungary activities are now very much crippled by the loss of the women's secretariat. In March and April "Women's Day" is held in the capital and in the provinces, and everywhere with a really enthusiastic participation. It forms the most successful demonstration held for many months. In view of the existing state of affairs in Hungary it has not been held as a purely political affair, but a literary and artistic programme has been added. Except for this there have been hardly any special meetings for women held : but there have been several party meetings in which women have spoken on special women's questions.\* The indescribable misery of the Hungarian working women impedes the work of propaganda. For the women organisers and leaders there are held weekly training centres which deal in part with questions of practical organisation and propaganda and in part with the theoretical problems of socialism. There are also lectures for the advancement of general culture. At the same time there are other training centres not specially for women, but in which women members of the Party participate relatively in large numbers. The campaign for the extension of the franchise—in respect of men and women—and especially for the secret ballot is being continued and forms one of the first demands of the Party.

*Latvia* : The women's Committee meet once weekly. Women's meetings in the districts are held every fortnight. The Riga Wo-

men's Section has a theoretical educational course which aims at preparing women speakers. The section arranges public and Party discussions on various questions. In the main the activities of the women's organisation are restricted to educational work among the women members within the Party. The reason for this is the limited number of leading women which paralyses any wide propaganda work among working women. Therefore we consider it is the most important task of the women's organisation to prepare capable women leaders for work in the Party.

*Luxembourg* : Every year a "Women's Day" is to be held, at which general questions of a propaganda and political nature will be dealt with. The Women's Groups are setting up local centres of propaganda and activity under the title of "Foyer de la Femme". Every week, or if necessary more often, working women in general, even if they are not politically or industrially organised, can gather there. There they receive advice, information and the most possible practical help in all questions and affairs; books and periodicals are put at their disposal and lectures on social, hygienic and political questions are given; in short women find in the "Foyer" both instruction and entertainment. The trade union headquarters have willingly placed the necessary accommodation at our disposal. Under the auspices of the "Foyers" children's entertainments are to be arranged at Christmas time as has already been done in certain localities by the Party and trade unions in collaboration with the cooperatives. Labour welfare work is also to be considered.

*Poland* : The Central Women's Committee conducts work in connection with propaganda, education and meetings throughout the whole country. Special women's *meetings* are organised to the number of some hundreds annually. "Women's Day" is a great demonstration in the whole country, and urges the real rights of women. The Central Women's Committee with the "Kinderfreunde" (Child Welfare) arranges a three monthly course for nurses from children's crèches, with 35 students. Lectures on socialism are also given.

*Sweden* : The activities of the Women's Clubs consist in propaganda work among women for the Party, and further, by lectures and discussion to develop the knowledge of socialism and women's position in society; further, to interest women in public and political questions and also in the labour and cooperative movements. The Women's Clubs deal with the study activities of members, and great importance is attached to general education in citizenship. Legislation is industriously studied, and women show the greatest interest in school questions, the care of the poor and child welfare. Meetings of members take place at least once a month. In many Clubs there are fortnightly meetings.

*Switzerland* : The Women's Groups have the task of winning new members. In addition they conduct educational work and

deal with special women's questions. At the women's conference guiding lines are discussed for such subjects as abortion, maternity, insurance, marriage advisory centres and the campaign for the suffrage. Ordinary meetings are held in most Groups. In many places the women meet once a fortnight. Social evenings are arranged in which a book is read while those present sew, etc. "Women's Day" is organised throughout the country. Summer tours are organised and study courses from time to time.

#### IV. COLLABORATION WITH SIMILAR ORGANISATIONS.

*Austria* : There is collaboration with the trade unions, the "Kinderfreunde" (Child Welfare) and other kinds of educational organisations.

*Belgium* : Socialist women may be members of Committees of Public Assistance (local organisations) : they may enter undertakings which are semi- or partly communal, such as crèches, orphanages, infant centres, scholastic committees, clothing committees, etc. They have delegates in the International League against Alcoholism, the League against the White Slave Traffic, the International League for Peace and Freedom, etc. They endeavour to instil into these organisations a socialist and democratic spirit as opposed to the bourgeois conception of charity and welfare.

*Czechslovakia* : *Czechs* : Much importance is attached to the close collaboration with the workers' sports union, especially as regards children, and with the "Self-Help" League which is devoted to the well-being of the workers' children and arranges summer colonies, baths, excursions, etc.

*Germans* : All women's sections work in close understanding with the Party of which it is a part. On educational matters they often collaborate with the labour union "Kinderfreunde" (Child Welfare) and with the Socialist Youth Federation.

*Esthonia* : Collaboration with the other organisations of the party consists of joint meetings of all members of the Party organisations in Reval, for decision on political questions of the day. In addition these so-called conferences of all the Party organisations are called to elect a Party Committee for Reval, and delegates are sent to these conferences. Similarly the organisations participate in the annual congress. Further, some joint arrangements are made with other Reval organisations, such as social evenings, excursions, etc.

*Finland* : The Women's Federation works with the Social-Democratic Abstinence Federation and the two organisations have the same propagandist, who is generally a woman, the meetings are organised by the local groups of both organisations jointly, and the Party papers advertise them. Several district groups of the Women's Federation are as such affiliated to the Abstinence Fede-

ration. Childrens' Groups are generally organised by the Women's and the Abstinence Federations jointly and maintained by both.

*France* : There is no collaboration with other organisations.

*Germany* : The Women's Groups from time to time work in practice with the Labour Youth and the "Kinderfreunde", and also with the Labour Welfare organisation and the Cooperatives.

*Great Britain : Labour Party* : The work of the Sections is co-ordinated with the work of other working women's organisations through the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations. The composition of this Committee is as follows : Representatives from the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress, the Cooperative Union, the Women's Cooperative Guild, the National Union of Railway Women's Guild, the Associated Society of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen's Women's Guild : and organisations affiliated to the Labour Party or the Trades Union Congress of which a substantial number of the members are women, which are national in character and are accepted by the Committee. Its objects are : (1) To forward the interests of working women and to assist in securing their representation on any local, national or international committees or similar bodies established by Government or other authorities to deal with matters in which women have a special interest. (2) To set forth a policy for working women on such Committees and to keep them informed on matters important to them in their work. (3) To conduct joint campaigns by means of publications in the press, meetings, deputations, and other methods, on any subject of national importance on which combined action by working women may be beneficial. (4) To act as an Advisory Committee on Women's Questions to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party. As the Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party it advises as to subjects to be placed on the agenda of the National Conference of Labour Women and draws up reports and resolutions on those subjects for presentation to the conference. The Labour Party representation on the Standing Joint Committee consists of the four women members of the Labour Party Executive Committee together with four women elected directly by the Women's Sections and Labour Parties. For this purpose the country is divided into four areas and thus the women known locally as well as nationally stand a fair chance of election. The election is carried out by Postal Ballot of the Sections and the result is announced at the Private Conference on Organisation which has been described under Section III. The women's membership of the Labour Party is not only the women's individual membership. In addition, the women members of affiliated organisations have the right to take part in the work of the Constituency Parties. For instance a Ward Committee includes not only the individual men and women members but all members of affiliated trade union branches

of socialist organisations if they reside within the Ward. Some Trade Unions have a Women's Advisory Committee which deals with subjects of special interest to their members : The Fabian Society has a Women's Group and the I.L.P. has a Women's Advisory Committee and some of its branches have special women's groups. Though the Cooperative Movement is not affiliated to the Labour Party, the Cooperative Society runs candidates in conjunction with the Labour Party and there is a very close alliance. Labour women have worked in close cooperation with the Women's Cooperative Guild for many years. Many guilds are also affiliated to constituency Labour Parties. *Co-ordination with general Party work.*—The relationship between the Women's Sections and the Parties is very close. Women section members work on Ward Committees and take a great part in all election work forming the bulk of the workers in the local and parliamentary elections. They do a great deal of canvassing and mass canvassing, literature distribution, writing and raising funds. The Standing Joint Committee decides on its merits each invitation to send delegates to other committees and meetings.

*I. L. P. :* The women in the I.L.P. work in collaboration with the women in the Labour Party and also from time to time send delegates to other organisations.

*Greece :* For pacifist propoganda, for votes for women, and for reforms concerning women and children, the Women's Group collaborates with the International League of Women in Greece (Liberal women) for the Protection of the Young Girl.

*Holland :* As the "Kinderfreunde" movement and the labour welfare movement do not exist in Holland, the question of cooperation with these bodies does not arise.

*Poland :* The Central Women's Committee as also the local women's committees are in contact with the Kinderfreunde (Child Welfare) and trade unions.

*Sweden :* In cases when questions are being considered which are of great general interest to women, the Women's Federation works together with other women's organisations. Thus, for example, there was a general expression of opinion concerning the special position of women in the general pensions insurance scheme.

*Switzerland :* The women's groups work in the best understanding with all labour organisations. They endeavour especially to establish relations with the gymnastic movement and the "friends of nature", because young recruits are to be won from these organisations. The women's groups do not as such work in collaboration with other women's organisations for the franchise. A proposal to do this was defeated by 79 votes to 12 at the annual Conference in November, 1927.



## V. HOW WOMEN ARE RECRUITED FOR THE PARTY.

*Austria* : Mainly through propaganda leaflets, meetings and lectures.

*Belgium* : The most successful means employed are (a) house to house propaganda which is used for all kinds of organising. A special syllabus provides valuable help to the propagandist and gives her confidence and the necessary prestige. (b) Dramatic entertainments, musical evenings, balls, exhibitions of art (with the sale of the objects exhibited for the benefit of propaganda or for lotteries). All these arrangements are generally accompanied by a lecture for labour education. (c) Organisation of teas with lectures. (d) Demonstrations by experts of rational meals. (e) Fund for excursions or rambles. (f) On special occasions meetings in halls or in the open air near factories, talks in cafés and restaurants, outings in cars. At such times, pamphlets, manifestos, membership forms and papers are distributed, and posters are exhibited throughout the country. (An example is the present agitation in favour of 6 months' military service, for which a petition organised by women has met with much success). (g) Use of the cinema as an instrument of propaganda. (h) Mothers' meetings. These, organised for the first time in 1927, prove an excellent method of getting into touch with women and of bringing them into our ranks. (i) To train leaders special socialist schools both local district regional and national are held. These have had most excellent results, and more than 20 young leaders have been added to our ranks in this manner. (j) propaganda leaflets : these leaflets are put on sale at a low price, and give leaders of sections the necessary material to render their meetings interesting. They contain subjects for simple and clear lectures, advice for the smooth procedure, a choice of readings, poems and socialist songs.

*Czechoslovakia* : *Czechs* : Mainly through personal propaganda, for which special women canvassers, propagandists and organisers are required. These are trained at the socialist school of the Party, at which special courses are held for women with reference to the aims and tasks of the women's movement.

*Germans* : Up to the present recruiting for the party on a wide scale has always been carried out in conjunction with that for the men. Only quite recently has special propaganda among women been tried, as this seemed to promise more success. Women are recruited not for the women's sections but direct for the Party.

*Denmark* : According to the experience in Denmark the one form of propaganda which gives the most positive results is that of house to house canvassing. This is conducted among men and women at the same time. The canvassers go from house to house distributing their leaflets and above all trying to get into conversation with men and women. Such activity takes place every year—regularly in Copenhagen and in the larger towns. In this way it has been pos-

sible to keep the organisation relatively strong, and this applies also to the number of women members.

*Finland* : In 1928 the whole month of March was devoted to special propaganda work among women. As there are only a few women speakers a whole month is better than a week.

*France* : By meetings and by individual personal propaganda conducted by present members.

*Germany* : By house to house propaganda through repeated visits, by leaflets, special edition of newspapers, pamphlets, verbal invitations to meetings, especially also through women's socials. Communication through the Party office to wives of members, through trade unions, local leaders in factories, etc.

*Great Britain : Labour Party* : The recruitment of women members is through the Constituency Parties mainly by the efforts of women's sections. A Women's Section is "formed" when the individual women members of a Constituency Party have been called together for that purpose and have elected their own officers and arranged to have their own meetings and conduct their own business. Such meetings are called by the Executive Committee of the Local Labour Party.

*Greece* : Women are recruited for the Party after six months' instruction and if the Committee of the Socialist Women's Group approves of the entry of the candidate into the Party.

*Holland* : By individual propaganda, meetings, the circulation of literature, social arrangements, etc.

*Hungary* : Women organised according to their occupation are brought to the Party through the trade union women's committees. Those who do housework at home are reached by house to house propaganda.

*Poland* : Women are won for the Party through meetings, lectures and by house to house propaganda.

*Switzerland* : By propaganda meetings, social entertainments and house to house canvassing.

#### VI. MEMBERSHIP, WHETHER INDIVIDUAL OR NOT.

*Austria* : The entry of a woman into the Party organisation is quite independent of her husband's membership of the Party. The woman member pays her contribution independently and pays the same amount as the men members : a woman can be a member of the political organisation without her husband being a member.

*Belgium* : Women belong individually to the Party. Sometimes, in certain Women Workers' Leagues, married women pay only half the subscription. Trade Union women are affiliated to the Party through their headquarters, the friendly society members by their federations and the cooperative women through their societies.

*Czechoslovakia : Czechs* : It is not always the case that the man organised in the Party inscribes his wife as a member also : on

the contrary. It is the duty and chief task of the women's groups to see that the wife is also drawn into the ranks.

*Germans* : The entry of women into the Party is independent. A man's membership does not imply his wife's membership also.

*Denmark* : Women are independent members with their own membership cards, and are not included in the men's membership. The membership fee for women is half the fee for men, being a minimum of 2 crowns annually in the towns and 1.60 crowns in the country districts.

*Estonia* : Women are accepted as members of the Party when they independently make such a request, are endorsed by two members of the Party and by the general meeting.

*Finland* : Wives of members are not assumed to be members of the Party. District federations and local groups may decide on a lower fee for women, which is generally the case, but this only concerns the fee to that organisation, the fee to the whole Party is the same for all members.

*France* : Women join the Party individually on their own responsibility.

*Germany* : Quite independent : nothing to do with men's membership. There are cases when husband and wife belong to different parties, or when the man is indifferent to politics.

*Great Britain : Labour Party* : A woman is a member of the Constituency Party in the same way as a man. The names of men and women are usually kept as distinct from the Constituency Party. A woman who joins the party has a right to attend section meetings. At the present time the lowest contribution is 1/- per annum for men and 6d. per annum for women. A great many parties, however, have 1/- a year or 1d. per week for both men and women.  
*I. L. P.* Women join individually.

*Greece* : The women belong to the Party under their own name, but, in accordance with the law, they must have the permission of their husbands.

*Holland* : No woman joins automatically through the membership of any other organisation or through her husband's membership of the Party. A definite declaration of her wish to join is indispensable. Only those women who are willing to become members of the Party are allowed to join the women's clubs. On the other hand Party membership does not imply membership of the women's clubs, a special declaration being necessary for this. The club members are not obliged to pay an extra subscription for their membership : the necessary funds for the work of the club are supposed to be met by the local branch of the Party.

*Hungary* : Every person joins the Party individually : women's membership is not included with men's.

*Latvia* : By entry into the Party the woman is considered as an independent person, who joins the Party from her own convictions and not her husband's. There are many members of the Party whose wives do not belong to the Party. House-wives who are not employed persons pay a smaller subscription.

*Luxembourg* : The entry of women into the party is quite independent of that of men.

*Poland* : Entry of women into the Party is quite independent.

*Sweden* : Women join the Party in the same way as men, sometimes collectively through an organisation to which they belong, sometimes by direct entry into the Labour Group of the locality. Women are also affiliated to the Party through Women's Clubs, trade unions, socialist leagues.

*Switzerland* : Quite independent. In most places women pay the same fee as men, but this is not universal throughout the whole of Switzerland.

#### VII. WOMEN MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVES AND CONGRESSES.

*Austria* : The Central body of the women's organisations is the Women's Central Committee, which elects members to sit in the Party Executive ; the women's provincial committees send women delegates to the provincial party Executive, and the same procedure is adopted in the Constituency, district and local organisations. Women delegates are sent to the Party Congress by the provincial conferences (the coordination of local organisations). Up to 1,000 women members gives the right to 1 delegate, district organisations with more than 1,000 women members can have two women delegates.

*Belgium* : Women delegates are sent to congresses in the same manner as men delegates, and the expenses involved are borne by the federations.

*Czechoslovakia* : *Czechs* : Party rules provide for the election of women delegates in all organisations. They provide for women to be delegated to the annual congress of the Party in proportion to the number of women organised. There are two women elected to the full committee of the Party and one is in the Party Executive. *Germans* : In the higher party bodies women are represented according to their numerical strength, but in the lower organisations there remains much to be desired in the representation of women. The Party Executive is always trying to persuade the branches to accept a corresponding representation of women in the governing bodies. At the annual congress women are never represented in accordance with their numerical strength, because many sections cannot afford to send several delegates, and then mostly send a man. Nevertheless the number of women at the annual congress of the Party is steadily increasing.

*Denmark* : No special measures are taken to ensure representation : at present 3 women are members of the Party Executive.

*Esthonia* : Up to the present no woman has been elected to the Party Executive, although women candidates have been put forward at Party congresses. In the Party Committee at Reval there is one woman. At the last Congress only the Reval women's organisation was represented by women alone : the mixed organisations had chosen very few women, and since women have to get a majority in order to be elected, the candidate from Reval did not secure enough votes to enable her to sit in the Executive. At the Reval Party Conference the Reval women's organisation has one-fourth of the votes.

*Finland* : The Women's Federation is like other socialist organisations entitled by the rules to be represented at the annual congress, and at the meetings of the Party Committee, but only in an advisory capacity. At present one woman belongs to the Party Executive, and was elected like the other members.

*France* : There are no special delegations of women in the meetings of the Party. When there are women delegates they are present under the same conditions as the men.

*Germany* : Women for Executives (local, district) are elected by meetings of members or delegates. But generally the members have come to an understanding previously. In distributing votes according to numbers (number of delegates according to membership) for organisations at the annual congress, the Executive calls attention to the fact that women should be represented according to their strength. Section 5 of the Party rules says : "In all governing bodies of the organisations and in all delegations, women members are to be represented in accordance with their number."

*Great Britain : Labour Party* : The Women's Sections are entitled to representation on the General Committees of the Labour Parties of which they are individual members. The number of women to be appointed is decided by the Labour Party concerned and may be as many as ten. Representation of women is also provided for on the Executive Committees of these Parties. *Nationally* : The Executive Committee of the Labour Party consists of thirteen representatives of affiliated organisations, five representatives of Constituency Labour Parties and four women, all of whom are elected by the delegates at the annual conference of the Labour Party. Each affiliated organisation, i. e. national trade unions, socialist societies, Constituency Labour Parties, is entitled to nominate one woman candidate for List C (the women's list) and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000 : such nominees may or may not be members of the nominating organisation. The Executive Council of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party is similarly constituted. In that case there are six representatives of Trade Unions, four representatives of Socialist societies, four representatives of Constituency Labour Parties and four women members. *At the Annual Conference of the Party* : each Constituency Party is entitled to one delegate at the Annual Conference of the

Party and that delegate may be a man or a woman. In addition another delegate may be sent if the number of individual and affiliated women members exceeds 500, but that delegate must be a woman.

*I. L. P.* : The two women members in each Divisional area of the Party elect a member to a Women's National Advisory Committee, which advises the National Administrative Council of the Party on all questions affecting women, and recommends the names of women to act as delegates to conferences, committees, etc.

*Greece* : There are no women members in the Executive Committee of the Party. The Party does not take part in meeting expenses of delegates : it pays only two thirds of the rent of the office of the women's group ; it is the women themselves who meet the expenses by their monthly fee.

*Holland* : Though women now form one-fourth of the total membership of the Party, their participation in the leading functions is not proportionate. No special measures are taken to secure this. On the Party's Executive of 13 members there are only 2 women, one of them being the women's secretary. Only a few women delegates are sent to the Party Conference, most local branches having the right to send only one delegate and this delegate generally being a man.

*Hungary* : The Party rules on organisation do not categorically lay down that women should be elected to Party institutions (directing bodies) according to their strength. The Women's Committee has in addition to the two elected delegates and the women officers, 2 further votes at the Party Congress.

*Latvia* : At the last Congress a woman was elected to the Central Committee of the Party : in the local and district committees of the Party also there are 1 and 2 women respectively. For the elections to the Party institutions women comrades are taking no special steps.

*Luxembourg* : It is proposed that the local groups of the Party in electing their delegates to the annual congress should take into account the number of women members of the Party, and that meetings in which women members have equal rights with men, should nominate women as delegates. As far as possible women will also be elected in the local Party Executive. One woman belongs to the Party directing body. We have a woman comrade in 2 municipal councils out of a total of 3 women councillors. If there are suitable persons available women are also nominated as candidates at the parliamentary elections.

*Poland* : The Central Secretariat of the Party ensures that in all local committees as well as in the Party Executive women are elected. There are difficulties to be overcome in delegating women to the Annual Congress, but there are always women present.

*Sweden* : Women have the right on the same basis as men to be representatives at Party Congresses and other representative

gatherings, and also to be members of the Executive in all organisations of the Party. The rules of the Party, however, contain no special provisions that women should be elected. To what extent women can be elected to the various governing bodies of the Party depends in large measure on the participation of the women themselves.

*Switzerland* : In the business direction of the Party there are two women. Three women may be deputed to the Party Executive.

#### VIII. WOMEN AS PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.

*Austria* : The election of women as parliamentary candidates takes place at the constituency conferences subject to the endorsement of the National Conference. There are 6 members of Parliament : 3 members of the Upper House : 204 municipal councillors : 82 local school councillors : 1 provincial school councillor : 3 city school councillors : 144 district councillors : 166 welfare work councillors : 62 women organisers.

*Belgium* : According to the statutes of the Party, as for men, women regularly affiliated to the Party and who have been members for 3 years and are also in order with regard to the cooperative, the friendly society and the trade union, have the right to present themselves as candidates (for non-parliamentary elections, women have not the parliamentary franchise in Belgium). Women's organisations are entitled to present candidates. Up to the present, however, there is only one woman member of the Senate, who is a co-opted member, put forward by the Party. There are four of our members who are provincial Councillors and 35 other Councillors.

*Czechoslovakia* : *Czechs* : There are combined lists of candidates for the parliamentary and local elections. Women are entered on the lists by nomination from the Women's Central Committee, and are placed in such an order as to ensure them the possibility of a seat. At present there is a very small representation in Parliament. There is one member in Parliament (B. Karpiskova) and one (Ecksteinova) in the Senate. This by no means corresponds to the number of organised women. The proportion of women to men elected is 1:29 in the parliament and 1:14 in the Senate.

*Germans* : At the last general election (1925) there were women candidates in nearly all constituencies. 2 of the socialist members of parliament are women.

*Danzig* : 4 women members in Parliament.

*Denmark* : There is only one socialist woman in the Lower House. (There are only 3 women out of a total of 149.) The number is larger in the Senate. Out of 8 women members of a total Senate of 76 there are 2 socialist women. This depends on the method of election. For the Senate the electors appoint by P. R. electing bodies, which in turn in 6 large districts elect the members

by P. R. For the Lower House, on the other hand, election is direct, P. R. being used in the larger districts. Every district consists however of several constituencies, and the campaign is conducted within each of these latter. In every such constituency each Party only puts forward one candidate. This to some extent hinders women's candidatures. Possibly also the peculiar Danish form of elective meetings may have played a part in this connection. These meetings are arranged jointly among all the Parties. In each meeting there is only one official speaker from each Party, namely the candidate, all speakers having the same time-limit. Thus every meeting becomes a three-, four-, or six-sided discussion among the candidates and such electors as wish to take part. Hitherto all parties have had only one or two women candidates apiece. At municipal elections women candidates are more numerous. In the City Council of Copenhagen there are five socialist women out of a socialist total of 31. For the rest, hitherto there has been a practice in Copenhagen that definite numbers on the list of candidates are reserved for women in the Senate and municipal elections.

*Esthonia* : At the Parliamentary and local elections in Reval, wherever several party organisations are operating jointly the lists are so framed that there is an opportunity for at least one representative of every organisation to be elected. Until recently there have been women members of parliament, but at present there are none. One woman was elected but had to resign her seat because she was already municipal councillor for Reval and according to Party rules could not hold both positions. There are 8 women parliamentary candidates.

*Finland* : Women have no preferential position. The group includes 9 women. One woman (Milna Sillanpaa) was in the socialist government, as assistant to the Minister for Social Affairs, until the resignation of the government at the end of 1927.

*France* : Women have no political rights in France. In June 1928 the French Senate by a majority of 176 votes against 23, adjourned sine die the debate on the question of giving the vote to women.

*Germany* : Women are put forward in the same manner as men. Practice varies in the constituencies, sometimes by election by the Party Congress of the district, sometimes by preliminary election by the locality, but generally the former. There are 20 women in parliament from the Socialist Party. 63 candidates were put forward

*Great Britain : Labour Party* : Candidates are selected by the Constituency Labour Parties under certain definite rules. When a selection has been carried out the name is submitted to the National Executive Committee and if ratified that person becomes an endorsed candidate of the Party. Affiliated societies may place on a list certain of their members for whom they are prepared to undertake financial responsibility for election expenses if they are chosen



as candidates. Labour Parties choosing candidates are able to select from these lists or from other members of the Party. As there are less affiliated societies with women members and fewer of these are prominent in their organisations, the number of women is fewer. There are now 28 women candidates endorsed. There are now 3 socialist women in the House of Commons, out of a total of 7 women. The subject of women candidates was discussed at the private Conference on Organisation held in May and the following resolution was carried :

"In view of the unanimous feeling that it is in the interests of the Labour Party for facilities to be found for the adoption of more working (and especially married) women candidates, it is resolved that the National Executive shall be asked immediately to consider means to that end. The Conference feels that any scheme should be national, but this should not interfere with any district scheme or local effort working for this purpose. This Conference suggests that a small yearly contribution from every section would be willingly paid to a candidates' fund from which would be guaranteed a substantial part of electoral expenses of any woman chosen from the panel. We suggest that candidates should be nominated by any section and elected by postal ballots of the sections to the Candidates' Panel of the Labour Party, after publication of their names and qualifications."

*Greece* : Women have no political rights in Greece, but are agitating at present for the municipal franchise.

*Holland* : In the Second Chamber the Party holds 24 seats, of which two are held by women. In the First Chamber it has 11 representatives of whom one is a woman. There are no provisions for appointing women as candidates for Parliament. P. R. is used at elections.

*Hungary* : Women can, in the same way as men, according to the Party rules be adopted as candidates by the Party Committee after at least five years' membership of the Party.

*Latvia* : No members of Parliament : 4 women candidates.

*Poland* : There are great difficulties in the way of women's parliamentary candidature. The Party has now three women representatives, two in the Sejm and one in the Senate.

*Sweden* : There is the same franchise for men and women in Sweden and the same eligibility for election. There are 5 members in the Second Chamber : 7 members of the Provincial Diets : 126 members in city and municipal councils : 47 members of educational bodies, 103 of poor law bodies, 74 of child welfare bodies and 35 of pensions councils.

*Switzerland* : No women's suffrage.

## IX. PRESS.

*Austria* : There are two women's papers, a monthly for the politically organised women, which is obligatory : every woman member of the Party receives by payment of the Party membership fee the monthly "Die Frau" without extra cost. 221,500 copies are

printed each month. There is also a weekly "Die Unzufriedene", for women not yet politically organised. 151,000 copies of this appear each week.

*Belgium:* There are two women's papers, one appearing in French "La Voix de la Femme" with a circulation of 12,000 and the other in Flemish, "De Stem der Vrouw", with 8,000 circulation. They are both monthlies and are obligatory in certain districts. They are run by a cooperative society which is maintained by the women's groups alone, receiving no subsidy at all from the Party.

*Czechoslovakia: Czechs:* The Women's paper "Zenské Noviny", has a circulation of 6,000. In addition there is a women workers' paper "Zajiny Zen" (Women's Interests). The former, a weekly, is edited by B. Karpiskova and is written wholly by women.

*Germans:* The Party publishes a monthly women's paper, "Gleichheit", which all women members of the Party receive. Its circulation is 28,000. Some trade unions take "Gleichheit" for a section of their women members.

*Denmark:* There are no special women's papers.

*Esthonia:* There is no special women's paper, but articles on questions of special interest to women appear periodically in the Party Press.

*Finland:* The League issues fortnightly an illustrated periodical for working women, entitled "Toveritar", whose circulation is 2,000. The Secretary acts as its editor.

*France:* There is a women's monthly paper, "La Femme Socialiste" edited by Louise Saumoneau.

*Germany:* There is a women's paper, "Die Genossin", which is an information organ for those active in the Party. It has a circulation of 25,000. The "Frauenwelt" is for the masses of the women not yet organised in the political movement. In addition there are about 140 women's supplements to the daily Press, more or less of a political nature.

*Great Britain: Labour Party:* The Party published a monthly paper "The Labour Woman", which is edited by the Chief Woman Officer, and in addition leaflets and pamphlets explaining the work of organisation and dealing with subjects of special interest to women.

*I. L. P.:* There is no special women's paper, but articles dealing with women's questions are published in the "New Leader", the organ of the I. L. P.

*Holland:* There is a weekly paper for women "De Proletarische Vrouw" which was started in 1905 and has ever since been edited by C. Pothuis-Smit. This paper brings the socialist idea before women who otherwise would have no contact whatever with the movement. In 1928 the circulation doubled from 20,000 to 40,000 because the trade union federation of the factory workers decided to subscribe to it for the wives of members. The women in the

Clubs are supposed to work all the year round to increase the number of subscribers, and most Clubs perform this task splendidly. About one-fifth of the papers are actually delivered by the women. This weekly delivery by the women themselves proves a very good way of keeping subscribers who would otherwise be likely to drop out. The League regularly issues little cheap pamphlets which are sold by the club members in the street, in the market place, at various meetings, or distributed from house to house. In this way many of our pamphlets find their way into the hands of outsiders.

*Hungary:* The Women's Movement has a paper, "Nomunkas", which now appears only monthly as a paper of six pages. Formerly it was bigger and appeared weekly, subsequently fortnightly, and was only subsequently abridged on financial grounds. In addition to politics and world economy, this paper also has a literary section and a supplement for children. It is a permanent demand of the women's movement that the women members of the Party should receive this paper gratis for their party fee. In this connection the last Party Congress adopted a resolution, which however so far it has been unfortunately impossible to put into practice. In the "Nepszava", the chief organ of the Party, there is a special women's article every Sunday sent in by the Women's Group.

*Luxembourg:* There is a weekly women's supplement to the Party paper.

*Poland:* A Women's paper, "Glos Kobiet", appears monthly. Pamphlets entitled "Women, join our Ranks!" have been published to the number of 40,000. 200,000 leaflets for women were issued during the municipal elections.

*Sweden:* The women's paper "Morgenbris" appears once a month, and has an average circulation of about 8,000. Special numbers have an issue of as much as 12,000 to 15,000.

*Switzerland:* As yet there is no women's paper. The Central Office issues a women's correspondence sheet (typewritten) which is sent each month to all the Party papers in Switzerland. There is also from time to time an information sheet which is sent to all the leaders of the women's groups and has as its object the maintenance of contact between the secretariat and the groups and between the groups themselves. A list of speakers has also been issued, a catalogue of books, and a pamphlet for women organisers.

## X. CONCLUSION.

A statistical Table is attached. It will be seen that the information given under the preceding sections relates to the organisation of nearly one million women. General reports from the countries concerned tend to confirm a steady, if in some cases slow, advance in numerical strength: there has certainly been a decided recovery since the general disruption in the socialist movement prior to the

Hamburg Congress in 1923. A marked feature in the work of organisation among women in all countries is the inauguration of international socialist "Women's Day", which has now become the chief pivot of propaganda among women and is being extended more and more to include in some cases a whole month. This "Day" is celebrated in the various countries at different dates, to meet national convenience: speakers are exchanged among the various countries to emphasise the international aspect of the occasion, but this practice has not as yet been developed as much as could be desired. The utmost importance is attached in all countries to the possession of a women's paper, and it will be seen how much stronger the women's organisation is when it possesses this weapon, with the one exception of France, where there is a women's paper but the movement nevertheless advances very slowly. This is of course attributable to the lack of the parliamentary franchise, which is also lacking in Belgium (where nevertheless there is a relatively strong women's movement in the Party), in Bulgaria, Greece, Switzerland and Yugo-Slavia. There are at present 64 socialist women in the Lower and Upper Houses together of the various parliaments in Europe.

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## Organisation of Socialist Women.

Countries	Politically organised women	Percentage of women in political party	Women organised in trade unions	Percentage of women in trade unions	Women's suffrage	Women's poll for parties in L. S. I. (where known)	Total no. of women of all parties in		No. of socialist women in		Women parliamentary candidates	Women's Press
							(a) Lower House	(b) Upper House	(a) Lower House	(b) Upper House		
Great Britain:												
Labour Party . . . . .	300,000 <sup>1)</sup>	10 <sup>2)</sup>	382,000	10	yes		7	—	3	—	28	1 M.
Austria . . . . .	221,500	31	174,991	23	yes	759,208	6	6	6	3	34	1 M. 1 W.
Germany . . . . .	181,541	21	679,000	15	yes		33	—	20	—	63	1 M. 1 F.
Denmark . . . . .	48,469	33	49,514	16	yes	156,000	3	8	1	2	3	
Sweden . . . . .	26,018	14	34,868	9	yes	325,000	7	1	5	—	15	1 M.
Czecho-Slovakia												
Germans: . . . . .	24,000	33	53,000	25	yes		5)	5)	2	—	20	1 M.
Belgium . . . . .	20,000	3	60,000	10	no <sup>3)</sup>		—	1	—	1	—	2 M. (1 French 1 Flemish)
Hungary . . . . .	20,000 <sup>4)</sup>	11	15,746	13	yes							1 M.
Czecho-Slovakia												
Czechs: . . . . .	18,822	16	63,253	18	yes		10	4	1	1	several	1 M. 1 W.
Holland . . . . .	15,364	29	12,180	6	yes	235,400	6	1	2	1	9	1 W.
Great Britain												
I. L. P.: . . . . .	14,000	46	5)									
Poland . . . . .	9,600	16	35,547	12	yes	305,400	9	3	2	1	9	1 M.
Finland . . . . .	8,000	27	15,000	19	yes	125,000	16	—	9	—	18	1 F.
Switzerland . . . . .	2,000	6	12,564	8	no							
Bulgaria . . . . .	1,490	6	2,100	14	no							
France . . . . .	1,000	1	79,110	14	no							1 M.
Danzig . . . . .	950	18	1,672	8	yes		9	—	4	—	4	
Latvia . . . . .	858	22	4,331	23	yes	135,000	—	—	—	—	4	1 M.
Esthonia . . . . .	800	16	714	14	yes	50,000	—	(no Upper House)	—	—	8	
Yugo-Slavia . . . . .	300	8	3,657	14	no							1 W.
Luxembourg . . . . .	250	20	300	2	yes	5,800	1	—	—	—	—	1 W.
Greece . . . . .	200	7	8,097	14	no							
	915,162		1,687,644				107	24	55	9		19

<sup>1)</sup> only approximate. — <sup>2)</sup> this applies to percentage of individually organised women in the Party. There are in addition women active in unions (exact number unknown) which means that the percentage is actually higher. <sup>3)</sup> number of trade union women collected. <sup>4)</sup> number of women in the Party.

## G. Affiliated Parties.

(Section IV.)

The annexed survey of the organisation and activity of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. has been drawn up by the L. S. I. and submitted to the parties for revision. Excepted from this procedure were Norway, where at present the L. S. I. has no affiliated party, the Independent Socialist Party of Poland, and Turkey where the conditions of organisation are obscure. Up to 18th July 1928, no revision was sent in by the following parties: British Guiana, China, Luxemburg, Portugal, Russia (S. R.), Czechoslovakia (Ruthenian Party).

The figures of *party membership* are taken as far as possible from the latest returns. Consequently the dates of the returns are not uniform throughout.

The same holds good of the membership figures of the *trade unions*. In this respect use was made in some cases where no other data were available of the 5th Year Book of the I. F. T. U. (1927). Unless otherwise stated, the figures given are those of organisations affiliated to the I. F. T. U., and those of similar tendency.

The membership figures of the *Communist Parties*, are quoted as far as possible from official sources such as the results of general elections or the publications of the Communist International (International Press Correspondence, e. g. No. 60 of 26th VI/28, German edition) and publications of the Communist Parties themselves.

The *abbreviations* used are as follow :

For names of official organs :

(D.) = Daily, (F.) = Fortnightly, (W.) = Weekly, (M.) = Monthly.

For the names of representatives in the L. S. I. :

(E.) = Executive Member, (B.) = Bureau.

## Argentine.

### *Socialist Party.*

(Partido Socialista.) <sup>(1)</sup>

Founded : in 1892.

Membership : 10 000 (including women) : distributed among 250 branches scattered over the whole vast area of the Republic. The branches form 7 federations in the same number of provinces ; there is 1 such in the Federal Capital and 1 in the national territory of La Pampa.

Trade Union Membership : There are three workers' central organisations. First the *Confederación Obrera Argentina* with 120,000 members : it belongs to the I. F. T. U. and maintains good relations with the Socialist Party. Secondly the *Unión Sindical Argentina* directed by syndicalist elements : it has 11,000 members, has no relation with the Socialist Party nor is affiliated to any International. Thirdly the *Federación Regional Argentina* a body of anarchist tendencies. Its membership is unknown, but it is certain that its strength is insignificant. This body like the former has no relation with the socialist movement nor is affiliated to any International. — In addition there are certain trade unions not belonging to any of the aforesaid organisations, some of them such as the unions of the printing and textile industries being important.

Membership of Youth Organisations : There has been formed recently a central body grouping all the societies of socialist youth under the title "*Confederación Juvenil Socialista*". According to its rule young men of at least 18 must be members of the Socialist Party. Socialist societies (one of which is for women), carry on under the auspices of the *Confederación* sporting events, anti-militarist demonstrations, and share actively in the Party propaganda. The youth movement was at first centred in Buenos Aires, but is now attaining considerable importance in the interior of the country. At present 50 Youth Groups with a total of 2,500 members, are organised in the *Confederación*.

Women's organisations : There is no separate organisation for women. There is only 1 women's centre attached to the Party.

Educational organisations : The socialist centres have at the same time an educational character. They all maintain libraries open to the public, and support lectures and study courses, both elementary and of a university standard. There are, however, certain centres of an exclusively educational character which without forming part of the Party work in collaboration with it.

Press : 3 dailies, 32 weeklies and 1 review.

Official Organ : *La Vanguardia* (D.) Rivadavia 2150, Buenos Aires.

Parliamentary Representation : 2 Deputies out of 158 and 1 Senator out of 30 in the Central Parliament : 4 deputies in the Assembly of the Province of Buenos Aires.

Voting strength : About 90,000 at the elections held in 1928.

Ordinary Congress : Every two years ; normally in the month of October.

Party Executive : General Secretary : Jacinto Oddone.

Party Headquarters : Casa del Pueblo, Rivadavia 2150, Buenos Aires.

Representation in the L. S. I. : member of Executive to be newly elected.

The Socialist Party of the Argentine works in a country pre-dominantly agricultural (3 million sq. km.), thinly populated (10

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<sup>(1)</sup> The foregoing report reached the Secretariat of the L. S. I. from the *Partido Socialista* in the Argentine on 12th June 1928. Thus in view of the time required for printing it was no longer possible to consult the Argentine Party as to possible modifications of the report. We have therefore given a translation of the Spanish text as it has reached us, endeavouring to provide some explanations and additions by means of notes.

million inhabitants approximately), in which large landowners control immense tracts of untilled land, a considerable percentage of the population is illiterate, and the bourgeois parties reflect politically and morally the mentality of this population. The country is divided into 14 provinces, each with its own provincial assembly and its own local administration. The Socialist Party has representatives (4) in the Legislature of the Province of Buenos Aires where its chief strength is to be found.

At the municipal elections of November 1927 in the Province of Buenos Aires the Party obtained various successes; especially noteworthy was that in Mar del Plata whose municipality has now been administered by socialists for some ten years past. At this election the Party had to encounter all the conservative forces together with sharp attacks from the elements expelled from its ranks which have formed an "Independent Socialist Party". The campaign in Mar del Plata was almost without parallel in political history: over 91% of the electorate voted in it. The Socialist Party secured 2,019 votes against 1,619 of the Conservative Party, thus holding its lead in the municipal administration. The Party's poll in 1926 was 1,700 votes.

In April of this year municipal elections took place in the Province of Mendoza; in these the Party secured 6,437 votes — an increase of over 100% as against last year—thus obtaining a minority in 5 municipalities.<sup>(2)</sup>

On April 1st of this year, there were held throughout the whole country — except the national areas which take no part in the elections of the Executive and legislative authorities — Presidential Elections, <sup>(3)</sup> and also in the capital and in some provinces, Parlia-

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<sup>(2)</sup> The electoral system in the Argentine is based on lists; i. e. every elector records on his voting-paper a series of candidates. There is no proportional arrangement, but the system prevents one party from being able to secure all the seats. The method to this end is that the elector may only put down on his voting-paper a number of candidates smaller (ordinarily two thirds) than the total number of deputies to be elected. Thus while at the elections of 1928 in Buenos Aires there were 18 deputies to be elected, every elector was entitled only to put down 12 names on his paper, and correspondingly the lists of candidates drawn up by the parties contained only twelve names. Every elector may select from all the available party lists whatever names he wishes, and those candidates who have obtained the most votes are declared elected, irrespective of the list in which they appear. The twelve first elected—still taking as an example the elections of deputies in Buenos Aires—are termed representatives of the "majority", the six below that as those of the "minority". If the electors adhere to the official party lists, the strongest party obtains 12 seats, the next strongest 6 seats, and all other parties get nothing at all.

<sup>(3)</sup> The elections of the President and Vice-President take place in the Argentine on the same system as in the United States. The electorate in the various provinces chooses a special body of electors who then elect the President and Vice-President. These elections also take place on the system of limited lists of candidates. For the post of President of the Republic the Socialist Party put forward as candidate Mario Bravo and for that of Vice-President Nicolas Repetto.



mentary Elections. The Socialist Party participated in the first in all the provinces (except that of Salta where it has no affiliated branch) and in the second in all the provinces which elected representatives. The Party secured an increased vote especially in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Tucuman. In San Juan the development of the bourgeois forces prevented the success of the minority of socialist electors for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Republic. In the Federal capital the seats of the minority of deputies in the Lower House were disputed between the Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party, the latter receiving support for its candidates from the bourgeois and conservative forces. The Socialist Party succeeded in all the genuinely working-class divisions, while the independents gained their victories in the centre of the city whose inhabitants belong almost wholly to the bourgeoisie. At this election<sup>(4)</sup> the working masses

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(4) The deputies for Parliament are elected for four years, but half of the Parliament is renewed every other year. Thus there were this time in all the Argentine only 80 vacant seats to be filled while the other half will be due for re-election only in 1930. Out of the 1,855,106 electors of the Argentine 303,712 belong to the Federal Capital. There were cast there altogether 277,401 votes. Of these an average of about 126,500 votes as a maximum went to the bourgeois list of the successful presidential candidate, Yrigoyen, i. e. in the case of the candidate Talens who under the system of free lists reached the head of the bourgeois list, 127,441 votes. To this list are allotted 12 seats of the "majority". For the "minority" there was a struggle between the "Socialist Party" and the "Independent Socialist Party". In the Capital the two parties proved to be almost equal in strength. But finally the "Independents" obtained a lead which secured for them the allotment of the six "minority" seats. Their list obtained an average of 49,000 votes, maximum 51,273 which went to *Iramain*. The "Socialist Party" secured an average of 44,000 with a maximum of 45,225 which went to Henri *Dickmann*. In order to gauge these results aright, it must be remembered that in 1924 the Socialist list secured the "majority" that is 12 seats. It is true that they were only 2,000 votes ahead of the strongest bourgeois Party of the followers of Yrigoyen. At the elections of 1926 this bourgeois party was again leading although the Socialist poll had increased by nearly 6,000. Thus the strength of the Socialists in Parliament as regards the Capital was founded on the "majority" of 1924 and the "minority" of 1926. At the elections of 1928 there was from the start no possibility in sight of again securing a majority for the socialists. The bourgeoisie had rallied around Yrigoyen who was candidate at the concurrent presidential election, and even with full unity of all socialist forces it would hardly have been possible to come out again as a "majority". However, the division of the Party in August 1927 made it quite certain that only minority seats could be in question.

In Buenos Aires itself the two Socialist Parties *together* register a small advance compared with the result of 1926. The leading socialist candidate then had 63,605 out of 195,619 votes cast, i. e. 32.5%. This time the Socialist Party obtained 16.3 and the Independent S. P. 18.4%, i. e. both together 34.7% of the total votes.

Before the division the United Socialist Party had 19 representatives in the Chamber and two in the Senate. Both parties together now have only 10 representatives in the Chamber and 1 in the Senate. At the division 11 deputies went over to the Independents, 8 remained in the old group. The Independents have maintained their 6 seats in Buenos Aires (*Iramain*, Bunge,

gave their votes to the Socialist Parties, amounting to 45,225. There was also elected a Senator for the Capital, the Party securing first place in the minority.<sup>(6)</sup>

From 9th to 11th October 1927, the Party held its XIXth National Congress, the first one since the division. It was one of the most largely attended and fruitful ever known in the Party's history. There were adopted at it important resolutions which must be submitted to a general vote of the members before being embodied in the Party's statutes : e. g. the character of incompatibility between membership of Parliaments or Legislatures and membership of the Central Executive of the Party or the Governing Bodies of the branches, posts which may not be filled by members of parliament etc. to an extent exceeding one third ; the prohibition of religious marriage to its members, and the prohibition to them of professional or commercial occupation in games of chance. In addition approval was given to the national electoral programme for the elections of April 1928, and to a socialist programme of municipal action.

Since April, 1927, a scheme of the lamented comrade Dr. Justo concerning membership fees according to income, endorsed by a general vote, has been incorporated in the Party's Statutes. According to this scheme, members possessed of earned annual income exceeding 3,000 dollars, must contribute to the funds of their branch in a proportion of .05 dollars for the first 100 dollars excess, increasing progressively by half a hundredth for every 100 pesos following. Income derived from capital and ground rents will be subject to contribution of 5 hundredths for the first 100, increasing progressively by half a hundredths for the first 100 pesos of rent in excess. Whenever the net annual income of either kind does not exceed 10,000 dollars, the contribution will be decreased by 10% for every non-productive person, irrespective of persons for whose maintenance the member is responsible (sons or daughters under 18, aged parents, invalids, etc.).

The revenue derived from this system will be administered by the Socialist Centres and is intended for purposes of education of the workers in science and art, and for other socialist ends.

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Pinedo, Zaccanini, Giusti und Muzio) and 2 further seats (Tomaso and Spinetto), who will have to stand re-election only in 1930 ; in the province they lost their three seats. The Socialist Party forfeited in Buenos Aires its previous 6 seats which were taken by the bourgeois who this time had the "majority". In the Chamber the Party now has only two representatives (Adolfo Dickmann and Nicolas Repetto).

(6) In the Senate the Socialist Party had prior to the schism two representatives (Dr. Justo and Dr. Mario Bravo). Through the death of Justo on 8th January 1928 a bye-election in Buenos Aires became necessary. In it the bourgeois candidate Molinari was successful, while Nicolas Repetto, candidate of the Socialist Party, obtained the second highest poll, namely 43,342 and the candidate of the Independent S. P., Dr. Spinetto came fourth and obtained only 29,409 votes. The result is that in the Senate only the Socialist Party is represented, namely by Dr. Mario Bravo.

The Socialist Party of the Argentine, following on the exclusion of the members who travestied its doctrine and its methods, is entering into one of the best periods of its internal life. Its members after having had to undergo in succession a series of arduous struggles against the bourgeois forces, are now pursuing with unequalled enthusiasm and tenacity the noble mission of educating the people, converting each centre into a school which great numbers of workers attend every night. From this wide, patient and methodical effort we can expect greater triumphs in the future which will hasten the march of socialism towards the realisation of its aims. It should be noted that today the Party numbers more members than it had at the moment of the expulsion of the Independents.

*Other Workers' Parties :(\*)*

The Communist Party which possessed a scanty following of members in the capital and in the interior, has now split into three groups ; the Communist Party affiliated to the Third International, the Workers' Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Argentine District ; the last named, of recent origin, has in the Council 1 Councillor representing also the Communist Party which has been excluded from it. At the last elections in the capital the Communist Party secured 2,040 votes, the Workers' Communist Party 532 and the Communist Party of the Argentine District 2,082. None of the three have any parliamentary representation.

*Literature :*

Information as to the constitution and the franchise is to be found in "The Federal System of the Argentine Republic" by L. S. Rowe, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921.

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The Socialist Party of the Argentine to the International Congress in Hamburg, Buenos Aires, 1923 (German, French, English, Spanish).

The Argentine before the War : Report of the Socialist Party of the Argentine Republic to the International Socialist Congress in Vienna, 1910—1914.

Programme of International Socialist Action, (English) published by the Socialist Party of the Argentine Republic.

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(\*) *Partido Socialista Independiente* : Founded in August 1927. First Congress 28th and 29th January 1928. It decided to make an application for the affiliation of the Party to the L. S. I. Daily Organ : "La Libertad", Rodriguez Pena 70, Buenos Aires

## Armenia.

### *Armenian Revolutionary Federation "Dashnakzoutioun".*

Founded : in 1890.

Membership : 59,560, including the emigrants.

Trade Unions : 40,000 before the bolshevist occupation in 1920.

Youth Organisations : (Students' Societies) 680.

Women's Organisation : 64 groups or unions under different titles, such as the Armenian Relief Corps, Red Cross, etc.

Educational Organisations : some individual groups.

Press : 5 Dailies, 6 papers appearing 3 times and 6 appearing twice a week, 2 monthlies.

Official Organ : "Droschak", 3 Avenue Beau-Séjour, Genève.

Parliamentary Representation : 73 out of 82 in 1920, before the occupation.

Voting strength : 196,000 in 1920.

Ordinary Congress : According to the decision of last Congress every two years.

Party Executive : consists of 5 members and 3 substitutes.

Party Headquarters : A. Isahakianz, 21 Rue Alphonse Haussaire, Enghien-les-Bains. (S. & O.) France.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Isahakianz (E.).

The Party "Dashnakzoutioun" is the oldest party and likewise the only revolutionary organisation of the much-tried Armenian nation. The martyrdom of this nation under Turkish rule is well known. The ever-recurring Armenian massacres have again and again excited the horror and the indignation of the civilised world. During the war the brutality reached the point of a deliberate attempt at the extermination of a whole nation.

After the collapse of the battle-fronts the Armenian people enjoyed a short spell of freedom. From 1918 to 1920 there was an independent Armenian Republic. In it the Federation "Dashnakzoutioun", as the strongest political party of the working population, had an unchallenged majority among the electors and in Parliament, and held the power. However, before they were really able to set to work on the construction of a modern state on the ruins of the past, of war and of slavery, a fresh thralldom came upon them. The country was occupied by the Russian troops and their Kemalist allies and since then has languished under a twofold foreign rule—partly Russian and partly Turkish. The Bolsheviks immediately initiated a war of extermination against the Party "Dashnakzoutioun". The Party was declared outlawed, the trade unions and the Press suppressed and the leaders thrown into gaol.

Far from having been broken by these terrible events the Party still stands erect, active and influential. It has no thought of abandoning the cause of the people, a cause hallowed by rivers of blood, and secure in the sympathy of the whole world. It will continue in

the measure of its strength to lead the destinies of Armenian democracy, a democracy crushed between the hammer of the Kemalists oligarchy and the anvil of the Communist Tcheka. The distressing losses that have been suffered throughout seven years of unceasing war, the frightful bloodshed inflicted by the Turks and Bolsheviks have undoubtedly decimated the ranks of the Party ; but it renews itself by means of fresh elements from among the intellectuals and the young workers in the great scattered Armenian nation.

The present position of the Party may be summarised as follows :—

Since the Marseilles Congress Armenia has always remained divided between Kemalists Turkey and the U. S. S. R. Neither of these will withdraw its claws, so that the victim may regain independence, and this remains one of the most important factors in the peace of the Near East.

Under these conditions, the Revolutionary Federation of Armenia is continuing its struggle against both the Kemalists and Soviet governments, while pursuing unswervingly its policy for the reunion of the two parties of Armenia and the realisation of the independence of a unified Armenia.

The allied and associated Powers which had given solemn undertakings for the creation of this Unified and Independent Armenia, have thought to relieve their consciences by initiating attempts to succour the hundreds of thousands of Armenian refugees scattered here and there everywhere. The League of Nations on its part, which had inserted on the agenda of its general Assembly in 1920 the admission of Armenia as a member of the League, after having been a disinterested onlooker of the unequal struggle which Armenia put up against these two great neighbours of the north and south, and an onlooker also of the partition of these territories between Soviet Russia and Kemalists Turkey, the League of Nations found nothing better to do than to draw up a proposal under the direction of Dr. Nansen for making the refugees enter Soviet Armenia and settling them there.

The Revolutionary Federation of Armenia, which could not be deceived as to the aims pursued by the Powers to confuse engagements of an essentially political character with acts of public charity, and while maintaining its attitude and claiming the rights of Armenia, has not, however, deemed it opportune to obstruct the realisation of these plans. The result of these deliberations and of these plans has nevertheless been a complete fiasco ; the plan of repatriation of Armenian refugees drawn up by Dr. Nansen, has remained—as moreover it was fatally bound to do—in the plan state, and if refugees are gradually managing to settle in various countries, it is thanks to their private initiative and to their industry, rather than to the well co-ordinated and generous action of the respective governments.

With regard to the activity as such of the Dashnaktzoutioun Party, this can be classed under two heads : activity carried on in Armenia and activity among refugees abroad.

In Armenia, while remaining faithful to its position of national independence, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation is pursuing in practice the work of reconstruction and union within Armenia of the provinces and districts taken from it by force, which latter do not cease, even under the tyrannical regime of the soviets, from demanding the right of unity with Armenia in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. The Revolutionary Federation is at the same time practising the policy of defence and of alleviation of the wrongs done to the masses of the Armenian workers by the bolshevist regime. The active propaganda carried on by the Party towards this end, as well as its criticisms of the fundamental principles and effects of the soviet dictatorship meet with enthusiastic reception among the people.

Exasperated by the popularity enjoyed by the activities of the "Dashnaks" in Armenia, the Bolshevists continue their persecutions of the former with ferocity. The earlier report submitted by the Party to the Marseille Congress already mentioned the first phase of these persecutions.

They were inflicted with such fury in 1926 and particularly in 1927, when the "Dashnaktzoutioun" went through a phase of persecution more violent than any since 1921. On charges of having merely engaged in propaganda or of possessing some illegal publications, the soviet police in the spring and summer of 1927 made arrests en masse. In the one town of Erivan the number of prisoners in that year is estimated at 400. The following year the Tcheka changed its method of work : instead of arrests en masse it inaugurated the system of arresting every day little groups whom it transported, often great distances from their home, even to Siberia. At the end of 1927 there were 1,200 prisoners in Armenia alone without counting Transcaucasia and the neighbouring districts.

One of the most unexpected results of these last persecutions has been the flight into the mountains of a large number of peasants and workers, who have not yet returned to their homes from fear of being arrested, and continue, scattered or in groups, to live as outlaws, thus presenting a permanent danger of conflicts with bloodshed.

As to the activity of the party among the refugees, this consists principally of organising the scattered masses of its countrymen, of raising as far as possible their cultural level and of initiating them into, and inducing them to adopt, the social and political principles of the party.

Thus it has led to the constitution of large organisations in the United States, in France, in the Balkans, in Syria, in Persia and in general in all the countries where the human wreckage from Armenia has for the moment taken refuge, while awaiting the liberation of their country and the re-erection of their homes.

The propaganda of the party is in particular directed to the young people of Armenia and to the young orphans who form a considerable proportion of the people.

Attention should also be called to the activity of the Dashnaktzoutioun Party among Armenian women. The party has succeeded in reaching these women, brought up more or less in the oriental way, and in inculcating them with the modern principles of the women's movement, which has indeed been a somewhat arduous task. Thus it has succeeded in forming a large number of women's associations, which, called by various names, are working under the auspices of the party.

It is due to this strenuous activity that the Revolutionary Armenian Federation to-day enjoys very great popularity among Armenians abroad. Its own press organs are more numerous and have a wider circulation than all the others together. Conferences and public meetings organised by the party are always full. On the occasion of political or municipal elections it is always the Party's candidates who reach the head of the list.

All the efforts of the bolshevist groups abroad to impede the work of the Dashnaktzoutioun Party and to destroy its increasing popularity, remain futile.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

The number of members of the Communist Party in Armenia, according to the figures given by the party's papers, now reaches 2,500. But the repercussions of the dissensions within the Russian Communist Party have been felt even more seriously within the ranks of the Armenian Communist Party, which fact paralyses the outward development of its forces.

*Literature :*

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Bulletin of the L. S. I. Vol. I, No. 3.  
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"International Information" 1926 p. 153, 1927 p. 546.

## Austria.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

(Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Österreich.)

Founded : in 1889.

Membership : 669,586 (including 201,063 women).

Trade Union Membership : 756,392 (including 167,919 women).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 28,152.

Membership of Women's Organisations : 201,063.

Educational Organisations : Workers' Educational Centre ; Socialist School and Educational "Friends of Children" Association ; Socialist Organisation for Highschool Members and Students ; Students' Society for Socialist Politics ; Workers' Temperance League ; Workers' Choral League ; Central Association of Workers' Mandoline Orchestras, Workers' League for Sport and physical culture (Askö).

Press : 6 Dailies, 17 Weeklies, 9 Monthlies.

Official Organ : "Arbeiter-Zeitung" (D.), Vienna V, Rechte Wienzeile 97.

Parliamentary Representation : National Assembly, 71 out of 165, Federal Council 20 out of 50.

Voting Strength : 1,539,635 (42,3%) in April 1927 (Proportional representation men and women).

Ordinary Congress : annually, generally in the month of November.

Party Executive : President : Karl Seitz ; Substitutes : Otto Bauer, Tomschik ; Treasurer : W. Ellenbogen ; Secretaries : Ferdinand Skaret, Robert Danneberg, Julius Deutsch ; Members : Friedrich Austerlitz, Matthias Eldersch, Anton Hueber, Johann Pölzer, Adelheid Popp, Karl Renner, Albert Sever, Ludwig Bretschneider, Franz Domes, Georg Emmerling, Otto Glöckel, Valentino Pittoni, Gabriele Proft, Paul Richter, Adolf Schärtl, Therese Schlesinger, Paul Speiser, Anton Weber.

Party Headquarters : Vienna V, Rechte Wienzeile 97.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Bauer (E. B.), Skaret (E.).

Since the "restoration" of the national finances (September, 1922) carried out under the auspices of the League of Nations, Austria has been in a state of permanent economic crisis, which has brought with it mass unemployment of gigantic proportions. The hopelessness of the Austrian economic crisis and the impoverishment of thousands of workers who for years have been dependent solely upon the state unemployment benefit, are accentuating the opposition of classes, which on the other hand is aggravated by the continual attacks on the part of the bourgeoisie against the standard of life of the working-classes by means of the introduction of increased customs tariffs and against the basis of Austria's economic existence, tenants' protection. To this must be added an endless number of corruption scandals within the government parties, which lost the state enormous sums.

On the other hand the consciousness of power on the part of the working-class has notably developed with the imposing progress of the Party. At the 31st December, 1927, Austrian socialists numbered



669,586 Party members. The women's organisation included 201,063 members. In Vienna alone at the same date there were 387,677 members of the Party, of whom 259,019 were men and 128,658 women. In the whole of Austria 16.59% of the adult population are organised within the ranks of the socialists. In Vienna at the 31st December, 1927, 29.52% of the adult population belonged to the socialists. Every third adult in Vienna is a member of the Socialist Party, and every seventh throughout the whole of Austria.

The elections of 24th April, 1927, brought an impressive victory to the socialists, who found themselves faced with an united bourgeoisie having a unified list of candidates. Although the election system of Austria lets a certain number of residue votes be lost, so that the collaboration of the two largest bourgeois parties pointed to a probable increase of seats for them, yet the socialists were able to increase their number of seats from 68 to 71. The poll of the Party rose from 1,311,870 to 1,539,635 ; its percentage of votes recorded from 39.6% to 42.3%. In Vienna alone 693,621 votes were cast for the socialists, that is 59.87% of votes recorded. The bulwark of socialism in Austria, red Vienna, against which the chief attack of reaction was directed, was successfully defended.

The verdict in the Schattendorf murder case setting at liberty the Christian-Social "front-line fighter" who had shot a socialist worker and a child, was bound to create the impression among the working-class that the socialists—more than two-fifths of the population—were without rights within the Republic founded by them. The incapacity of the police authorities and the acts of violence on the part of their agents burst asunder a spontaneous demonstration by the workers, which took place on 15th July, 1927, the day following the verdict. 90 dead and nearly 1,000 wounded were the victims of the insane massacre. In order to put an end to the lawless fighting and to organise the protest of the working-class into an effective demonstration against fascism, the Party at once ordered a 24-hour general strike and then a general transport strike. In serried ranks and with remarkable discipline the working-class, in spite of all the attempts at sabotage on the part of communists, obeyed the orders of their Party agents. The attempts of fascism to exploit the situation for itself broke down before the consolidation of the working-class.

The annual congress which met in Vienna from 29th October to 1st November, 1927, was able to record that the events had not shaken the stability of the Party either in organisation or in principles. The Party organisation, since the days following the 15th July, when the brutality of the Seipel regime came plainly into view, has made a further notable advance. Certain conflicts within the Party, arising especially in regard to the measures which might be required for complete defence against fascist defence corps in the provinces, have been put aside. In addition a series of local elections, which took place in the first months of 1928 in districts of the

most varied social types, have shown emphatically that all attempts of reaction to make political capital out of the events of the 15th July have remained ineffective.

During the years since 1925 the Party has formulated its theoretical basis anew and has learned the lessons of the period following the world war. The necessity of spreading socialist propaganda in increasing extent throughout the country districts, led to the composition of an agricultural programme, which was unanimously adopted at the annual congress in Vienna (November 1925). The annual congress in Linz (November 1926) adopted the general programme of the Party, to which the agricultural programme was added as one of its items.

Hand in hand with this the socialist workers' educational institutions were built up, the culmination of which was the opening of the Vienna Labour College, which is housed in a former Habsburg castle. The first course was opened on 18th January, 1926 and brought to an end on 17th July, 1926. Since then half-yearly courses are held annually. Pupils of both sexes are delegated from labour organisations. The school is arranged for boarders.

*Other workers' parties :*

Czech Socialist Party (see page IV. 15).

Communist Party. Membership is not given by Communist International.

At the elections in April 1927 it received 16,119 votes (0,4%) and no seats. The Party has moreover suffered a split. The group which broke away, and which has since then again divided, at the elections demanded that votes be given for the socialists.

Poale Zion. (See page IV. 112.)

*Literature :*

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## Austria.

### *Czecho-slovakian Social-Democratic Labour Party.* (Ceskoslov. soc.-dem. strany delnicka v. Republice Rakouské.)

Founded : in 1876.  
Membership : 14,200 (including 3,760 women).  
Trade Union Membership : included in the Austrian trade unions.  
Membership of Youth Organisations : 2,825.  
Membership of Women's Organisations : see Women's Report.  
Educational Organisations : in existence.  
Press : 1 Daily, 2 Monthlies.  
Official Organ : "Dělnické Listy" (D.) Vienna, V, Margaretenplatz 7.  
Parliamentary Representation : None. 2 out of 120 representatives in the Vienna Diet elected on the Austrian Socialist lists.  
Voting Strength : Included in the poll of the Austrian socialists.  
Ordinary Congress : every two years, generally in the month of April.  
Party Executive : President : W. Filar ; Members : Drahozal, Kopecka, Skranc, Zedníček, Čiček, Strnad, Secretary : Skrivan, Adámek, Hajn, Pechowa, Kohl.  
Party Headquarters : Margaretenplatz 7, Vienna V.  
Representation in the L. S. I. : A. Vavroušek (E.), Substitute : Anton Machát.

There still exists in Vienna from the time of the Austrian monarchy a Czech minority which has certainly diminished in numbers since the birth of the Czech-slovak Republic, since not only has the influx of Czechs into Vienna ceased but numbers of Czechs have emigrated. Within the Czech minority the working-class predominates. The Czech workers in Vienna possess a long-standing and good organisation which for decades past has worked hand in hand with the German socialists in Austria. The Party itself has existed for over 50 years, its paper „Dělnické Listy“ for 39 years. In 1925 „Dělnické Listy“ celebrated its 25th anniversary as a daily.

In all political questions the Czech socialists in Austria consistently act in closest accord with the German working-class of Austria. Thus their Party Directorate, on the occasion of the parliamentary elections of April, 1927, issued an appeal, containing the following passage :

“The Czech Socialist Party in Austria, faithful to the international duty of solidarity among the workers' parties, will go forward in the coming elections side by side in a united front with Austrian socialists. It has the obligation of viewing everything above all from the standpoint of the entire working population and defending with all its power the interests of this population. The Czech Party has resolutely and without wavering chosen its path, convinced that it is the only desirable and successful one in our economic political and educational conditions.”

In accordance with these principles the Party put forward candidates for the Vienna Provincial Diet on joint lists with the Austrian Socialist Party, and secured two seats.

The Party devotes close attention to the political questions affecting the schools of the Czech minority in Austria. In matters where the Party Programme is not in question, the Party does not withhold co-operation with the rest of the Czech minority.

At the National Congress of 15th May, 1927, the Party adopted a new Programme. The rapporteur Sykora pointed out that this Programme has the same basis in principle as the Linz Programme of the Austrian Socialists.

During the period reported the organisation of the Party has extended in a very satisfying manner ; in particular the women's organisation has secured notable successes.

The Czech working-class in Austria is struggling in close solidarity with the working-class of the Austrian Socialist Party on behalf of the constructive work of the socialist municipality of Vienna and against reactionary clericalism. Close ties link the Party with the larger Czech Labour Party in the Czechoslovak Republic, which is regularly represented by delegates at the Congresses of its kindred Party in Austria.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

See page IV. 14.

*Literature :*

Minutes of National Congresses (Czech.).

People's Library : 16 volumes.

Workers' Year-Books and pamphlets (Czech.).

International Information 1927 : 126, 253.

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## Belgium.

### *Labour Party.*

(Parti Ouvrier Belge.)

Founded : in 1885.

Membership : 597,971 (1927), including 80,000 women.

Trade Union Membership : 514,841.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 24,600.

Membership of Women's Organisations : 157,380.

Educational Organisations: Workers' Educational Centre, Workers' College.

Press : 8 Dailies, 29 Weeklies, 7 fortnightlies, 29 monthlies, 7 others.

Official Organ : "Le Peuple" (D.) 35, rue des Sables, Brussels. "De Volksgazet" (D.) 22, Somersstraat, Antwerp. "Vooruit" (D.) Lieven Dewinestraat 27, Ghent.

Parliamentary Representation : 78 out of 187 ; Senate 60 out of 153.

Voting Strength : 820,650 (39.44%) in April 1925 (proportional representation, Male Suffrage).

Ordinary Congress : annually, on the first Sunday in June.

Party Executive: Bureau of the General Council: Vandervelde, de Brouckère, J. Wauters, Bouchery, Delattre, Mme. Spaak, Debonne, Fesler, Van Belle, Balthazar, Vandemeulebroucke ; representatives of the Trade Union Commission : Mertens, Solau, Martel ; delegates of the Co-operatives : Serwy, Cnudde, Donnay ; delegate of the Federation of Friendly Societies : Jauniaux ; General Secretary : Joseph van Roosbroeck.

Party Headquarters : Maison du Peuple, rue Joseph Stevens 17, Brussels.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Vandervelde (B. E.), de Brouckère (E.), Van Roosbroeck, Substitute and Treasurer of the L. S. I.

The period since the Marseilles Congress has been one of the most arduous which the Belgian Labour Party has ever had to undergo. Today when these difficulties already belong to the past, it can be recorded that the Party has emerged from this epoch with augmented powers.

In June, 1925, the Party entered a Coalition Government with the Christian Democrats which possessed a strong majority in parliament. The primary task of this government was the restoration of the State finance. The Coalition Government endeavoured to apportion as fairly as possible the weight of the new burdens which the population had to assume towards this end. The assault of the bourgeoisie aimed at frustrating these endeavours and likewise the other democratic reforms proposed by the Government, especially as regards the constitution of the army. Since they were too weak to overthrow the government by constitutional means in parliament, they initiated a bitter conflict outside parliament ; fascist guards appeared which, though insignificant in number, conducted themselves in a highly aggressive fashion, with the aid of the banks, industry and big business.

It was at this point that the Belgian Labour Party intervened with striking readiness. Within a few weeks bodies of red militia

were created which on 1st of May, 1926, organised a public march in impressive numbers. Their appearance alone was sufficient to exorcise the fascist spectre.

But the forces of capital were not yet ready to own themselves worsted. A furious press campaign causing panic, an incessant agitation abroad against the government led to a break-down of the negotiations opened with the object of concluding a stabilising loan; the plan for stabilisation collapsed, and the Belgian franc crashed, gravely endangering the financial and economic situation of the country. The Democratic coalition government found itself beaten by the powers of finance and compelled to resign. After sundry vain attempts to form a government by the socialist President of the Chamber, Brunet, a Jaspar government was formed (18th May, 1926), consisting of 4 socialists, 4 Catholics and 2 Liberals one of whom was the banker Franconi. The Belgian Labour Party was led to take part in this government in order thereby to be able to help in the stabilisation of the franc, to "save the franc", as it was currently expressed. The government concentrated its attention exclusively on this object, and agreed to the conditions made by the Labour Party whereby the existing system of social insurance was to remain intact and the Rent Acts and the ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day were to be adopted. Accordingly on 28th July the Washington Convention was unconditionally ratified.

The municipal elections of 10th October, 1926, bore witness that the Party's tactics had met with appreciation and approval among the working-class. In this situation, the difficulties of which caused anxiety as to a decline in the socialist poll, and despite all communist attacks, the Labour Party achieved a gain of 470 seats, thus brilliantly confirming its election victory of 1925.

An Extraordinary Congress, held at Christmas 1926, had to concern itself with the question, whether and under what conditions co-operation in the government should continue now that legal stabilisation had been fulfilled. The Party resolved to refrain from giving an answer to this question itself, by leaving it to the Party to answer in the form of a referendum. The vote went in favour of continuing participation in the government, 372,758 members voting for, 171,062 against participation. It was already plainly intimated that the truce between the parties could only be prolonged until stabilisation had been fully safeguarded. In the course of 1927 the Labour Party's campaign for the introduction of a six months' term of military service came more and more to the front. The Minister of Defence refused under military pressure to put forward proposals in this sense. In view, however, of the mass agitation of the Labour Party he ultimately proposed to deal with the question in a Commission, but made this conditional upon the socialist ministers suspending in the meanwhile their activities for the reduction of the

term of service. The rejection of this proposal then led to a government crisis.

The Government newly formed in November, 1927, comprises the Catholics and the Liberals. The Labour Party stands in declared opposition to it. It is waging an energetic campaign for the six months' term of service, for farm-leases lasting 9 years and for an extension of social insurance. The response aroused in the masses by these aims has greatly reinforced the position of the Labour Party.

Towards the Communist united front and disruptive manoeuvres such as the Workers' International Relief, the National Red Aid, etc., the Belgian Labour Party defined its attitude on 23rd February, 1927, in a resolution which declares membership of such organisations to be incompatible with affiliation to the Belgian Labour Party.

A token of the confidence of the whole International in the strength of the Belgian Labour Party was the decision to commit the monument in honour of Matteotti into the care of the Belgian workers, pending the time when it may find a fit home in a liberated Italy. The unveiling of the monument on 11th September, 1927, before a large attendance of the Brussels workers, was the occasion for a most impressive demonstration of international solidarity.

#### *Other Workers' Parties :*

- (a) Communist Party (1500 members according to communist data). At the last elections it obtained 29,422 votes (0.39%) and two seats. The Party has suffered particularly from the effects of the controversies within the Communist International, because in the Central Committee the opposing partisans of the Stalin and Trotzky tendencies were equal to each other in strength. Only by means of the strongest pressure was it possible to pass a resolution which excluded the opposition, among which there was one deputy, from the Party. (b) Mention must also be made of the Christian-democrats who belong, together with the communists to the most pronounced opponents of socialism. They can hardly be termed a party, but retain connections with the Catholic Conservatives ; generally speaking they are Catholics first and democrats afterwards, and their votes nearly always blend with those of the Catholic Conservatives.

In essence, the Christian-Democratic movement finds expression in a variety of enterprises such as trade unions, co-operatives, friendly societies, and in a number of religious, educational, musical, athletic and other societies. Their enterprises are always marked by a pronounced anti-socialist spirit ; indeed most of them have only been launched in order to impede socialist activity within the working-classes who have retained religious faith. With regard to their trade unions, certain of which in the Flemish districts have attained some importance, they are often found acting with the object of breaking socialist strikes or of working against the movements of socialist trade unions.

#### *Literature :*

Emile Vandervelde : The Belgian Labour Party, 1885—1925, Brussels, 1925 (French).

Very full reports of national congresses containing ample statistical material. International Information, especially I. I. 1927, pp. 3 and 511.

## **British-Guiana.**

### *Labour Union.*

Founded : In 1919.

Membership : 1,073 (of whom 341 are women).

Trade Union Membership : Identical with the Party.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 33.

Membership of Women's Organisations : —

Educational Organisations : None.

Press : None.

Official Organ : None.

Parliamentary Representation : None.

Voting Strength : None. (Restricted franchise).

Party Executive : Secretary : H. Critchlow.

Party Headquarters : 142, Regent Street, Lacytown, Georgetown.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

Since 1925 the young Labour Union of this Colony has undergone considerable development and has shown signs of vigorous growth. At the end of July 1925 comrade Critchlow, its Secretary, attended the British Commonwealth Conference held in London, at which he gave an address describing industrial and political conditions in the Colony, the aims towards which the workers there are striving and the beginnings of organisation since the foundation of the Labour Union in 1919. During this visit comrade Critchlow was able to come into contact with leading members of the International, and likewise with representatives of the British Labour Party and the trade unions.

Following his return home at the end of August 1925, the secretary of the British Guiana Labour Union then addressed to the International a formal invitation to be represented at the First British Guiana and West Indian Labour Conference to take place at Georgetown from 12th—14th January 1926. In its reply the Secretariat of the L. S. I. stated that the Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts M. P. was attending this conference as delegate of the British Labour Party, and that he would deliver there a message of cordial greetings and good wishes to the new organisation on behalf of the International.

The Conference, of which Mr. Roberts was Chairman, provided the first time an opportunity for general discussion of the many vital problems confronting, in British Guiana, the medley of races in a total population of a little over 300,000, amongst which the working class is barred by a high property qualification from the franchise and from political representation, and also almost wholly unprotected by any social institutions. Some five-sixths of the inhabitants consist of negroes and of Indians (from India) ; how-



ever, difficulties as between the white and coloured people are comparatively unimportant. On the other hand, a serious problem is presented by the tendency of the Indian workers to undercut wages, thus helping to frustrate the efforts of the small Labour Union to establish a minimum and to raise for the whole working population the very low standard of life. At present in the rice and sugar industries, which are the only important ones in the colony, the workers are still exposed to every kind of exploitation, and have no remedy save in what the Union can do for them. As a result of poverty, many parents send their children to work prematurely; the law allows the employment of child labour from the age of 9, and in fact the owners of estates are able to take on children of 7. With this is naturally connected the exceedingly backward state of education and the fact that a large majority of children do not attend school. To all these matters the Conference gave its attention. On the subject of social and industrial legislation, a demand for the minimum programme of workers' protection was formulated; the claim was urged for reduction to a reasonable figure for qualification for the municipal franchise, reform of some features in the Courts of Law, and reform of the prison system along English lines. Such questions as the maintenance in England of a Labour Commissioner for the West Indian Colonies, and the proposal of a hinterland railway to connect British Guiana with the interior of the country, were after discussion postponed.

The most important concrete decision taken by the Conference was that in favour of establishing a Labour Federation between British Guiana and the neighbouring colonies of the West Indies, under the title of the Guianese and West Indian Federation of Trade Unions and Labour Parties, and an accompanying resolution urging the need for political federation of the aforesaid colonies, and the grant to them of "some form of selfgovernment enabling them to conduct their own affairs under a Colonial Parliament with Dominion status". Steps were taken by the appointment of a Commission to give effect to this intention of founding a Labour Federation. It was agreed that in the near future a further conference should resume consideration of this and other unresolved problems.

The effect of this successful conference, at which for the first time so many burning questions found expression, was to give a marked stimulus to the incipient workers' movement in these distant colonies, where the Labour Union by its determined action in various strikes, has already proved itself a force to be reckoned with. It is at present trying to create a party paper of its own, which will help it towards wider development. A notable step has also been taken by the establishment of contact with the British Labour Movement, which will be able in certain cases to keep a watch on the Colonial Office or to act in the House of Commons. A bill to alter the status of the Colony of British Guiana from that

of a self-governing Colony to that of a Crown Colony, is at present under consideration by the British House of Commons.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

None

*Literature :*

Report of First British Guiana and West Indies Labour Conference, January 12—14, 1926, Georgetown, 1926 (in English).

Report of First British Commonwealth Labour Conference (esp. pp. 82—85), London, 1925 (in English).

Report of the British Guiana Commission (presented to the British Parliament), London 1927, (in English).

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## Bulgaria.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

(Bulgarska Rabotnitscheska Socialdemokratischeska partia.)

Founded : in 1893.

Membership : 30,126 and 1,490 members of the "Socialist Women's Organisation".

Trade Unions : 2,500 (and ca. 35,000 not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 1,560.

Women's Organisation : 1,490.

Educational Organisations : Three Peoples' Universities.

Press : 1 Daily, 9 Weeklies, 1 Monthly.

Central Organ : "Narod" (D.) Rue Dondukoff, No. 37, Sofia.

Parliamentary Representation : 10 out of 272.

Voting Strength : 60,000.

Ordinary Congress : annually, generally in the month of October.

Party Executive : Janko Sakasoff, Krestju Pastuchoff, K. Bozielieff, W. Damianoff, H. Hristoff, Gr. Tschesmedschief, K. Luftscheff, D. Boduroff, D. Neikoff.

Party Headquarters : H. Hristoff, Rue Dondukoff 37, Sofia.

Representation in the L. S. I. : J. Sakasoff (E.).

Ten years after the world war Bulgaria still remains a country full of internal unrest, tormented by the terror of a fascist government and under the pressure of unsolved and weighty problems.

The period of the civil war is not even yet finally closed. The amnesty of the 4th February, 1926, liberated only a certain number of the political prisoners, while hundreds of others are still languishing in the prisons. The Bulgarian socialists have not ceased from repeatedly raising their demand for a complete amnesty. Abroad also international socialist solidarity has made itself a channel for this demand. On the 10th March, 1927, Vandervelde referred, in the public sitting of the Council of the League of Nations, to the necessity of furthering the pacification of the country by an amnesty.

The trials of communists continue though on a smaller scale. Unwelcome observers, such as the German Reichstag member, Kurt Rosenfeld, who as a lawyer wished to attend a trial of communists, are expelled.

As regards the terrorist methods of the government against the labour movement there has been little change through the change of government which took place on 5th January, 1926. Liaptscheff took the place of Tsankov, whose personality seemed obstructive in the loan negotiations which Bulgaria was then engaged in. In home affairs this change of individuals had little significance, the system remained unaltered.

The economic position of the country also has met with no improvement. Unemployment persists undiminished, and the misery

of the refugees has not appreciably lessened in spite of the loan to Bulgaria in 1926, the conclusion of which was to a great extent advanced by the socialist party and in the report of Vanderfelde in the League of Nations. The refugees are a heavy burden on the municipalities and the state. They offer sharp competition in the labour market, depress wages and increase unemployment.

The earthquake catastrophe of 1928 appallingly increased the economic difficulties of the country. The socialist party of Bulgaria applied in a communication to the Secretariat of the L. S. I., in order through the parliamentary groups of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. to secure a reduction of the burden of reparations provided in the Peace Treaty. The Bureau of the L. S. I. at its meeting in June, 1928, endorsed this demand.

This state of affairs has been even worsened by the political position of Bulgaria as to foreign affairs. The complicated relations of the nationalities in the Balkans on the one hand, and on the other hand the incitements to war in the Balkans on the part of Italian fascism, which has found its confederate in Bulgarian fascism, present a permanent danger to the peace of the world. The Manifesto of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International in February, 1927, which referred to this danger, found the clearest response in Bulgaria. Bulgarian socialists have continuously demanded with the utmost emphasis a policy of understanding with the neighbouring states.

A series of elections which have taken place during the period under report have proved that the Party is offering successful opposition to the appalling pressure of the fascist terror. The district elections of 14th November, 1926, brought the government 48% of the votes, but thanks to the reactionary election law, 60% of the seats. The position of the government was weak especially in the towns, as there the terror could not proceed quite so unrestricted as in the country districts. The socialists obtained 6% of the votes, which in the given circumstances must be considered as a really favourable result.

The elections to the Sobranje of the 29th March, 1927, were preceded by a bitter fight to alter the undemocratic election law, which guarantees the majority of the seats to the government, even if it gets only a minority of the votes, and which compels the formation of election pacts. This fight was without result. The socialist party therefore joined with the small farmers and the small artisans in an "iron block", which obtained 300,000 votes, that is about 30% of the poll and 62 seats. The socialists obtained 10 of the seats. The government secured about 45% of the votes, but nevertheless 170 out of 272 seats, that is, a considerable majority. Again on this occasion the sharpest difference was seen between the efficacy of the terror in the towns and in the country districts. In the capital, Sofia the government got only 4 out of 11 seats.

Within the party during the period under report there is a clarification to be noted which will be of the utmost significance for

future development. The party congress of January 1926 expelled Assen Tsankoff and Dimo Kasassoff from the party. Therewith the party is finally clear of the spectre of the coup d'état, with which both these were personally connected without the approval of the party. Therewith also the clear-cut attitude of opposition of the socialists towards the government acquires a more distinct public character. The expelled members endeavoured by the foundation of a "socialist federation" to bring disruption in to the ranks of the working-class and to bring about a schism in the party. The elections of May, 1927, showed that these attempts were in vain. The federation did not throughout the whole country secure even the requisite number of votes for one seat.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party is illegal. Was formed from the party of the "narrow-minded" (i. e. no compromise) while the "broadminded (i. e. open to compromise) formed the present socialist party. Up to the time of the coup-d'état in 1923 the majority of the Bulgarian workers were communist. After the September rising of 1923 the communist party was dissolved and prohibited. Immediately before the rising of 1925 the communist members—of whom in the meantime two had been murdered—were expelled from parliament. At the beginning of 1927 the communists with the sanction of the Liaptscheff government founded the "Workers' Party". It took part in the elections of May, 1927, and obtained 4 seats.

Socialist Federation. See above.

*Literature:*

Report of the International Congress in Marseilles.  
International Information, in particular volume 1926, No. 10, p. 3, Vol. 1927 page 540.

## China.

### *Social Democratic Party of China (S. C. S. O.).*

European Secretariat : No. 10 Boite Postale.  
Bois-Colombes (Seine) France. Secretary Wang Kien, elected at the extraordinary Congress (14. XI. 1926).

We reproduce in the following the report given by the Chinese Party at the meeting of the Executive of the L. S. I. in Paris on the 12th of February 1927, as well as the full text of the speech of comrade Yang Kantao :

### The antecedents of the Situation in China.

#### *Outline Report submitted by the Chinese Delegation to the Executive of the L. S. I. in Paris.*

The system of Concessions and of extrterritoriality, founded on iniquitous treaties, is poisoning at once the inner and the outer life of China. Here we desire only to recall briefly its origin and consequences, seeing that it is fatal :—

to the peace of the world, by robbing China of her independence and of her equality with other nations :

to the development of International Socialism, by imposing on the workers in China a capitalist yoke without any means of self-defence :

to the pacific evolution of the Chinese people, by provoking and maintaining the Civil War.

### I. Origin.

There is no need for us to go back to the treaty signed in 1689 with Russia at Nertschinsk, which moreover has lapsed.

The starting-point of the present relations of China with foreign Powers was the Treaty of Nankin signed with Great Britain, on the 29th August, 1842, at the close of the Opium War. It will be remembered that, for having refused to receive this poison, the City of Canton was shelled. China had to pay an indemnity of 21 million dollars.

Soon afterwards followed the Treaties of 1843 with Great Britain, and of 1844 with the United States and France, which founded the system of the Concessions and of extrterritoriality.

They were aggravated as a result of the Franco-British campaigns of 1857 to 1859 (burning of the Summer Palace), terminated by the Treaties of 1859 and 1860.

Fresh restrictions on the rights of China over its own territory were imposed by France after the campaign of Tonkin and of Formosa (Treaty of 1884).

The starting-point of a new era in the hunt for leased Concessions (leased without rent and thus equivalent to absolute property), was the Sino-Japanese War of 1894—1895, which demonstrated the military weakness of China. The first to profit by it was Germany at Kiao-Tscheou : then came Russia with Port Arthur and Ta-lien-van, Great Britain with Wei-hai-wei and Kio-lang, France with Kouan-Tcheou-wan (1898), and even Italy, which tried, though unsuccessfully to acquire the Bay of San-man.

A series of acts of pressure extorted for the benefit of the various groups of foreigners, all kinds of economic, commercial and industrial concessions. Thus the Boxer revolt which though in its essence it had rather a Manchu governmental character, found encouragement in the anger which had been provoked (1900). It closed, as will be remembered, by the Protocol of September 7th 1901 which put the finishing touch to foreign interference.

It was at this moment that, wounded in its flesh and blood, injured in its interests, the Chinese people began to acquire self-consciousness, and desired to intervene in affairs of state. Hence the political crisis lasting ten years which in 1911 gave rise to the Chinese Revolution.

From that date onwards the Chinese people has counted for something and, impelled by no blind anti-foreign feeling but by the feeling of its right to self-government, has made its resistance felt. An example is that of the celebrated 21 demands of Japan in 1915, which will never be applied as long as they have not been revised.

## II. Consequences.

### 1. For the peace of the world.

The control over Customs established in 1842 and in 1858 by the British and the French fixed the maximum of the single tariff at 5 per cent *ad valorem* on all goods whatever. This is already a considerable infringement of the interests both of the country itself and of other countries, since native products cannot be sometimes protected and sometimes placed at the disposal of international exchange, nor on the other hand can the entry of foreign products indispensable to China's development be thereby facilitated.

But in addition, the value of commodities is fixed *every ten years* by international agreements. Such agreements took place in 1859, 191 and 1918. The estimates, at the close of the period of ten years, can only be modified by the *unanimous consent* of all the Concession-holding Powers. But since the treaties with the various countries were concluded at different dates, they practically never expire at the same time ; and under the pretence that the period for revision has lapsed, each country is free to maintain the same estimate for a

fresh period. During almost fifty years, from 1858 to 1902 no fresh agreement was possible. We do not need to explain how much, given the variations in price, this artificial stabilisation weighs upon the development of Chinese industry and on China's financial situation.

Either foreign Powers will themselves be induced by their citizens to abandon this abuse of force in the economic sphere, or else there is a danger that the growing indignation against foreigners will bring about complications.

As to the privileges of extraterritoriality, it is sufficient to indicate their character to show that, not only they reduce China to the level of a colony as regards foreign Powers, but that further it is constantly creating between these powers themselves, economic rivalries capable of leading to the gravest conflicts.

The Consular jurisdiction set up under Articles 15, 16 and 17 of the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) with Great Britain—which replaced the Treaty of 1843—under Articles 21 and 25 of the Treaty of 1844 with America, and under Articles 25, 27 and 28 of the Treaty the same year with France, applies to the same facts a different code of law according to the nationality of the accused, is lacking in provisions for obtaining evidence from persons of different nationalities, involves complication and delay, and is opposed to impartial judgement, since the Consuls, in relation to their nationals, are both judges and parties to the case.

Even if this jurisdiction is gradually dwindling, it still exists with all its vices.

The Mixed Courts in the Concessions deprive the Chinese authorities of their right of full jurisdiction, not only over foreigners, but even over its own Chinese subjects dwelling in the territory of the Concessions.

Thus the foreign Powers have grown accustomed to viewing China as an easy and defenceless prey : and thus after 1919, at the close of the war, Shantung was taken from her.

A nation working towards its re-birth cannot long labour under such a yoke. It should be helped to deliver itself all the more because among the imperialist Powers, competition and the effort of each to increase its influence give rise to complications pregnant with dangers of war. Of this fact further proofs will be seen in our concluding section.

## *2. For the working-class.*

Subject only to their own laws, with the complicity or the indulgence of their Consuls, foreign employers have been able to plunge the Chinese people into a condition of absolute enslavement.

The burden of capitalism is doubled by the foreign yoke. Out of the 1,740,556 spindles working in the spinning-mills at Shanghai in 1925, 962,432 belonged to British or Japanese. The conditions of labour in them are appalling.



If one wishes for an example of the increased burden represented, for similar capitalist enterprises, by the foreign yoke based on privileges of extraterritoriality, such a one can be found in Shanghai as regards the employment of children under twelve.

In an English factory, the British Yangtzepoo Cotton Mill, out of 3,800 hands, 700 are children, boys and girls under twelve. In the largest Chinese cotton mill, the Sansing Cotton Mill, the proportion—still of course too high—is only 430 to a total of 5,339 hands.

Need we add that by the effects of competition this privilege of super-exploitation guaranteed to the foreigner prevents the introduction and application of laws protecting childhood in those factories managed by Chinese.

In the Shanghai factories work is commonly divided into day and night shifts. The wages are miserable. The brutal treatment by foreign foremen, the employment of women and children, is everywhere aggravated and upheld by the power of the foreigners to escape any application of the law where such exists. Foreigners are protected by their armies and navies and by the volunteer forces organised by the capitalists for which the governments supply arms and munitions.

Is there any need to recall the painful events of Shanghai (May 1925), when the national dignity of the Chinese people rose in revolt, on the occasion of a strike, against the British massacres and acts of injustice? They were known in Europe as throughout the whole world. They were a factor in the organisation of the workers into trade unions. They have left bitter memories behind.

### *3. For the pacific internal development of China.*

It is foreign imperialism, now acting in unison, now divided against itself, which provokes and prolongs the civil war in China.

At the close of the world war, the internal struggle which brought into conflict in 1920 Ou-Pet-Fou and the An-fou Club directed by General Su, was a repercussion of the struggle between Great Britain on the one hand and Japan on the other. Two imperialist groups were meeting in the collision of two militarist cliques.

During the war Japan, profiting by the difficulties of the other Powers and by its proximity, had become the main imperialist force in China. It succeeded in laying hold of the territories formerly held by Germany, namely the province of Chanroug and the wealthy portion of Tsin-Tac. As a result of its pressure on Yuang-Chi-Kai, the northern dictator to whom it addressed the celebrated 21 demands, it was able to extend its power over the coal-mines and the railways. The Japanese State Bank received the privilege of financing Chinese industry. Japan secured the right of sending instructors into the Chinese army. It had representatives and advisers in the Chinese Foreign Office. In short, thanks to the war, it had acquired a preponderant influence on the economic, political and administrative life of China.

The war once over, the United States, and with it Great Britain, turned again towards profit from China. They found there Japan reinforced, able to contest against them with advantage the outlets they needed for their capital. It was in order to oust this rival, without showing their hand, that they made use of the feuds existing between military and Chinese chieftains.

What occurred in 1922 partially reproduced what had happened in 1920 : or why in May, 1922, do we find Tchang-Tso-Lin at war with Ou-pei-Fou ?

The fact is that after having relied as always on the capital of the power dominant in its own sphere, the bourgeoisie of Shantung was devoid of German capital. It was therefore a ready prey. On the other hand the great ports have as their patrons British and American capital, the Central Provinces British capital, and Manchuria Japanese capital. Hence the obstacles to the centralisation of the country.

Tchang-Tso-Lin, dominant in the three eastern provinces, dependent for the maintenance of his army and his revenue on the Chinese trading bourgeoisie, especially that concerned in the corn trade (transport over all Northern China, and export abroad of Manchurian corn), linked further through the agency of Chinese commercial capital, with Japan was attempting to enlarge his realm. He needed both to increase his military force, to secure the safety of his transport, and to consolidate the territory already won. On his side, by an inverse movement, Ou-Pei-Fu was striving to extend at once northwards and southwards. Thus the interests of the Chinese military chiefs came into collision. But the extent of their conflicts would not have been so great but for foreign imperialism which incited them and spurred them on.

What is the further meaning of the struggle in 1924 in Northern and Central China ?

Nominally to establish order, and to protect the possessions and existence of the foreigners which were threatened, foreign imperialists assumed a menacing attitude. Their demands are wellknown (enlargement of the Neutral zone, foreign control over the railways, etc.).

At the same time they stirred up fresh disturbances. The Americans had not the patience to wait until Japan should be induced by their economic competition to give way before Yankee capital, and until it should gradually lose its influence. They took advantage of the moment when Japan was weakened by the great earthquake to embitter the struggle which was reopening between Tchang-Tso-Lin and Ou-Pei-Fou. With Great Britain, America strove to efface all traces of the influence of the pro-Japanese chief An-Fou in Tche-Kaing, the Governor-General of which has at least a nominal power over the Port of Shanghai, the sixth in the world according to the movement of its tonnage, and through which 60 per cent of the mass of Chinese exports pass.

That is why the focus of the struggle in Central and Northern China occurs just at the border of the zones of influence of Japan, Great Britain and America, at the cross-roads where the interests of foreign imperialism collide, namely in the neighbourhood of Shanghai and of Chan-Hai-Kouan.

Accordingly, this struggle in Central and Northern China must be viewed as a battle for economic mastery. America and Great Britain versus Japan.

In 1924 Tchang-Tso-Lin having been victorious over Ou-Pei-Fou, betrayed and deserted by Feng-Yu-Siang, Japanese influence found itself strengthened in the north and tried to gain ground in the centre of China.

It is known how, aided by Soviet Russia, which was trying also to gain advantage from the Civil War, Feng-Yu-Siang undertook to overthrow Tchang-Tso-Lin and Ou-Pei-Fou to fight against the co-called Red army. This alliance continued against the government of Canton, which of course the Soviets also pretend to support.

Before the league of the two military dictators Feng was compelled to flee towards Russia.

As regards the Cantonese army, based on the democratic impulse of the awakened masses, in its movement against the Peking government, it is fighting at once against Chinese militarism and against foreign imperialism.

For from the one direction as from the other, there exist dangers to the peace of the world and to the liberties of China.

Dear Comrades,

We are intensely grateful to the Executive of the International for having kindly granted to us the exceptional favour of hearing an account of the situation of our country, which unhappily raises a question of the utmost gravity for the whole world.

First of all we wish to thank all the comrades of our International for the help they are giving to us in our struggle for the independence of China and the emancipation of the Chinese workers. You will allow us to address special thanks to the French and British comrades who have the opportunity of prosecuting courageous action against the imperialism of their governments.

We do not wish to occupy too much of your time by looking into the past for an explanation of how foreign imperialism holds under its yoke the Chinese people and particularly the working-class. But the relations of China with the outside world are still founded on ancient treaties devoid of equity, imposed by force and dating from an epoch when the oppressive and exploiting influence of the old East India Company was still in being. Accordingly a brief historic summary is required. We are distributing to you for this purpose a brief written report, confining ourselves for the moment to that which touches on the present state of affairs, in order to explain to you as concisely and as clearly as possible what we are and what we expect from your, our brothers in the International.

From the moment when the Chinese Revolution broke out as the result of a struggle which raged from 1901 to 1911, a radical change occurred in the evolution of the country; henceforth one must expect to find the Chinese people resisting all endeavours contrary to their national interests

and to the interests of the working-class. There are ample instances of this fact.

What constitutes the strength of foreign capitalism, and what enables it to exploit the working-class by taking advantage of the immense natural wealth to be found in China ?

First and foremost the obsolete treaties concluded as a result of the wars of 1842 and 1858, which treaties involved :

*First*, foreign control of the Customs and compulsory limitation of Custom tariffs.

*Second*, the concessions and the privileges of extritoriality.

The control of the Customs blocks the way to the development of the productive forces of 400 million people, reducing the population to penury and misery. Labour is naturally abundant in a country so thickly populated, but notwithstanding, the Chinese people is unable to transform its raw material by means of industrial production. Indeed foreign capitalists bar the way, by their control of the Customs and by the limitation of tariffs, against the extension of Chinese trade abroad.

Thus they injure, not only the interests of the Chinese people, but those of their own subjects, since under normal conditions commercial exchange between two countries is profitable to both. But what they are aiming at is a limited trade which they may monopolise with super-profits, in place of extensive trade which would bring moderate profit.

Exterritoriality places foreigners outside Chinese law and outside the control of the Chinese authorities.

Wherever the Concessions granted on a strip of territory to certain foreigners to live and carry on trade there have kept their old character, as at Tientsin, Hankow, Canton and other towns, there at least the Chinese laws remain applicable to the Chinese resident in the Concessions.

It is not the same thing in the International Concession of Shanghai. As a result of the revolution of 1911, the foreign Consuls themselves appointed, in direct violation of the provisions of the Treaties, the judges in the mixed Court set up to deal with cases in which foreigners are the plaintiffs against Chinese, and with those arising between Chinese themselves.

Thus the Concession of Shanghai has become a sovereign state ruled over by an oligarchy in the interests of foreigners alone, by means of an official bureaucracy grouped around the person of the Secretary of the Municipal Council.

Thus Chinese law applies no longer to the Chinese. It will be understood what advantage is derived there from by the possessing class to oppress the workers.

The factories established by foreigners, not to develop Chinese industry but to compete with the industry of their respective countries, reproduce the most terrible conditions of labour which existed in Europe a century ago. On this point reference can be made to the report of the "Shanghai Child Labour Commission" of 1924 which showed for example the enormous proportion of children under 12 employed in the factories managed by Englishmen, Americans, French and Italians.

You will see from our report that if foreign capitalism maintains the Chinese working class in oppression, the foreign Imperialism resulting from it provokes and prolongs the civil war in China.

The situation can be summed up as follows :

The struggle going on in Central and Northern China may be viewed as a struggle for influence of America and England against Japan, the offensive being conducted by Anglo-american capital.

The details are supplied to you every day by the newspapers. They are compelled to inform you, often in spite of themselves, that the Army of Canton is only effecting the progress which you know of over a great portion of the territory of China through the sympathy it arouses among the population. It stands for the determination now born in the Chinese people to demand popular liberties together with national independence.

Following the painful events of Shanghai in 1925 the confederation of the workers' trade unions was built up solidly, while associations of peasants also became organized. That represents a source of strength for the Canton Government.

The Canton Government is neither an anti-foreign, nor a bolshevik Government; it is a democratic government dominated by the Kouo-Min-Tan.

What is the Kouo-Min-Tan? In reality it is built up out of three groups:

- (1) The nationalist group, which is the Kouo-Min-Tan of the Right.
- (2) The democratic group (Left Kouo-Min-Tan), which, at this moment, exercises the strongest influence on politics, because it acts as a centre for all the claims at once against the Peking Government and against the forms of foreign imperialism.
- (3) The Bolshevik group which, since the Russians not only are foreigners also, but the most numerous of all foreigners on Chinese territory, cannot and does not possess the confidence of the Chinese people, so that the influence it exerts, apart from certain partisans and instruments, is practically nothing. Bolshevism serves first and foremost as a pretext to the foreigners for justifying their attitude.

The Kouo-Min-Tan embodied first of all the resistance to the claims of the foreign powers, which under the pretence of restoring the order they had themselves helped to disturb by supporting one warring chief against another, were demanding an extension of the neutral zone, in other words an extension of the concessions, and also the institution of special supervision over the railways, and therefore foreign control over the whole railroad system.

To-day it embodies the claims of independence with which internal liberties are always more or less linked. That is what now holds together such divergent tendencies.

Undoubtedly, within a short or a long period we shall see arise in the Kouo-Min-Tan serious schisms, because it is a "multiple party" in which ideas and plans of action frequently collide. Agreement has only been reached for the purposes of the immediate struggle.

Of course we are giving our whole support to the common effort to win the independence and freedom of the people, and our comrades are sharing in the struggle with all their might in all the provinces of China. But even in this struggle, we do not wish to be confounded with those who, whether from self-interest or from illusion, cannot or will not see that the elements working in China for oppression by foreigners, exist also in the heart of China itself, and would only grant self-government on the surface in return for the enslavement of a great proportion of the people to other forms or other representatives of exploitation.

In the face of all these difficulties, we are trying to uphold our true Marxist attitude. We are trying to struggle openly for the spread of the doctrine of Marx, and to organize the working class forces in conformity with the tactics of our socialist international. This is the only means we have of resisting all that may cause our need for independence abroad and freedom at home to degenerate into a "race-struggle" which would only disguise dangerously the class-struggle which in all countries the working class will be more and more called upon to grasp, in order to conduct it at home and side by side with the international action of the working class.

Such is what we are doing and what we wish to do. The comrades in all countries may rely upon our good faith, our devotion and our perseverance in the conditions which we have just briefly sketched to you.

*Progress is only possible to us if the International helps us to deserve the confidence of the Chinese people and workers.*

We believe we are entitled to the right belonging to all the proletariats and socialist parties organized in the International, namely that of expecting accordingly from it an active and constant support to the immediate demands of the Chinese people which are the following :

- (1) Immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops and prohibition of the dispatch of military force to China.
- (2) Complete autonomy of the Chinese Customs.
- (3) Abolition of the Concessions and of the privileges of extrterritoriality.
- (4) Repeal of the Treaties which have alienated the independence of China and the substitution for them of new Treaties based on equality between China and all the other Powers.

We are convinced in advance that by all the means at the disposal of the Parties which you represent here : Parliamentary action, Press Campaigns, public demonstrations, the international working-class also will lend its help to the Chinese people, will compel imperialism everywhere to yield to pressure, and will thus do its share towards placing fresh resources at the service of the cause of the *Social Revolution*, and of the peace of the world.

Accordingly we beg you to accept to-day and to transmit to the comrades in your various countries an expression of our heartfelt gratitude, together with our fraternal greetings.

## Czechoslovakia.

The political physiognomy of Czechoslovakia has experienced a fundamental change through the united congress of the Social-Democratic Labour Parties of Czechoslovakia held in Prague on the 28th and 29th January, 1928. That which was hitherto a community of interests determined by the common state is now to become a conscious and voluntary community of action. The initiation of common action as organisations, between the Social-Democratic parties of all nations, will determine not only the political development of Czechoslovakia itself, which on account of its social structure, offers the most favourable conditions for the growth of social-democracy, but will in a wider sphere have a strong reaction on the political situation of the whole of Central Europe.

Besides the resolutions passed by the Congress on questions of actuality, it decided upon measures providing for a lasting coalition, and this gives to it above all else, its overwhelming significance. The Congress has set up a joint committee for unity which constituted itself on the 14th of March and elected Hampl as President for the Czechoslovakian and Dr. Czech for the German social-democrats. This committee was charged with the task of adapting the material prepared by the various social-democratic parties of the country for the section of the programme relative to questions of a national character and so to prepare the unification of the declarations of the parties in this respect.

Even before the joint Congress, common demonstrations of the social-democrats of all nations had taken place, at which the will to unity of the working-class had found utterance in an impressive form ; but the exterior climax of the movement for unity was the joint May Day celebration which proved to be a grand demonstration of the fighting spirit of the proletariat. The demonstrations of the 1st of May showed most emphatically the desire of the workers of all nations for a united struggle against reaction.

Earlier still, in October, 1926, the unification of the trade union movement had taken place. Instead of the separate Czech and German free trade union centres, a united trade union centre was established in the country.

There is indeed still much to be done towards removing the differences of outlook which arise from the variety in traditions and in attitude towards the State in both the large Social-Democratic parties of the country. But out of the common fight waged by the

bourgeoisie in all countries against the working-class everywhere, there is growing more and more the will towards unification of all the forces of the proletariat.

What is vital is that the way now opening should be trodden firmly to the end and that in future no further antagonisms should come between the socialist parties who are striving for unity in their battle.

Such is their own desire and likewise that of the international working-class.

*Literature :*

Minutes of the first Joint Party Congress (Czech) ; published in German under the title "Der erste Kongress aller sozialdemokratischen Parteien der Tschechoslowakei", Prague 1928, by the Party Headquarters of the German Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia.  
International Information : 1928 : pp. 39, 172.

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## Czechoslovakia.

### *Czechoslovakian Social-Democratic Labour Party.* (Ceskoslovenska Sociálna Demokraticka Strany Delnicka.)

Founded : in 1872 (First Congress 1872).

Membership : 122,559, including 20,049 women.

Trade Union Membership : 347,564 (Czech trade unions affiliated to Amsterdam).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 5,614 (form a section of the Party).

Women's Organisations : 20,049.

Educational Organisations : Workers' Academy (Delnická Akademie) in Prague (200,000 members). Association of Workers' Athletic Clubs, 105,000 members (Svaz delnických telocvičných jednot Ceskoslovenskych.)

Press : 6 Dailies, 24 Weeklies, 1 paper appearing three times, and 3 appearing twice a week, 4 Monthlies.

Official Organ : *Právo Lidu* (D.), Hybernska 7, Prague II.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House 29 out of 300, Upper House 14 out of 150.

Voting Strength : 631,403 (9%), 1925.

Ordinary Party Congress : Every three years.

Party Executive : Chairman : Antonin Hampl, Substitutes : Josef Nosek, Karel Kindl ; Members : Rudolf Bechyně, Jan Prokeš, Ludek Pik, Dr. Alfred Meissner, Dr. Ivan Dérer, Betty Karpisková. Secretaries : Vojtech Dundr, Josef Pavel, Antonin Novak, Jan Aleš.

Party Headquarters : Hybernska 7, Prague II.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Dr. Frantisek Soukup (E.), Substitute Lev Winter.

The starting point in the development which is leading up to the establishment of the class-front in Czechoslovakia is the Government re-construction which proved necessary after the outcome of the elections in November 1925. The split in the Party due to the communists and to the wave of reaction which passed over Europe caused a considerable weakening of the Party. The Czechoslovakian socialists in the elections of November 1925 secured 631,403 votes as against 1,590,520 which in 1920 had accrued to the undivided Party. Their representation in parliament declined to 29 seats (in the Senate to 14). It is true that the Party also after the elections participated in the government, but in accordance with the change in power in Parliament their influence in the coalition had weakened. The bourgeois parties whose representation in parliament had advanced by 11% profited from the chance to carry out their class demands. Especially the offensive of the agrarian party, which claimed an extension of the the duties on articles of food, determined the Party to leave the Government. After a short interlude of government by officials, the majority in favour of duties, consisting of Czech and German bourgeois parties, was converted into the government majority.

The ensuing period witnessed an uninterrupted series of reactionary attacks on the democratic guarantees and the results achieved by the working-class in the revolutionary period. The Gajda affair and the attacks on social insurance are instances of this reactionary tendency. The Party was led by this new situation to try how far a unification of the proletarian forces in the country was possible. The Communist Party, which had emerged from the elections as the second largest Party of the country, offered opposition to these attempts, considering it to be its chief task in Czechoslovakia as everywhere else to fight the socialist labour movement.

A resolution of the Executive of the Party of 24th August, 1926, provided for the continuation of friendly relations with the Czech National Socialist Party and for the attempt at collaboration with the German Social-Democrats, and the Party Congress of April 1927, declared itself in favour of the resumption of collaboration with the Social-Democratic Parties. The outcome of these attempts was the joint Congress at Prague in January, 1928.

The continued attacks on the standard of life of the working-class—specially the attempt of the bourgeois government to worsen social insurance—as well as the ineffectiveness of the communist tactics have brought back to the Party contingents that had been lost. The Czechoslovakian Socialist Labour Party has again become the leading labour party of the country.

The municipal elections of the 16th October, 1927, clearly demonstrate this fact. A review of the nearly 3,000 municipalities shows that the Party has advanced as against 1925 by 25%. In Prague the Party poll advanced from 41,778 in 1925 to 47,636. This advance proved still greater in the bye-elections, as towards the end of October 1927 the draft bill for a revision of social insurance was brought before the Lower House and the Party made use of this for a large-scale action against the bourgeois regime. It is above all gratifying that this advance in the poll of the Party may be ascribed not merely to a passing whim of the electorate but above all to strenuous and continued efforts at organisation.

On 24th October 1926, a Congress of the Magyar Social-Democratic Labour Party in Czechoslovakia dissolved its organisations and recommended its members to join the Czech Socialist Party.

The internal development of the Party organisation which is associated with a whole network of cultural and sports organisations, has made further progress in the period under review. The Workers' Olympic games which took place on 2nd—6th July, 1927, gave a splendid illustration of the progress of the proletarian cultural movement. The new Party Programme, the draft of which

had been laid before the preceding Party Congress and which is going to be discussed at the next Party Congress in December, 1928, will put the finishing touch to the reconstruction of the organisation.

The Party has suffered a great loss by the death of its leader and honorary President Antonin Nemec, who was buried on May 29th, 1926. De Brouckère represented the L. S. I. at the funeral and numerous parties of the International had sent representatives.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

*German Social-Democratic Labour Party* (see page IV. 40).

*Polish Socialist Labour Party*, see page IV. 43.

*Ruthenian Social-Democratic Labour Party*, see page IV. 45.

The parties mentioned are affiliated with the L. S. I.

*Communist Party* : It had according to Communist estimates of 1927 about 138,000 members and in the elections of November 1925 got 934,223 votes and 41 seats. The party has undergone a number of "purges" and crises.

The *Czech National Socialist Party* : obtained 609,153 votes and 28 seats. The internal struggles in the Party to which the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Beneš belongs resulted in the exclusion of Stribrny. The Party requested admission to the L. S. I. at the Hamburg Congress but was rejected (see proceedings of the Hamburg Congress German text p. 43).

*Literature :*

Minutes of Party Congresses (Czech), the "Klassenkampf in der Tschechoslowakei", Information Bulletin, printed in Prague (German).

In French : Bulletin Socialiste Tchecoslovaque" is published in Paris.

International Information : see especially I. I. 1926 : p. 213 and I. I. 1927 : p. 174.

## Czecho-Slovakia.

### *German Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

(Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei. D. S. A. P.)

Founded : 1919.

Membership : 65,151, including 22,973 women.

Trade Union Membership : 210,000 (German trade unions).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 7,560.

Women's Organisation : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : Workers' Educational Centre ; "Friends of Children", Workers' League ; Workers' Athletic and Sports Associations.

Welfare Organisation : League "Workers' Welfare".

Press : 7 dailies, 1 journal appearing three times and 5 journals appearing twice a week, 3 weeklies, 1 fortnightly, 1 monthly (theoretical organ), 1 monthly ("Freundschaft") for all members, 1 monthly "Gleichheit" for all women members.

Official Organ : "Sozialdemokrat" (D.), Nekazanka 18, Prague II.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House 17 out of 300, Upper House 9 out of 150.

Voting Strength : 411,040 (5.7%) in November 1925. (Proportional representation, men and women).

Ordinary Congress : every two years.

Party Executive : Chairman : Dr. Czech ; Secretary : S. Taub : Members : Fanny Blatny, Dr. Carl Heller, Th. Hackenberg, W. Jaksch, Franz Kögler, H. Kremser, Irene Kirpal, W. Niessner, A. Pohl, E. de Witte.

Party Headquarters : Nekazanka 18, Prague II.

Representative in the L. S. I. Czech (E.).

Like their fellow parties the German socialists in Czecho-Slovakia have not been unaffected by the consequences of the regrettable party division. The elections of 15th November, 1925, brought the party only 411,040 votes as against 689,549 which the undivided party had obtained in 1920. But already these election figures showed a reinforcement of the party as compared with the municipal elections of 1923, and since then the recovery has proceeded uninterruptedly. The German socialists in spite of their losses have remained the strongest party of the German electorate, and obtained 24% of its votes. The municipal elections of 1927 further strengthened the position of the party.

The national disintegration of the State which forms the scene of the Party's campaign has complicated the problems to an extraordinary degree. It is not only the social oppression of the proletariat through the reactionary government of the bourgeois block which has to be fought with, but also the national oppression of the German proletariat, which touches these also socially and injures them more severely than any other section of the population.

The entry of German bourgeois representatives into the government in the autumn of 1926 did nothing to modify this position. The "activist" policy has achieved nothing else than to make possible

the formation of the bourgeois block, but in the matter of equalizing nationalities it can register no kind of success. Only by renouncing all national demands could the German bourgeoisie attain the share of power, which in their eyes participation in the government implies.

The two fronts in the campaign have remained continuously visible during the period under report. On one side stood the struggle against the customs duties, for the defence of social institutions, against the menace of democracy, and on the other the fight against the national-protectionist economic system, against the economic policy of a government pledged to the service of national oppression, and against the perversion of the institutions of autonomy.

In spite of this exceedingly difficult situation the party has not for a moment been unfaithful to its international working-class duty. Among the German parties, which have given up their national programme for the sake of the fulfilment of their class interests (though perpetually charged with sabotage of the united front within the nation, and thus with national treachery), the German socialists of Czecho-Slovakia have most decisively refused any collaboration with the capitalist bourgeoisie, who are seeking to exploit the national campaign for reactionary interests; they have set themselves in the sharpest opposition to the German bourgeois parties in whose quarter the national-socialist party is also moving, and have dealt them a whole series of successful blows in election campaigns.

It has, on the other hand, consistently endeavoured to create the necessary fellowship with the workers of the other nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia. Since 1919, when the great pioneer of the German proletariat in Czecho-Slovakia, Josef Seliger, sent out an appeal for the union of proletarian forces across all national barriers, the Party has persistently striven to bring about the preliminary conditions towards this end. The creation of a common fighting-front with the Czechs and with the workers of other languages in Czecho-Slovakia, is for the German socialists the fulfilment of a lasting endeavour.

The way towards the accomplishment of this joint fighting-front offers of course many kinds of difficulties to overcome, due to the disparity between the various principles professed by the working-class of the other nationalities; however the party during the latter part of the period under report, has advanced, though slowly, a good step forward.

The slow pace of this advance is due not least to the fact that the German working-class in its progress has not only had to fight against the internationally-linked capitalist class, but also against the communist party, which, by its blows dealt in blind rage in all directions as well as by its campaign to destroy the socialist parties, and above all by the weakness thereby caused to the working-class, is directly acting as henchman to the capitalist bourgeoisie.

But here also the party knows very well how to fight its battles, and therefore the German section of the Communist party—which on the Czech side was still, at the elections of 1925, stronger than the Czech socialist party—has scarcely been able to reach a third of the strength of the German socialists.

Broadly speaking there is progress going on, as along the whole line, so that one can rightly report a daily advance of the movement. This advance is not merely numerical and relative to organisation, but it is also a moral one, and is due to the indefatigable efforts to educate the masses and above all to the intellectual equipment of the rising generation.

During the period reported the Party has not escaped severe losses. On the 4th June, 1926, Oswald *Hillebrand* died, the second president of the party, in whose honour an Oswald Hillebrand Fund was created.

*Other Workers' Parties ::*

See page IV. 37, 39, 40, 43, 45.

*Literature :*

Reports of party congresses (German), Socialist Foreign Correspondence (appears in Prague, German) International Information, in particular volume 1927, page 215.

Sozialdemokratisches Handbuch, Brünn 1926.

Politisches Handbuch für die Tschechoslowakische Republik, II. Part 1927.

Emil Strauss : Die Entstehung der deutschböhmisches Arbeiterbewegung 1925.

Emil Strauss : Von Hainfeld bis zum Weltkrieg 1926 (published by Executive of German Socialist Party in Czech-Slovakian Republic, 18, Nekazanka, Prague II.) all German.

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## Czecho-Slovakia.

### *Polish Socialist Labour Party.*

(Polska Socjalistyczna Partja Robotnicza.)

Founded : in 1921.

Membership : 2,100 (including 150 women).

Trade Union Membership : 3,500 (Polish).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 1,500.

Membership of Women's Organisations : —

Educational Organisations : In existence.

Press : 1 Weekly.

Official Organ : "Robotnik Slaski" (W.) Tesin (Czechoslovakia), Wiaaduktstrasse 17.

Parliamentary Representation : none.

Voting Strength : In the municipal elections of 1927/28, which have not yet been brought to an end, about 8,000 votes.

Ordinary Congress : annually.

Party Executive : President : Lukosz August ; Substitute : Steffek Anton ; Members : Badura Josef, Bonczek Al., Bujok Jan., Chobot Eman., Czechowicz Josef, Gajdziok Fr., Gromnica Al., Guziur Teod., Herczyk Ferd., Kornuta Petr., Sembol Wiktor, Siuda Ant., Sliwka Sylw., Swiatek Henr., Wojcik Wlad., Zielina Fr. Supervisory Commission : Delong Fr., Kaszpar Jan., Badura Pawel. Secretary : Siuda Anton.

Party Headquarters : Tesin (Czechoslovakia), Wiaaduktstrasse 17.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

The Polish Socialist Party in Czecho-Slovakia represents the working classes of the Polish majority in that country whose position is extremely unfavourable both from the fewness of their numbers and from the complications connected with the partition of East Silesia. The effort of the Party is directed against the national oppression under which the Polish worker suffers sorely, and concurrently against the jingoist agitation which takes advantage of this situation.

By the partition of East Silesia the Party was deprived of its trusted leaders. Moreover, the lack of a permanent headquarters has been painfully felt ; it was only in 1926 that it became possible to establish one.

The principal activities of the Party are concerned with acts of intervention on behalf of Polish workers, in matters relating to options for nationality, to questions of schooling and to local affairs. There still exist hundreds of Polish workers who were born in Czecho-Slovakia and who have passed their whole lives there, but from whom, notwithstanding this, naturalisation as Czecho-slovakian citizens is withheld.

In the period preceding the Joint Congress of the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia at which it was likewise represented, the Party's weakness and isolation imposed on it serious problems

which it has sometimes sought to meet by arrangements with non-socialist parties. However, these tactics were rejected at the National Congress of 18th April, 1926, when a majority of the delegates stood against the policy of compromise. The re-elected Party Directorate no longer includes those comrades who were the leading champions of these tactics.

At the April Congress of 1927 the Party erected an unmistakable barrier against communist united front manoeuvres. The situation of the Party, which has improved in respect both of membership and of subscribers to the Party press will be substantially eased by the efforts towards unity within the socialist labour movement in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Party stands in a specially close relation with its kindred party in Poland, the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) which has been regularly represented at its conferences by delegates.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Polish Social-Democratic Party in Czecho-Slovakia : a fractional group formed by secession at the beginning of 1927, with its headquarters in Tesin. This group is devoid of any significance for the labour movement. See further p. IV. 37, 39, 40, 45.

*Literature :*

International Information.

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## Czechoslovakia.

### *Ruthenian Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

Founded : in 1920.

Membership : 5150, including 350 women.

Trade Union Membership : 4,200.

Membership of Youth Organisations : —

Women's Organisations : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : in existence.

Press : 2 Weeklies (1 Ruthenian, 1 Hungarian), 1 Fortnightly.

Official Organ : "Vpered" (W.) Rasinova ul. 10, Uzhorod.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House 1 out of 294, Upper House 0 out of 148.

Voting Strength : 19,000 (8.4%), November 1925 (Proportional Representation, men and women).

Party Executive : Secretary : Dmytro Nimčuk, F. Rusch, Josef Balla-Beregszasz ; Treasurer : V. Picha.

Party Headquarters : Rasinova ul. 10, Uzhorod.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

Carpathian-Russia is that part of Europe in which the Communist Party is numerically strongest. In addition it is a question of a country which has practically no industry and whose settlers are chiefly small mountain farmers and foresters. The chief explanation of the communist successes achieved in the elections of 1924, lies in the unrestricted propaganda of the communists, who take advantage of the cultural backwardness of this territory, which, under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was deprived of the most elementary educational. Only in recent times has illiteracy been checked, and, through an improved school system, the foundation laid for the cultural advance of the population.

Under these circumstances the work of the Social-Democratic Party is rendered extraordinarily difficult. In spite of a certain measure of autonomy which the country enjoys within the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, it was compelled owing to the lack of intellectuals of its own, to introduce officials from Czecho-Slovakia, who met the workers with lack of understanding and often with oppression. On the other hand the unscrupulous propaganda of the communists, especially stimulated by the neighbourhood of Soviet Russia, offers a difficult barrier to the development of the labour movement.

Since the extraordinary successes of the 1924 elections, the communist position in Carpathian-Russia has already experienced a serious reverse. The disappointment of the masses of the people, who were led to vote for the communists by the wildest promises, has been perceptible at the municipal elections held since then.

The Social-Democratic Party has moreover been able to maintain its membership. The foundation of Youth Federation has resulted in a further increase in the organisation.

In parliament the Party is represented by one member, Ing. Necas, who works in the closest collaboration with the Czech Socialists, to whose parliamentary club he belongs. The Party was also represented at the Prague Congress of the Socialist Parties of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

See pages IV. 37, 39, 40, 43.

*Literature :*

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## Danzig.

### *Socialist Party.*

(Sozialdemokratische Partei.)

Founded : in 1919.

Membership : 5,418, including 950 women.

Trade Union Membership : 30,000.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 450.

Women's Organisations : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : exist.

Press : 1 Daily.

Official Organ : "Danziger Volksstimme" (D.), Am Spendhaus 6, Danzig.

Parliamentary Representation : 42 out of 120.

Voting Strength : 61,588 in November 1927 (Proportional Representation men and women).

Ordinary Congress : annually, generally in the month of April.

Party Executive : Secretary H. Mau.

Party Headquarters : Weissmönchenhintergasse 1/2, Danzig.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

The story of Danzig since 1925 is a story of continued progress. The volume of trade passing through Danzig has been increasing steadily, and the city has been developing an important industry of its own. The relations with Poland, which since the establishment of the Free City of Danzig by the Treaties of Versailles, had been anything but untroubled, have been showing a marked change for the better.

The influence of the Socialist Party has been growing apace with the improvement of the situation of the City. The Party was previous to the independent existence of the Free City a constituent part of the German Socialist Party with which it still stands in intimate spiritual relations. It has now through Conferences with representatives of the Polish Socialists materially contributed towards a more friendly attitude in the relations with Poland. In order to fight the reactionary nationalism of the bourgeoisie in Danzig itself, the Socialists participated in a Coalition Government with the Democrats and the Centre from August 1925 till October 1926. The importance of such a task in this part of Europe where nationalist jingoism is ever ready to break out, can hardly be exaggerated.

The annual Party Congress held on 17th—18th April, 1926, approved of the governmental policy of the Party and the growth in membership as well as the election successes of the party have shown the confidence, the Party has won. In 1926 the number of members rose from 3,427 to 4,270 and in 1927 to 5,418. In May,

1927, districts council elections for three districts added 1800 votes to the previous socialist poll (23 socialist Councillors out of 64). The General Elections of November 13th, 1927, added 12 to 30 socialist seats in the "Volkstag". The Party vote had increased from 39,755 to 61,588. The Government Party—the German Nationalists—and the German Völkisch lost in all 13 seats out of 40. The socialist candidate was then elected President of the "Volkstag" and in January 1928 a new coalition government was formed of 8 Social-democrats, 4 Centre, and 2 Liberals.

The Communist Party has all the time been playing a losing game. They contributed to the overthrow of the Socialist Coalition Government in October, 1926. They have been able to offer no constructive opposition to the Socialist policy of economic and political understanding with Poland on the basis of existing treaties, and of reform of administration coupled with extension of social legislation. They have experienced successive splits. 3 of their members in the "Volkstag" had rejoined the Socialist Party before the last elections and their poll fell from 14,982 to 11,695. Their number of seats was reduced from 11 to 8.

*Literature :*

Marseille Report 1925.

International Information 1925—1928, see especially I. I. 1926, page 72, 209 ; 1927, page 193, 238, 466, 509 ; 1928, page 35, 105.

## Denmark.

### *Social-Democratic Party.*

(Socialdemokratisk Forbund i Danmark.)

Founded : 1871.

Membership : 1st January 1928, 148,492 (including 48,469 women).

Trade Union Membership : 309,885.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 11,325.

Membership of Women's Organisations : There is no special political women's organisation.

Educational Organisations : Association for Workers' Education, and Workers' College.

Press : 64 Dailies, 2 Monthlies.

Official Organ : "Social-Demokraten" (D.), Nørre Farimagsgade 49, Copenhagen K.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House (Folketing) 53 out of 149 (35.6%), Upper House (Landsting), 25 out of 76 (32.9%).

Voting Strength : 497,106 (37.2%) 1926.

Ordinary Congress : every four years.

Party Executive : President : Th. Stauning ; Substitutes : Fr. Andersen ; Treasurer : Kluewer ; Secretary : Alsing Andersen.

Party Headquarters : Rosenørnsalle 12, Copenhagen, V.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Th. Stauning (E.), Carl F. Madsen (E.).

The Socialist Government in Denmark was able to remain at the helm for some 2½ years, from 23rd April, 1924, to 30th December, 1926. Together with the radicals it had in the Second Chamber a majority of one, while a conservative majority existed in the First Chamber.

Notwithstanding this situation the Socialist Government succeeded in finding solutions to various important questions. The currency which under the previous government had fallen into a state of utter chaos was stabilised. Order was introduced into the national housekeeping and the national debt was substantially reduced. Sundry duties on raw-materials, indirect taxes and also railway, postal, telegraph and telephone charges were lowered. The circumstances of civil servants and of the aged state pensioners were considerably improved and a municipal tax on land values realised. The disarmament bill in a somewhat modified form was adopted in the Lower House, with the help of the Radicals, on 12th March, 1926. Moreover, the Party has not only acquired thorough experience in the use of the State administrative machinery, but has been able to exert a notable influence by the possession of power ; further by its far-reaching measures of reform in all spheres of legislation (school system, penal code, land reforms, social and labour legislation) the government has accomplished much spade-work which will be a foundation for future activities.

It was when the government set about the attempt to relieve unemployment and the pressure of taxation upon the poorer classes that the worst difficulties arose. Agriculture, which employs one third of the population, is not capable of providing openings for the employment of the surplus population. Accordingly the plan of the government was to further the extension and rationalisation of industry by a series of positive proposals in aid of certain industries, accompanied by measures of industrial control in the interest of consumers and workers. Over these proposals the co-operation between radicals and socialists broke down. Moreover, under the succeeding Liberal-Democratic Governments of the Agrarian Party the economic crisis persisted and the positive proposals of the socialist party are still the ones which in this respect have held public attention.

The demands of the Conservatives for comprehensive protective duties, which appeared to imply some degree of benefit to the workers of the industries concerned, and the fact that the Party had held office and could not meet these demands (which were backed likewise by various trade unions), augured unfavourably for the prospects of the next elections. All the same, the Party which at the elections of 1924 could show a gain of 80,000 votes, secured at the elections of 2nd December, 1926, another advance of 27,000 votes, this increasing its percentage of the total poll from 36.6% to 37.2% and attaining an aggregate vote of 500,000.

The present government parties (Conservative and Liberal-Democratic) have united to pursue a course of ruthless "social reaction". They have harshly restricted social legislation and cut down the salaries of civil servants. The millions thus saved have been allotted to the well-to-do in relief of taxation. They have likewise limited the municipal franchise; in addition the socialists have had to wage (hitherto successfully), a campaign against a "blacklegs' charter" aimed at the trade unions. In the solution of the question of the "Landsmands" bank the Party has exerted a notable influence along the lines of its general principles in favour of state banking.

The Party which has acquired control over almost the whole population of industrial workers still possesses considerable reserves in the cities. For the attainment of ultimate victory, however, it must win over a greater proportion of land workers and of small farmers. At present one third of the socialist votes are cast in the country districts; the Party strength as an organisation—comprising within an aggregate of 1,400 districts 1,006 socialist branches—is an earnest of fresh electoral victories. The congress at Vejle in 1927, like that at Odense in 1923, has shown that the organisation is perpetually developing. The Party which in 1923 numbered 128,000 members had in 1927 150,000. During 1927 an extension by 3,792 members could be registered. Both the youth

movement and the organisation of workers' education have been able to report a satisfying forward move. Even in the remote Faroe Islands the Party is on the increase. In January, 1927, the Party had there over 1,000 votes out of a population of 16,000 : and after the elections of February, 1928, it holds the balance with 2 representatives in the Diet of the islands between the two bourgeois parties with their 10 and 11 members. Since May, 1927, the Party in the islands has possessed a daily organ of its own : (*Føroya Socialdemokrat*).

*Other Workers' Parties :*

The Communist Party is rapidly declining. At the elections of 1924 it obtained 6,219 votes, in 1926 : 5,689. Its share of the votes cast amounted respectively to 5% and 4%.

*Literature :*

E. Wiinblad and Alsing Andersen : *Det Dansk Socialdemokratis Historie* (History of Danish Socialism), 1871—1921 (Danish).

*Minutes of Party Congresses, Annual Reports* (Danish) : *Jaerøerne* (the Faroe Islands) by Hans Nielsen M. P., in the "Workers' Almanach" pp. 48—53, Copenhagen 1927 (Danish).

*International Information 1925—28*, esp. I. I. 1926 : pp. 45, 48, 248, 259 ; I. I. 1927 : pp. 26, 284, 291.

## Esthonia.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

Eesti Sotsialistlik Tööliste-Partei.)

Founded : in 1925 (1917).  
Membership : 4,500, including women.  
Trade Union Membership : about 6,000 (affiliated to the I. F. T. U.)  
Youth Organisations : 500.  
Women's Organisation : 800.  
Press : 1 Daily, 2 Weeklies, 1 Monthly (Youth organ).  
Official Organ : "Rahva Sõna" (D.) V. Pärnu 31, Postfach 367, Reval.  
Parliamentary Representation : 24 out of 100.  
Voting Strength : 119,914 (22.87%) 1926. (Proportional Representation, Men and Women.)  
Ordinary Congress : Annually, generally in the first quarter.  
Party Executive : Chairman : A. Rei ; Substitutes : K. Ast, M. Püüman ;  
Treasurer : K. Wirma ; Secretaries : Piiskar and Woimann ; International Secretary : J. Wain.  
Party Headquarters : V. Pärnu 31, Postfach 367, Tallin.  
Representative in the L. S. I. : A. Rei (E.).

The state of martial law imposed on the country in December after the Communist attempt at a coup d'état is still continuing and was prolonged in December 1927 for the whole of 1928. It has certainly been restricted in the course of time to Reval, the railways and the districts on the Russian frontier, but for the labour movement it remains sinister. The Socialists have repeatedly, as on 15th December 1927, attempted to carry motions for an Amnesty Act. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the republic 32 political prisoners, including 26 sentenced to hard labour, were released. It is not known how many political offenders are still serving time. The state of martial law has been accompanied by over 200 death sentences and imprisonments amounting to 700 years and is applied also against strike movements.

The conditions of work are determined by the backwardness of industry in respect of mechanical equipment. The housing shortage is also affecting the morale of the workers. For example in the spring of 1926 45,330 households were inhabiting 34,347 dwellings, i. e. 11,000 households comprising 20 to 30 thousand people possessed no home of their own ; of the dwellings 75% had only one room. According to the calculations of the *Revue Internationale du Travail*, the proportion of wages in Reval to those in London was in October 1925 as 37 to 100. A further illustration of the wage-level is provided by the average wage in the textile industry in October 1926, amounting to 11 Swiss francs per week. Unemployment is very widespread, but difficult to state numerically



since the registration of it is altogether inadequate. The Eight Hour Day was to be insured by an enactment of 1918. But this enactment provides no penalties. The workers in the trade unions and the socialist parliamentary group must defend the eight hour day themselves. The Washington Convention on the eight hour day has not been ratified. In view of the unemployment in Esthonia the trade unions allow overtime up to 2 hours in exceptional cases only, remunerated by an extra payment of 50%. As to this extra payment disputes often arise.

Freedom of association is guaranteed by the constitution. However, the working-class which has to suffer under such conditions of work, is hard to organise and consequently cannot assert this right either. Still the trade unions affiliated to the I. F. T. U. have now over 6,000 members. Such strike movements as exist have usually for their object to secure merely the due payment of wages; in 1925 only 26.6% of such movements aimed at securing wage increases.

Under such conditions Party activities are naturally badly handicapped. It is almost impossible to the workers to find money for membership fees. A women's organisation has existed only since 1925. The central Organ of the Party "Rahwa Sõna" is now in its second year, and appears six times a week, the other two party organs twice a week only. Congresses are, however, held regularly and co-operation with the kindred parties in Lithuania and Latvia are maintained by means of conferences. The elections show a steady advance by the Party. At those of May 1926, at which on an average 72% of the electorate voted, the Socialist Party obtained 119,000 out of 552,000 votes (22.87%). This was 32,000 higher than in 1923 when it obtained 18.7%. In 1926 it secured 24 out of 100 seats. The district election of 20th March, 1927, showed a doubled poll for the socialists, who were able to enter the district councils with 58 representatives as against 29 previously. This advance was achieved exclusively at the expense of the reactionary Peasants' Party.

During the period following the communist stroke the Socialist Labour Party was faced with the difficult problem as to government participation. It decided this problem in favour of participating, and two comrades entered the government as Ministers of Railways and Information remaining in it till June 1926. Their intention was to secure some alleviation of the reaction and to resist unlawful reprisals against the communists. These designs were only partially successful. The Party Congress of April 1925 approved with a four-fifth majority the participation and the conduct of the comrades holding office in the government.

The youth associations of the Party already in existence formed in 1925 a Central Bureau. At present the Socialist Youth League of Esthonia numbers 20 branches with a total of about 500 members.

In 1926 there was founded a socialist students organisation, in 1927 a workers' sports league. Both belong to their international organisation.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

After the coup d'état of December, 1924, the communists no longer showed themselves as such. Before the elections of 1926 three deputies who had come over from the communists into the Party left it again and founded an independent organisation "Labour Party of Esthonia". About two months before the elections, the "Labour Party" was dissolved and then a few days later permitted again. Through this dissolution the "Labour Party" was revealed to the masses as communist and it secured 5 seats. One of these deputies has been put in prison in Soviet Russia for appropriation of a sum of money to the detriment of the Third International.

*Literature :*

International Information 1925—1928, see especially 1926 : pp. 55, 91, 106, D. D. 47 ; 1927 : pp. 210 ; 1928 pp. 104, 187.

## Finland.

### *Social-Democratic Party.*

(Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue.)

Founded : in 1899.

Membership : (end 1926) 37,722 (including 10,133 women).

Trade Union Membership : (end 1927) 75,846 (not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Membership of Youth Organisations : (end 1927) 4,193.

Membership of Women's Organisations : 2,515.

Educational Organisations : An independent educational body, supported by the State, but conducted by agreement with the Party.

Press : 1 Daily, 4 papers appearing 6 times, 8 papers appearing 3 times, a week, a women's year, a youth organ and a comic paper.

Official Organ : Suomen Sosialidemokraatti (D.), Sirkuskatu 3, Helsinki.

Parliamentary Representation : 60 out of 200.

Voting Strength : 257,572 (28,3%) in July 1927 (Proportional representation, men and women).

Ordinary Party Congress : every three years.

Party Executive : President : Matti Paasivuori ; Substitute Rieti Itkonen ; Treasurer : Emil Sallila ; Secretary K. H. Wiik.

Party Headquarters : Sirkuskatu 3, Helsinki (Helsingfors).

Representation in the L. S. I. : Wiik (E.).

Since the independence of the Finnish State and the civil war of 1918, the internal life of Finland has on the whole developed peacefully, and the socialists have again won a significant victory, although unfortunately they are compelled to fight also against a not insignificant communist movement. Indeed the farmers, formerly so radical, have in part fallen under Conservative-Agrarian influence, which has led to a distinctly protective system of customs, to a cessation of activities in social reform and to extensive and in part illegal measures against communist agitation. All the more importance falls to the Socialist Party as the mainspring in the development of events.

In February 1926 the Party held its 14th congress. A municipal, taxation and school programme was adopted ; relations towards the communists defined and, by a special resolution, the socialist party's participation in the government allowed in principle but only under the stipulation that the Party Council as well as the Parliamentary Group should each with a 2/3rds majority, pass the resolution in question. The government may only be formed on the basis of a definite programme agreed upon by the parties belonging to the government coalition.

In July, 1927, parliamentary elections took place. The socialists maintained their position, obtained an increase of a few thousand

votes and exactly the same number of seats as at the 1924 elections, i. e. 60.

The Executive of the Party, in a telegram to the Esthonian government in May, 1926, protested against the death sentences passed in Esthonia ; in August 1927 in a letter to the Lithuanian government it protested against the terror in Lithuania ; and at the end of 1927 called upon the Russian government to grant a real amnesty for political prisoners also. The Party associated itself also in the movement on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In recent years the Party has endeavoured in particular to develop more fully its internal activities and to strengthen its position in the working-class. For the use of local groups handbooks have been published, wireless apparatus circulated, etc. Closer collaboration has been brought about between the various central workers' organisations under socialist leadership, so as to arrange methodical propaganda. From 16th to 24th October, 1926, a general propaganda week of the socialist party took place ; it was carefully prepared and brought in 11,046 new members. In November, 1926, the Party Executive arranged in various parts of the country both local meetings and also district meetings of taxpayers' delegates ; these emphatically urged the demands of the socialist party with regard to taxation reform and brought them to the notice of the authorities. Since the situation of the small owners of farms who were formerly tenants and have only latterly risen out of a condition of villeinage to become independent, has grown increasingly difficult and requires state assistance, in March 1927 the Party Executive called a congress of small farmers in Helsingfors. There was a large attendance, and the congress adopted the point of view of the socialist party. A committee of representatives of these farmers was set up by the Party Executive with the consent of the congress, in order to assist the former on affairs touching the farmers. In November, 1927, there was held in Helsingfors a meeting of the socialist municipal representatives from all parts of the country ; questions pertaining to the sphere of municipal authorities are of special importance for the workers, since, in 1918, the universal municipal suffrage was introduced. At the municipal elections of December, 1925, the workers altogether received 3,711 seats (out of 10,849), of which some 2,700 went to the socialists.

When in December 1926 the bourgeois coalition government then prevailing was overthrown, the Party decided to form the new government, and a purely socialist one, after negotiations with the bourgeois radical groups for the purpose of forming a coalition government had failed. The government programme accepted by the Party Council demanded reform of the taxes, the introduction of social insurance, reduction in expenditure for military purposes, abridgment of the term of military service, etc. The government, which was led by V. Tanner, rested on the narrowest majority, which moreover was heterogeneous (socialists, communists, Swedish

Party). Thus no very great success was attainable. Nevertheless it was successful in carrying through an amnesty law, which restored to the workers the rights of citizenship of which they were deprived for their participation in the civil war of 1918. Important social reforms, in particular social insurance, were brought into the forefront of discussion and can scarcely again be shelved until they are solved. The attainment of cheaper credit was made possible for the small farmers. Some important customs duties on provisions were reduced. The prestige of the socialists grew as a result of the activities of their government, which was however continuously attacked in a disloyal manner by the Finnish bourgeois parties of the Opposition ; on the important question of taxes in particular the Swedish Party could not be pushed far. Consequently the socialist government resigned in December, 1927.

The subsequent government formed by the farmers' federation has imitated in its programme several of the demands of the socialist government, but does not seem to be in any hurry to carry them out.

In the autumn of 1928 the socialist party will call a congress of socialist trade unionists and is arranging meetings of socialist municipal representatives and a recruiting week, which is intended in particular to organise young people.

The trade union national central is still under communist leadership. However, since the trades union congress of 1926 the socialists have had  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the seats in the central bodies. Since the end of 1927 the socialist trade unionists have in several places founded their own discussion clubs to debate in their midst the affairs of the trade union movement and to strengthen their position therein. They demand the affiliation of the national centre to the I. F. T. U. The remaining branches of the labour movement—the cooperative movement, the sport, educational, theatrical and musical federations of the workers are directed by socialists. A socialist abstinent's federation also is working with success.

The workers' sports federation which has 32,000 members, belongs to the Lucerne Sport International and was in August 1928 in a position to undertake the holding of the congress of this International in Helsingfors. The Women's Federation which was founded in 1920, is well organised and displays a really live activity in matters of workers' educational and of social welfare. 9 of the 60 members of parliament belonging to the Socialist Party are women. The minister for Social Welfare in the socialist government was Milna Sillanpaa, member of the International Socialist Women's Committee.

#### *Other Workers' parties :*

There is no legal communist party, but there is an illegal one which is directed from Russia. The poll of the communists in 1927 was 109,939 ; seats : 20.

*Literature :*

- Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue 25 Vuotta (Jubilee number on the 25th anniversary of the Party) Helsingfors 1924 (Finnish).  
Finland und die finnische Sozialdemokratie (Report to the International Congress in Hamburg). Helsingfors 1923 (German, French).  
Reports of Party Congresses (Finnish).  
Det vita väldet i Finland (The White Rule in Finland). Helsingfors 1919 Swedish and Finnish).  
Marseilles Report 1925 pages 147/148.  
"International Information" : see in particular "I. I." 1926 No. 7 p. 3 ; p. 189 ; 268, 276 ; "I. I." 1927 p. 267, 281, 306, 537, 543.  
The Labour Movement in Finland : by Ursin and Wiik in the archives for the History of Socialism and of the Labour Movement (Grünberg's archives) 1926, p. 23—104.  
"Tiden" Stockholm, July 1927.  
Wiik : "La crise ministérielle en Finlande", Nouvelle Revue Socialiste, 15. 9. 1927—15. 1. 1928.

## France.

### *Socialist Party.*

(Parti Socialiste, S. F. I. O.).

Founded : in 1905.

Membership : On 31st December 1927 (including women), 98,034 ; on June 27th, 1928, 99,106 ; a large increase may be expected by the end of 1928.

Trade Union Membership : about 900,000 ; 600,000 in the C. G. T. (affiliated to the I. F. T. U.), and 300,000 in the C. G. T. U., (under communist influence not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 3,964.

Membership of Women's Organisations : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : in process of formation.

Press : 5 Dailies, (including 1 paper in Tunisia) and 45 weeklies.

Official Organ : *Le Populaire* (D.), 12, rue Feydeau, Paris (2<sup>o</sup>).

Parliamentary Representation : Chamber, 100 out of 612 ; Senate, 17 out of 300.

Voting Strength : General elections in April 1928 at the first ballot 1,692,260 out of a total of 8,056,112. (male suffrage.)

Ordinary Congress : annually, about Easter.

Party Executive : (Permanent Administrative Commission — C. A. P.) :

Barrion, Léon Blum, Bracke, Caille, Cayrel, Collette, Compère-Morel, Courmont, Delépine, Farinet, Février, Gaillard, Goude, Grandvallet, Graziani, Grumbach, Guillevic, Hubert-Rouger, Kahn, Lebas, Le Troquer, Gaston Lévy, Louis Lévy, Longuet, Mahler, Masson, Osmin, Renaudel, Mme. Saumoneau, Uhry, Zyromski. Secretaries : Paul Faure, Sévérac.

Party Headquarters : 13, rue Feydeau, Paris (2<sup>o</sup>).

Representation in the L. S. I. : Bracke (E. B.), Longuet (E.), Renaudel (E.), Substitutes : Léon Blum, Paul Faure.

During the period covered by this report the French labour movement was faced with two decisive problems : the logical continuation of the policy of entente towards Germany and the financial recuperation of France. It is with regard to the pacific foreign policy pursued with the Radicals that French socialists exercised their policy of support during the first part of this period. But from the moment when the financial problems of home policy passed to the forefront, the Left block disintegrated and a very large majority of the Radicals crossed to the camp of the National Union. This evolution is characterised by the fall, one after the other, of the Herriot, Painlevé, Briand, Herriot Governments, which were succeeded by the Poincaré Government (July, 1926).

Similarly the continuation of the policy of entente towards Germany was bound to suffer from this change. Though at first it had proved possible to effect the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and to obtain a reduction in the forces of occupation in the Rhine territory, yet the proposal of the complete evacuation of the

occupied Rhine territories now collided with an insurmountable obstacle in the fact that the governments of the bourgeois block were opposing one another from the two sides of the Rhine.

It was on financial policy that the ways of French socialism and the radicals parted, and above all on the question of a levy on capital. The radical government of Herriot did not dare, in face of the attack against the government on the part of the great banks, openly to appeal to the country and to effect with the help of working-class forces financial restoration at the expense of the rich. Though Herriot after the 11th May, 1924, emphatically condemned the foreign policy of Poincaré, he yet threw himself unconditionally—faced with the danger to which the privileges of the possessing classes were exposed—into the arms of the very man whom up to then he had fought. The formation of the Poincaré ministry in July, 1926; to which Herriot himself belonged, put the finishing touch to this development.

Thus were the tactics of the French socialist Party established. It was in no mind to endanger stabilisation pursued by Poincaré with the help of high finance, but it energetically fought the capitalist methods of stabilisation, which put the burden of it on the shoulders of the proletariat, and demanded unceasingly that a legal stabilisation should put an end to all the attempts at currency restoration, which could only result in making the stabilisation crisis extremely acute.

This complicated situation has on several occasions made it necessary for the Party to discuss and define its tactics at congresses or at meetings of the National Council. Of course at these meetings differences of points of view as to tactics to be pursued came to light. But however violent was the clash of opposite points of view in the discussions, the unity of the party was never in danger; certain crises, such as that which persisted after the Congress of Clermont-Ferrant (May, 1926) soon found a solution.

It was the same with regard to the internal discussions of the party on the subject of the law on the "organisation of the nation for time of war", which Paul Boncour introduced into the Chamber. It was decided at the congress of Lyons (April 1927) to call a National Council which would have to frame the final resolution on the attitude to be taken by the socialists towards this law. The National Council met in Paris on 26th May, 1927, and succeeded, in spite of the extreme differences of opinion within the party on the subject of the attitude to be adopted towards the Bill in getting a resolution passed almost unanimously. In accordance with this decision the socialist senators voted against the Bill as modified by the Senate.

In connection with these problems there were repeated discussions within the party on the subject of the French delegation to the League of Nations. Although the fact of seeing the French



government represented by a socialist at Geneva did not appear to be a problem at the time when the French Cartel of the Left was in agreement on the most urgent questions of foreign policy, nevertheless a violent opposition arose when Paul Boncour was authorised afresh to retain his mandate, at a time when a government of national union had replaced the governments of the Left.

The final solution of this problem will be given by a National Council of the party which is called for the 13th July, 1928. The disagreement which has appeared on the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland between the points of view of the French delegation at the League of Nations and the socialist party has been definitely decided in the electoral programme of the party along the lines of the resolution of the socialist conference of Luxemburg.

The elections to the Senate in January, 1927, were an impressive victory for the Party. A gain of eight seats resulted in giving to the socialist representation in the Senate the strength of a group. The socialist party is now represented by 14 senators.

The approach of the elections to the legislature then obliged the party to seek a reform of the electoral law ; for the electoral law in force, with its extra advantages for a relative majority, absolutely distorted proportional representation, and made it necessary to conclude electoral alliances. The question was then to know whether it were possible to demand the application of full proportional representation, for example, by linking it with the system of single-member constituencies, as provided for by a motion put forward by the party, or whether it was not essential to have recourse to a compromise. A National Council of the party which met in Paris on 27th February, 1927, decided that in view of the short time then remaining before the end of the session, and in view of the opposition of the Senate, it no longer seemed possible to demand the application of full proportional representation. The party was obliged to abandon, from these tactical motives, the idea of proceeding at that time with the realisation of this item of its programme. It restricted itself to demanding a reform of the existing electoral law along the lines of a system of single-member constituencies.

The electoral tactics of the communists placed the party in an extraordinarily complicated position with regard to tactics. In accordance with instructions from Moscow the communists decided to retain their candidates at the second ballot even against the more favoured socialist candidates, in so far as the latter did not declare themselves ready to accept the communist manoeuvre of the united front. The socialist party had decided to put forward candidates everywhere at the first ballot, but at the second ballot to withdraw its unsuccessful candidates for the benefit of any candidate of the Left who should appear to be the most likely to achieve victory over reaction. In spite of the decision of the communists, these

tactics were applied everywhere. But in acting as they did, the communists arrived at this result : reaction carried off a large number of seats which, if they had acted otherwise, would have fallen to candidates of the Left.

Bearing this in mind the result of the elections in France must be considered as a success of the socialist party. It obtained about 1,700,000 votes, thus reaching anew its poll before the schism. The communists obtained 1,070,000. If the success of the working-class parties does not correspond to the number of seats which they obtained, the communist party bears the full responsibility for it, for by its fratricidal tactics it has played the game of reaction.

This has not indeed happened without bringing grave damage to the communist party itself. The communist tactics pursued during the elections have had the effect that numerous workers no longer followed the communist word of command at the second ballot, but gave their votes to the socialist candidate who seemed likely to win.

Even before the elections tendencies towards unity had been very much in evidence among the French working-class, and had ended in the fusion of groups of the Socialist Communist Union with the socialist party.

During the period under report the real strength of the party has considerably increased. Since the 27th January, 1927, the central organ of the party, "Le Populaire" of Paris has reappeared as a daily. The improvement in the make-up of the paper in December, 1927, has made it an efficacious means of propaganda for French socialism. At present it has a circulation of more than 40,000.

The Party Congress which met at Toulouse at the end of May, 1928, after the elections, examined the general position of French socialism. A resolution passed almost unanimously declared the party to be entirely independent of the parties of the Left and of the Right, and laid down irrevocably that the attitude of the party towards a government of national unity can be no other than one of pure opposition.

#### *Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party (52,372 members) at last elections obtained 1,070,000 votes and 13 seats. The party has repeatedly undergone crises, during which it has gradually lost all the leading personalities of the time of the schism. The dissident groups united in part round the "Révolution Proletarienne", a trade union organ (Rosmer, Monatte) and in part round the organ of Souvarine "Bulletin Communiste". The latter group is in relations with the Trotzky opposition.

U. S. C. (Union Socialiste Communiste) (1,000 members) at the last elections obtained 10,000 votes and 2 seats. Of the 3 deputies of the Union in the last parliament, 2 returned to the socialist party : one of them, Ernest Lafont, has been re-elected for the new parliament as a socialist deputy. Similarly Senator André Morizet has with his whole group gone over to the socialist party. The remainder of the U. S. C. is attached to the

International Bureau in Paris. As regards its numerical strength and political influence, the organisation is quite unimportant. The French Socialist Party (Roziere Group), belongs to the Briand-Painlevé group in the Chamber. This group, which separated from the Socialist Party in 1920 has pursued the line of nationalist socialism, plays absolutely no part in the labour movement.

*Literature :*

Reports of party meetings (French).

"International Information", in particular vol. 1926 p. 49, 100, 210, D. D. p. 24, 29, 41, 81 ; Vol. 1927 p. 27, 132, 160, 221.

Compère Morel : Grand Dictionnaire socialiste, Paris 1924 (French)

At the time of the elections the following publications appeared from the Librairie du Populaire, 12, Rue Feydeau, Paris (2) :

André Blumel : L'Action Socialiste au Parlement.

René Cabannes : A travers les Scrutins, quelques faits, chiffres et documents.

J. Ferretti ; Ce qu'est le parti socialiste.

Jules Moch : Le Parti Socialiste et la Politique Financière. Le Programme du Parti Socialiste.

Paul Faure : Le Socialisme dans l'Action.

## Georgia.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

Founded : in 1899.

Membership : Illegal ; about 18,000, including women.

Trade Union Membership : Illegal.

Membership of Youth Organisations : Illegal ; about 5,000.

Membership of Women's Organisations : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : at present suppressed.

Press :

Official Organ :

Voting Strength : 516,542 "81%" at the elections to the Constituent Assembly in 1919. (Universal Proportional Representation for men.)

Party Executive : Illegal. Chairman of the Foreign Bureau of the Party.

Executive : N. Jordania.

Party Headquarters : I. Tseretelli, 6, rue de Varize, Paris 16e, France.

Representation in the L. S. I. : I. Tseretelli (E.).

Under the weight of Bolshevist oppression the activity of the Georgian Socialists has become a task involving heavy sacrifice. Notwithstanding, it has succeeded, after the Bolshevist campaign of extermination against Georgian socialism, in once more rallying the Georgian working-class under the watchwords of socialism, freedom and the right of self-determination. Although the printing presses are repeatedly traced and closed, there appear in Georgia illegally a socialist paper and various pamphlets. Meanwhile the Foreign Delegation and the representatives of the Socialist Government are working abroad. The Delegation issues a monthly "Brzola" (The Fight), which is sent into Georgia and has a wide illegal circulation there. There is held annually a Party Conference which takes decisions upon current questions.

The bolshevist terrorism with its methods of persecution and intimidation forms the best soil for the growth of disruptive processes and theories of despair within an oppressed nationality or Party. The bolshevist orders, accompanied by threats and ill-treatment, to abandon the Socialist Party, at first induced some—though indeed only a small number—of those of weaker character to pass over to the side of the ruling power. On the other hand, the oppression provokes a temper of indignation which finds expression in desperate outbreaks, such as occurred in 1924, or else fosters fantastic hopes of other possibilities of national liberation than those offered by a victory of the democratic anti-militarist forces of the Russian and international labour movement. However, Georgian socialism which without forfeiting its own national character fought in the ranks of Russian socialism in the struggle against Czarism, and from within

the Russian labour movement shared in all its triumphs and defeats, realised therein both the international character of the socialist struggle for emancipation and the historic task of the international labour movement. It will therefore overcome by its own strength the recurrent differences of opinion as to tactics in the campaign for the liberation of Georgia, all the more speedily since all shades of opinion are at one in the endeavour to fight against the bolshevist dictatorship and to restore the national independence of Georgia. Thus it cannot wage the campaign against bolshevist oppression as a campaign against Russia. "So long as we turn to the Russian democrats and ask of them support towards our independence, we feel secure in our belief in the solidarity of interests between our nations, in the power of our common ideas, in the authority of international democracy." (Tseretelli, "Our main Tactical Problems", in Russian.) The sufferings of the Georgian people and of Georgian socialism and of bolshevist oppression have always aroused the sympathy of the European working-class and of all the democratic elements of Europe. The Labour and Socialist International has again and again given utterance to its sense of solidarity with the efforts of Georgia towards emancipation and to its indignation at the bolshevist persecution in Georgia. Thus Georgian socialism will continue to pursue along the road of democracy its national and social campaign for emancipation, and therein will rely on its most faithful ally—the democratic revolutionary international working-class, which has inscribed on its banner the freedom and right of self-determination of peoples.

One of the chief tasks of Georgian socialists is provision for the victims of political persecution. They endeavour by means of reliable reports to keep socialist public opinion informed as to the systematic persecutions in Georgia and the sufferings under the bolshevist dictatorship, and moreover to procure for the prisoners moral and material succour. In December 1927, comrade I. Tseretelli lectured on the political persecutions in Georgia at a series of meetings in various towns of Sweden organised by the Swedish socialists. Further, comrade Tseretelli published in "Documents and Discussions" a report entitled "the Invasion of Georgia in the Light of Bolshevist Documents" in which the violences of the bolshevist rules in Georgia are exhibited. (D. D. V. 7. I. I. p. 92, 10th March, 1928.)

In the course of this period Georgian Socialism has undergone a heavy loss. On 13th June 1926 one of most cherished leaders of Georgian socialism, Nikolai Tscheidze, voluntarily ended his life while in exile in Paris. Tscheidze fought in the ranks of Russian socialism in Czarist Russia, was elected in 1907 to the Duma, and from 1908 to 1917 was Chairman of the Russian socialist group in it. In the revolution of February 1917 he was elected Chairman of the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Council. After the bolshevist revolution he went to Georgia, became President of the first National Assembly and worked at building up socialism in Georgia until the

occupation of the country by the bolshevists. The conditions of life in exile were a factor in the causes of his death. At his grave Tseretelli, Bracke, Léon Blum and others spoke. Blum expressed his firm confidence that Tschaidze would find his final resting place in liberated Georgia.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

*Socialist-Federalists*, now illegal. A group of socialist revolutionaires.  
*Communist Party*, the only legal Party in the country.

*Literature :*

- I. Tseretelli, *La séparation de la Transcaucasie et l'Indépendance de la Géorgie* (speech in the Transcaucasian Assembly), Paris 1919 (French).  
W. Woytinski, *Una vera Democrazia*, Rome 1920 (Italian), and *La Démocratie Géorgienne*, Paris 1921 (French).  
Karl Kautsky, *Georgia*, Vienna 1921 (German, English).  
*L'Internationale Socialiste et la Géorgie*, published by the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Georgia, Paris 1921 (French).  
Kjimeriki, *La Réforme Agraire et l'Economie en Géorgie*, Paris 1921 (French).  
*Bulletin of the Vienna Union* Vol. I. No. 1 and 3.  
N. Jordania *Réponse à Trotski*, Berlin 1922 (French).  
Viktor Serwy, *La Géorgie Coopérative sous le régime bolshéviste*, Brussels 1922 (French and English).  
J. Braunthal, *Vom Kommunismus zum Imperialismus, Bilder aus dem bolschewistischen Georgien*, Vienna 1922 (German).  
P. Renaudel, *L'Indépendance de la Géorgie et la Politique internationale du bolchévisme*, speech in the French Chamber, Paris 1925 (French).  
*The British Trade Union Delegation in Georgia*, (according to bolshevist newspapers in Georgia), published by the Foreign Delegation of the Socialist Party of Georgia, London 1925 (English).  
*Russia, Official Report of the English Trade Union Delegation*, London and Berlin 1925, (English and German).  
Friedrich Adler, *The Report of the English Trade Union Delegation*, in "Kampf", Vienna 1925, No. 4. (published as a pamphlet in German, French, English, Dutch, Russian).  
"Brzola", periodical (Georgia).  
N. Jordania "Our tactics" (Georgia) ; "They and We", (Georgia).  
"Our Differences of Opinion" (French and Russian).  
I. Tseretelli, *Our main Tactical Problems* (Georgian and Russian).

## Germany.

### *Social-Democratic Party.*

(Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.)

Founded : By the General German Workers' Association (Lassalle) 1863, and by the Social-Democratic Labour Party (Eisenacher) 1869. The two united in 1875.

Membership : 867,671, including 181,541 women.

Trade Union Membership : 4,976,971.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 55,432, including 19,000 female members.

Women's Organisation : 181,541.

Educational Organisations : National Board of Socialist Education ; Friends of Children's Association.

Press : 195 Dailies, several Weeklies and Monthlies.

Official Organ : "Vorwärts" (D.), Berlin S. W. 68, Lindenstrasse 3.

Parliamentary Representation : 153 out of 491.

Voting Strength : 9,146,165 (20th May, 1928).

Ordinary Congress : annually.

Party Executive : Chairman : Arthur Crispian, Hermann Müller, Otto Wels,  
Treasurers : Bartels, Ludwig. Secretaries : Marie Juchacz, Stelling,  
Dittmann, Hans Vogel, Max Westphal.

Party Headquarters : Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Crispian (E.), Müller (E.), Wels (E. B.).

The victory of German socialism at the elections of 20th of May, 1928, marked the close of a period during which the German Republic was governed by a coalition of bourgeois parties in which opponents of the republican constitution, namely the German Nationalists (Deutschnationale Volkspartei), were represented. The Socialist Party increased its poll from 7,880,058 to 9,146,165, its proportion of the total poll from 26 to 29.6% and its strength in seats from 131 to 153. At the same time the communists raised their poll from 2,708,176 to 3,262,584, their proportion of the total poll from 9 to 10.2% and their strength in seats from 44 to 54%. In the opposing camp the bourgeois parties, apart from the Economic Party which has no definite political line, had to admit heavy losses, especially the German Nationalists, whose demagogic character had been hopelessly exposed during their participation in the government.

These election results point to the necessity of co-operation between the socialists who have become by far the strongest party in the Reichstag, and bourgeois parties, since a government formed of bourgeois parties alone could not be a practical possibility in view of the desintegration of these latter, at least in the immediate future.

After efforts to form a Great Coalition (Socialists, Democrats, Centre, Bavarian Peoples' Party, German Peoples' Party) which broke down through the reactionary attitude of the German People's Party, Hermann Müller ultimately succeeded in forming a government in which indeed all the parties of the Great Coalition are represented, but without obligation on the component groups. The Socialist Party is represented by Hermann Müller (Chancellor), Severing (Interior), Hilferding (Finance), and Wissell (Labour).

The development of the political conditions in Germany during the period reported, which culminated in the magnificent electoral result of 20th May, 1928, opened at an epoch when socialism was beginning to surmount the consequences of the adventure of the Ruhr and of inflation.

The first half of 1926 brought the fight for the expropriation of the royal family. After the Party Executive had taken the decision on 19th January that in order to avoid dissipation of energies there should be a joint motion by the socialist and communist parties, a joint discussion between both parties, presided over by a representative of the German Trade Union League, resulted in a proposal for complete expropriation as to the possessions held by the former ruling house. Both parties agreed to conduct separately the action in favour of the referendum. Nevertheless, the Executive of the German Socialist Party had occasion to point out in a manifesto to the members of the party that the communist party, in defiance of the arrangement reached, was seeking to exploit the campaign for dispossession of the royal family for the benefit of its own party aims.

The success of the referendum exceeded all expectations. No less than 12,516,673 names were subscribed to it. Compared with the votes cast in December 1924 for the two workers' parties, this number marked an increase of nearly 2 million votes. But the struggle around the "popular initiative" was unexpectedly arduous. The German Government characterised the proposal as altering the constitution, in consequence of which a vote of 20 million for the referendum was requisite. All the bourgeois parties excepting the Democrats who left the vote open to their members, declared against the referendum. They urged their supporters to abstain from voting so that they had the opportunity, especially in the rural districts of using all the methods of terrorism against the electors. None the less it proved possible to increase the vote further to 14,455,184—compared with the poll of the workers' parties a rise of 139.4%. Thus large masses of the electorate refused to follow the word of the bourgeois parties.

At first the socialists endeavoured to make use of the republican advance in the parliamentary discussions about the settlement with the royal family, since the proposal of full expropriation had not



been realised. When this also failed, the Prussian government, in order to evade the possibility of a verdict by reactionary Prussian judges, found itself compelled to conclude a contract of settlement with the Hohenzollerns.

During the entire period reported the German socialists stood in opposition. Efforts were indeed made to form a Great Coalition but they failed before the resistance of the German Peoples' Party. The Marx Government which relieved the second Luther Cabinet was followed by another Marx Cabinet including the German Nationalists. From the end of January, 1927, Germany was governed by the Bourgeois Block in which the German Nationalists secured a reactionary domestic policy at the cost of renouncing their party principles in foreign politics.

Although the reactionary strain in the German Government could not prevent a continuation of the policy of compromise and understanding with France, yet the entry of the German Nationalists into the Government did seriously impede the process of loosening the tension between Germany and France. The entry of Germany into the League of Nations in September 1926 and the ensuing direct conversations between the German and French Foreign Ministers, brought hopes of substantial progress towards peaceable relations between the two countries. However, since the entry of the German Nationalists into the German Government and the formation in France of the Government of National Union complete stagnation has prevailed in this direction.

The National Congress of Heidelberg (13—18 September, 1925) adopted a new Party Programme which was succeeded at the National Congress of Kiel (22—27 May, 1927) by the Land Programme.

With regard to organisation extremely satisfactory progress can be registered. The want of principle in the German Nationalists and the reactionary policy of the Government have led large masses of the German electorate into the ranks of socialism. At present the Party membership numbers 823,520 and is still strongly rising. All the separate elections which have taken place latterly foreshadowed the striking successes of German socialism at the elections of the Reichstag. In addition the consolidation of the internal conditions of the party should be noticed. The Party conflict in Saxony was settled by the exclusion of 23 ex-deputies—leaders without an army—whereby the efficiency of the Party has been notably enhanced.

#### *Other Workers' Parties :*

*Communist Party :* Its membership, much exaggerated, is quoted by the Communist International as 124,729. Relatively to the figure given in 1925, this points to a decline by 220,000, i. e. more than one half. The parliamentary representation of the Party in the previous Reichstag has been split up into various groups as a result of party conflicts. The innumerable groups which have broken away from the communist party

include the Left Communist-Leninists, which at the elections obtained some 80,000 votes but no seat. Shortly before the elections the group Maslow-Ruth Fischer broke off from them. The two organisations born of the group which refused to share in the unification at Nuremberg, are altogether insignificant.

The *Independent Socialist Party* of Germany (Theodor Liebknecht) obtained 20,725 votes but no seat.

The "*Socialist League*" (Ledebour) did not venture to face a poll and urged its supporters to vote communist.

The "*Old Socialist Party*" arose from the group excluded from the Saxon Socialist Party and pursues nationalist tendencies. Before the elections the organisation was extended over all Germany. It obtained 65,573 votes and no seat. Is quite without influence on the labour movement.

*Communist Labour Party*, a fraction split off from the communist party, syndicalist in tendency.

*Poale Zion* (see page IV. 112).

*Literature :*

Minutes of National Congresses. Since 1926 there has appeared the "Year Book of German Socialism", issued by the German Socialist Party. International Information 1926, No. 3/2, 5/3, 13/1 and, p. 208, 1927 p. 243, 1928 p. 176, 234.

See also Marseilles Report p. 151—153.

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## Great Britain.

### *The Labour Party.*

Founded :— in 1900.

Membership :— 3,388,286 including women (Collective affiliation of Trade Unions etc.).

Trade Union Membership :— 4,163,994.

Membership of Youth Organisations :— 12,000 approx.

Membership of Women's Organisations :— 300,000 approx.

Educational Organisations :— Several organisations exist ; a scheme of co-ordination is now being promoted.

Press : 2 dailies, 35 weeklies, 87 monthlies.

Official Organ :— The "Daily Herald" (D.) 2, Carmelite Street, London E. C. 4, The Labour Magazine (M.).

Parliamentary Representation :— 156 out of 615 (25.3%).

Voting Strength : 5,487,620 (34%) (Elections under majority rule ; franchise for women).

Ordinary Party Conference : annually, normally in the month of October.

Party Executive : Chairman : George Lansbury M. P. ; Vice-Chairman : Herbert Morrison ; Treasurer : J. Ramsay MacDonald M. P. ; Secretary : Arthur Henderson M. P. ; Members : Mrs. W. M. Adamson, J. R. Clynes M. P., J. Compton M. P., C. T. Cramp, R. Dennison M. P., Mrs. Agnes Dollan, J. H. Hayes M. P., James Hindle, Stanley Hirst, A. Jenkins, F. W. Jowett, G. Lathan, A. Susan Lawrence M. P., O. Mosley M. P., F. O. Roberts M. P., W. A. Robinson, W. R. Smith, H. Snell M. P., C. P. Treveleyan M. P., Ellen Wilkinson M. P.

Party Headquarters : Transport House (South Block), Smith Square, London S. W. 1.

Representation in the L. S. I. :— C. T. Cramp (E.), A. Henderson (B. and E.), J. Ramsay MacDonald (E.).

Within nine months of the Marseilles Congress, the British Labour Movement found the best of its energies and resources diverted to the long industrial conflict that arose out of the crisis in the mining industry, and led to the lock-out of the miners, the general strike of May, 1926, and ultimately to the sequel of all this in June 1927, when the British Government's Trade Union Act was passed. This forced deviation from the Movement's normal course has naturally had a considerable reaction on the whole course of the Labour Party in the period reported ; and in particular there has inevitably resulted a somewhat weakened financial position, both from the expenditure of the Trade Unions involved in the crisis and from the blow at its financial basis dealt by the Trade Union Act. In the actual campaign against the passage of the Act, that is from April to June, 1927, the Labour Party in conjunction with the Trades Union Congress worked strenuously over the whole country to educate public opinion on this subject, in addition to unflagging opposition to it in Parliament, by means of which some degree of amendment was secured. Its propagandist endeavours culminated all over Great Britain in vast public demonstrations against the measure on the occasion of the May-Day celebrations and following the passage of the Act in June, 1927.

Among the normal aims temporarily overshadowed by these events, the pursuit of the agricultural policy adopted at the Party Conference of 1926 must rank among the most important. At that Conference the policy was for the first time fully formulated in a published report urging reforms of a drastic character which tend towards the public ownership and use of land. The position of the agricultural labourer and the conditions of ownership and tenure of land in Great Britain are such as to make this a very vital and urgent matter socially, while from the political standpoint it is hardly less vital in view of the weak hold of the Labour Party on the rural districts and the necessity of gaining at least another 100 seats, mostly in such districts, over and above the maximum reached in 1923, in order to secure an independent Labour majority in Parliament. Accordingly, at the end of 1926, steps were taken by the initiation of a series of demonstrations and conferences in rural centres all over the country, to bring home to the rural population the points of the Labour Programme ; and during the winter 1927—1928 a further series of conferences in the constituencies carried on the effort thus begun. Besides this, direct penetration of untouched rural areas, especially smaller places, was undertaken by means of a system of van tours.

From the General Election in 1924 to April, 1928, the Labour Party has contested 39 Parliamentary elections, with a net gain of 8 seats. Municipal elections have brought great successes.

The British Co-operative Societies, which up to the present have not been committed to the support of any political party, at their Congress in June, 1927, approved the proposal of a working agreement with the Labour Party which may be expected to be a favourable factor in future elections.

The official attitude of the Party towards Communist activity in Great Britain was defined in the resolutions passed at the Conference of 1925, refusing affiliation to the Communist Party of Great Britain and enacting that no member of it should be eligible to be member of any branch of the Labour Party. At the 1926 Conference a large majority vote upheld this decision ; a few branches subsequently failing to conform to it have been disaffiliated.

Contact with the Colonial Labour Movements has been maintained by visits of prominent representatives of the Party to British Guiana, Australia and Canada ; by the World Migration Congress of 1926 held by the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. in London, and finally by the British Commonwealth Conference meeting in London in 1925 and July 1928.

Throughout the period covered by this Report the Women's Sections of the Labour Movement have continued to show great activity. The Labour Women's Conferences held every May are attended by nearly a thousand delegates from all parts of the country. In particular, women played a conspicuous part in the special work of relief and propaganda accompanying the long-drawn

industrial troubles of 1926. The promised extension of the franchise to British women from the age of 21 instead of 30, will probably add about 5,000,000 to the electorate, many of whom—particularly amongst industrial workers—are sympathetic to Labour, and will open a further field for political work among women.

In the sphere of international affairs, the democratic policy of the Party has consistently brought it into conflict with the Conservative Government. With regard to events in China, the Labour Movement stood in opposition to the despatch of large armed forces by the British Government, and expressed its sympathy with the Chinese nationalist aspirations as long as the issue remained clear. The Party unanimously condemned the rupture of relations with Soviet Russia by the British Government in May, 1927. The proposal of the I. L. P., made at the Executive of the L. S. I. in April 1926, to explore the possibilities of a conference with the Communist International, was opposed by the Labour Party, and a similar proposal by the I. L. P. at the Annual Conference of the Party in October 1927 was decisively rejected, on a card vote, by 1,831,000 to 1,031,000. The Party was represented at a joint conference with the Belgian, German and French Socialist Parties, held at Luxemburg in November, 1926, to study the problems of Reparations, the Rhineland Occupation, and kindred matters.

In view of the General Election, expected to take place early in 1929, it was resolved at the 1927 Conference that the Party should on this occasion prepare a definite programme of its policy, similar to that in practice among continental parties. This programme will be submitted to the Annual Conference in 1928, a year which will witness a gathering concentration on the Party's work towards the momentous struggle which will come to an issue at the General Election.

In March 1928, the Labour Party removed its headquarters from the London premises it had occupied for many years at 33 and 34 Eccleston Square, to more spacious quarters near the House of Commons at Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1.

The following Socialist organisations are affiliated to the Labour Party :—

- Independent Labour Party (see page IV. 74).
- Social-Democratic Federation (Membership 2,000).
- Fabian Society (Membership 1,899).
- Jewish Socialist Labour Party "Poale Zion" (Membership 600).
- Other Workers' Parties.*
- Communist Party (Membership 7,377) (Labour Year Book, 1928).

*Literature :*

- The Labour Year Book, 1926, 1927, 1928.
- Reports of Annual Conferences, 1925, 1926, 1927.
- Report of British Commonwealth Conference, 1925.
- The Book of the Labour Party (3 Vols).
- The Encyclopaedia of the Labour Movement (3 Vols), London, 1928.
- G. D. H. Cole : Short History of the British Working-Class Movement. (Vol. III.).
- Report of the Congress of the L. S. I. at Marseilles 1925.

## Great Britain.

### *Independent Labour Party.*

Founded :— in 1893.

Membership :— 30,000 (including 14,000 women).

Trade Union Membership :— See Labour Party.

Membership of Youth Organisations :— 7000 members (including ca. 2500 girls).

Membership of Women's Organisations :— 14,000.

Educational Organisations :— in existence.

Press :— 6 weekly, 3 monthly.

Official Organ :— "The New Leader" (W.), 14, Great George Street, Westminster, London, S. W. 1.

Parliamentary Representation :— 113 out of the 159 labour members of Parliament are members of the I.L.P., for 29 of whom the I.L.P. was financially responsible.

Voting Strength :— Included in the Labour Party vote.

Ordinary Party Conference : annually at Easter.

Party Executive :— Chairman : James Maxton ; Treasurer : F. W. Jowett ; General Secretary : John Paton ; Financial Secretary : Francis Johnson ; Political Secretary : A. Fenner Brockway. Members : E. Shinwell, D. Kirkwood, O. Mosley, J. W. Moor, P. J. Dollan, Fred Tait, T. W. Stamford, E. F. Wise, Dorothy Jewson, John Scurr, F. Berri-man, D. L. Mort, E. Sandham.

Party Headquarters :— 14, Great George Street, London S. W. 1.

Representation in the L. S. I. : A. Fenner Brockway (E.).

Throughout the troubled period 1925-28 in the British movement, a period overshadowed first and foremost by the mining crisis and General Strike in the late spring of 1926 with its sequel in the Government Act against the Trade Unions in June, 1927, the Independent Labour Party has continued actively to play a part from its own angle on the left flank of the purely socialist forces in Great Britain. It has to an increasing extent expounded in print and on the platform certain ideas and policies elaborated from within its own ranks, especially the demand for acceleration in the pace of the movement which is expressed in the phrase "Socialism in our time", first formulated in a resolution adopted at the Easter Conference of 1926. The core of the policy advanced in this form is insistence on a minimum living income for the family as the primary objective of immediate political and industrial action, and to the whole wider question of the socialist reorganisation of national resources of which this is an aspect the I.L.P. has latterly applied the sharpest edge of its attention.

But during a great part of 1926 the Party's best energies, like those of the whole British movement, were absorbed in the tasks imposed by the struggle centering round the mining industry. The I.L.P. proved itself to be one of the most effective allies of the

miners, indeed the sustained intellectual, moral and financial assistance rendered by it was undoubtedly a strong factor in the prolongation of the fight. Through a central fund the party raised in aid of the miners and their dependents £10,000, in addition to £50,000 collected by the Branches. While the conflict lasted, its weekly periodical "The New Leader" undertook the issue of another weekly, "The Miner", entirely concerned therewith, which subsequently became the organ of the Miners' Federation itself.

The close of the industrial conflict, which subjected the party's finances to a strain from which it has not yet fully recovered, released its main energies for a resumption of its normal work. At the Easter Congress of 1928 the number of its branches was reported as 826 ; and 54 nominations of prospective candidates for the next general election had been made. The Guild of Youth, founded in 1924, now has 100 Branches. In international affairs, the I. L. P. has continued to pursue as an European policy, the ideals of co-operation between democratic governments in the cause of peace, of political and economic rapprochement with Russia, and of developing the League of Nations into a real democratic organ, while towards world international problems, such as that of China, and those concerning the subject races of the British Empire, it has insisted on the need for self-government and the abandonment of imperialist aims. It has put forward, as a policy, individual and collective resistance to all wars, and at its last annual Conference, adopted a resolution urging the next Labour Government to embark on a policy of disarmament by example. In contradistinction to the view of the Labour Party, the I. L. P. opposed the participation of labour representatives in the Indian Reforms Commission, which includes no Indian. With the aim of furthering working-class unity, the I. L. P.'s representative in the Executive of the L. S. I. moved at the meeting of April, 1926, a resolution in favour of a joint conference with the Communist International to explore the possibilities of agreement, which was however defeated by 247 to 3 votes. At the Annual Conference of the Labour Party in October, 1927, a similar resolution by the I. L. P. was defeated, on a card vote by 1,931,000 votes to 1,031,000.

The I. L. P.'s weekly periodical, "The New Leader", the influence of which has been a prominent factor in its work, has latterly undergone a change. Under the editorship of H. N. Brailsford the paper had developed into a critical and literary organ with a wide range of interests. It was felt, however, that a more popular paper with a higher circulation and a more general appeal was wanted. Accordingly, in November 1926 Brockway was appointed editor and the periodical, (of which the previous editor has continued as a regular contributor) was remodelled on the lines of a party organ.

The valuable work in artistic and social enterprises for the purpose of propaganda, of which the I. L. P. is the principal agent in the British movement has attained considerable influence. The National I. L. P. Summer School in August attracts students from

all over Britain and a number from countries in all parts of the world. During the last two years there has been a noteworthy development of summer schools organised by I.L.P. local organisations.

The work of its well organised Information and Research Department has been of great value to propagandists in all sections of the movement and to great numbers of local administrators and Members of Parliament. Its Arts Guild, inaugurated some years ago by the organisation of "Sunday Evenings for the People" at one of the principal London theatres, has been a valuable influence in many directions. The I.L.P.'s Guild of Youth (the Youth Section of the Party) continues its important work of organising young people of both sexes for socialism.

The I.L.P. Publications Department issued much literature on a wide variety of subjects, national and international. Among the many books and pamphlets issued was the pamphlet on the living wage (1927).

The resignation late in 1925 on grounds of ill-health of Clifford Allen, the Chairman and representative of the L. S. I. was followed by certain changes in the Executive posts. John Paton became General Secretary in succession to Brockway who became Political Secretary and representative of the Party in the L. S. I., while Francis Johnson remains Financial Secretary.

C. Roden Buxton, compelled by the claims of other party work to retire from his post as Treasurer, has been succeeded by F. W. Jowett. James Maxton has been Chairman for the past two years.

*Other Workers' Parties.*  
(see page IV. 71.)

*Literature :*  
Reports of Annual Conferences 1926, 1927, 1928.

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## Greece.

### *Socialist Labour Party.*

Founded : in 1911. At the Congress 1928 adopted the name of Socialist Labour Party of Greece.

Membership : 2,800, including 260 women.

Trade Union Membership : 50,000.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 200.

Membership of Women's Organisations : 260, trade unions 3000.

Educational Organisations : a group for social studies.

District Organs : "La Voix Ouvrière" (Volos), "L'ami du Peuple" (Saloniki).

Voting Strength : At the election of 1926 7,800.

Ordinary Congress : annually.

Party Executive : G. Lascaris, J. Joannidis, T. Lambrinopoulos, B. Papanicolaou.

Party Headquarters : Yamoyannis, 15 rue Paparigopoulo, Athènes.

Representation in the L. S. L. : Congress Delegation.

The troublous course which public affairs have followed in Greece since the close of the world-war has not improved to any substantial extent during the period reported. Early in this period, in December 1922, a coup d'état contrived by General Pangalos placed in his hands the executive power. Assuming office with the usual promises of free elections and reform, he adopted instead the usual practices of censorship, repression and martial law until himself overthrown by force in August, 1926. The National Coalition Government under Zaimis which succeeded the dictatorship, gave to the country at least a certain stability as to the central government, since it lasted without much modification till February, 1928. But, being essentially an instrument of financial forces, especially the National Bank of Greece, and the British banks, which are the principal creditors for considerable loans, the Zaimis Government did not find any real solution of the difficult economic and social problems with which Greece is faced. The chief of these problems are the distress and unemployment accompanying the unsound budgetary situation, and the difficulties of finding employment for a million and a half refugees from Thrace and Asia Minor which have just been installed in Macedonia in order to make it Greek—a problem which incidentally continues to have disturbing reactions on Greco-Bulgarian relations. There is likewise the perpetual danger of monarchist coups d'état on the part of officers reinstated in the army, a danger aggravated by the tactical mistakes of the Republican Parties. The Chamber elected at the last elections in November, 1926, while for the most part Republican, contains a considerable minority of out-and-out monarchists.

The position of the little Socialist Party has been more than usually difficult. Under the Pangalos regime, while unable to act freely, it was not actually suppressed. Since then, it has had to contend with severe hostility on the part of the Communists, who succeeded, with the help of the customary subsidies from Moscow, in gaining some seats in the present parliament elected at the end of 1926, and who have since concentrated their attention especially on attempts to undermine the trade union movement. Nevertheless the Congress, of the Greece National Trade Union Centre, held in the spring of 1928, resolved almost unanimously to affiliate to the International Federation of Trade Unions, with which it has always had good relations.

The aspect of the political scene in Greece has latterly been altered by the re-entry, in May, 1928, of Venizelos, who appears to be aiming, under the semblance of coming to the rescue of the unstable republic, first and foremost at the exercise of personal power. Foreign policy will certainly be an expression of bourgeois liberalism and of Greek nationalism, adjusted to the political ends of certain Powers in the Balkans, probably those of France.

It is improbable that the interests of the working-class will stand to gain anything from the change, and it will depend upon themselves to improve their own position. It is therefore encouraging to find that steps towards working-class reconstruction contemplated for some time past, are at length being actually taken. A general Labour Congress, called in the spring of 1928 to discuss socialist policy and tactics, resulted in the exclusion of 140 communist delegates and in a definite schism. At the same time as this Congress at the beginning of May, 1928, there was called a *Socialist Congress* (with comrade Yotas as President and comrade Lascaris as Secretary), attended by all the non-communist elements of the Greek movement. The Congress arrived at the important decision of uniting the various sympathetic groups into a *new Party*, which is to bear the name of *Greek Socialist Labour Party*, and which has adopted the Marxian programme of the former Socialist Party. (Rapporteur N. Yannios).

There is good ground for hoping that this act of consolidation will open a new era in the history of the Greek labour movement.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party. Membership : 2500. At last elections 40,000 votes and 10 seats in Parliament.

*Literature :*

International Information : 1924 : 22nd Jan. ; 1926, p. 281 ; 1928, p. 154.  
N. Yannios : articles in Arbeiter-Zeitung (Vienna), 5. 9. 1927 ; Leipziger Volkszeitung, 2. 3. 1928 ; La Vie Socialiste (Paris) 8. 10. 1927.

## Holland.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

Sociaal-Democratische Arbeidersparty (S. D. A. P.).

Founded : in 1894.

Membership : on 31st March, 1928, 52,904, including 15,364 women.

Trade Union Membership : on 31st March, 1928, 209,614.

Membership of Youth Organisations : on 1st January 1928, 3,370 male and 3,355 female.

Membership of Women's Organisations : see women's report.

Educational Organisations : 18,000 members.

Press : 2 Dailies, 5 Weeklies, 1 Monthly.

Official Organ : "Het Volk" (D.), Keizersgracht 376, Amsterdam.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House : 24 out of 100, Upper House : 11 out of 50.

Voting Strength : 706,704 (22.9%) Proportional representation, men and women.

Ordinary Congress : annually, at Easter.

Party Executive : President : J. Oudegeest ; Secretary-Treasurer : C. Werkhoven ; Women's Secretary : Miss E. Ribbius Peletier ; Members : J. W. Albarda, J. A. Bergmeyer, E. Boekman, W. Drees, D. A. v. Eck, Suze Groeneweg, J. E. W. Duys, A. B. Kleerekoper, W. H. Vliegen, F. M. Wibaut.

Party Headquarters : Tesselschadestraat 31, Amsterdam.

Representation in the L. S. I. : W. H. Vliegen (E. B.), F. M. Wibaut (E.).

During the period of this report the Dutch socialists had to concern themselves in particular with two questions : those of disarmament and of the colonies.

In 1924 the Dutch Socialist Party had already appointed a Board to investigate the question of the army system for Holland. The result of its enquiries was a voluminous report published in book form. In accordance with the conclusions reached in the report the Socialist Group in the Second Chamber introduced a Bill by which the figures of yearly recruitment were to be reduced from 19,500 to 3,000 men for the army and provisionally another 1,000 men for the navy, the term of training was to be abridged to four months and the annual manoeuvres abolished. The force thus constituted was to bear the character of a Defence Corps. The guiding idea of the proposal was that Holland is incapable of defending itself against attack, indeed that any defence could only create danger for the country. The Bill, though rejected on 8th March 1927, yet had a remarkable success merely through the discussion arising out of it. For socialism carried the campaign from Parliament into the masses of the people, and since 4th March 1925, the day when the Bill was introduced, there has been carried on an uninterrupted agitation on behalf of disarmament, which on 19th September 1926 reached one of its highest points in a mass meeting at The Hague attended by

nearly 100,000 people. The question of disarmament, notwithstanding the negative gesture of the Chamber, remains on the agenda in Holland.

Problems of a peculiarly complicated nature arose for the Socialist Party in consequence of the insurrection in the Dutch Indies. This insurrection was caused by the long-standing abuses in the Dutch Colonies. The economic position of the native working-class is indicated in the fact that among it an average income does not exceed 200 Dutch guilders per annum, of which 10% must be deducted for taxation. Further the working-class in the colonies possesses no sufficient means of making its desires known, since it has no real freedom of combination and meeting, indeed not even the full right of association. The Peoples' Council of the Indies consisted for the most part of whites, although beside the 200,000 Europeans there are nearly 50 million natives. A constitutional amendment put into effect since the insurrection has in so far modified this proportion that out of the 60 members of the Council there will be in future 30 natives and 5 Chinese and the remainder Europeans. However, as before 22 members of the Council (10 natives, 10 Europeans and 2 Chinese) are not chosen by the electorate but nominated by the Government. The extent of the electorate has been somewhat enlarged but still comprises only some hundred thousand Indonesians.

The insurrectionary movement, in some degree spurred on and influenced by the movement for Chinese freedom, offered a suitable field of activity to the communists. Thereby the movement was pressed far beyond the limits of what was historically possible. The Dutch Socialists intervened with the utmost energy against action to quell the movement by brute force and demanded a system of reforms calculated to alleviate the economic distresses of the natives and to lead them more and more towards self-government. Thus the Socialist Party protested against the execution of death sentences on the leaders of the revolt, and further induced the International to back its protest. Besides this it conducted a strenuous campaign against the system of deportations, demanding that deportation should only be carried out after sentence by Court (rather than by administrative measures), and it held up to ignominy the scandalous fact that natives, merely on account of their convictions, were being exiled to the territories of murderous tribes. In conjunction with the socialists of the Dutch Indies, the Dutch Party finally demanded the institution of an enquiry into the real economic and political causes of the insurrection, to be carried out not by European officials but by the Council of the Indies itself. However, a motion to this effect was defeated in a session of the Council on 20th October, 1927.

Similarly the attitude of the Dutch Government towards the Chinese national movement urged the Dutch socialists to take action. The despatch of a war ship to Shanghai was made a subject of a

parliamentary question, and likewise the behaviour of the Dutch Ambassador in Peking on the occasion of the search in the Russian Embassy.

In conformity with the resolution by the Executive of the L. S. I. the Dutch Socialists have conducted a vigorous agitation for the abolition of the death penalty in the Dutch Indies. At many mass meetings protests were raised against the continued existence of the penalty in the Indies, whereas in the mother country it has been stopped since 1870. A motion in this sense by the Socialist Group in the Chamber was, however, rejected.

In the sphere of organisation a notable step has been taken towards the unification of the labour movement in the Netherlands. The need for the establishment of closer relations between the Party and the trade union movement led at the national Congress of 1926 to a debate at which a proposal to reconstruct the Party on the lines of the British Labour Party was rejected. A Commission was, however, appointed which in mutual understanding between Party and trade Union Federation framed a proposal which in its main lines was adopted at the Party Congress of this year. The main item of this proposal concerns the creation of a Joint Board of the Party and the Trade Union Federation, which has to consult as to matters of joint action. The Trade Union Federation had previously given its assent to the principal provisions of the proposal.

At the annual Congress of 1926 the veteran Chairman of the Party, W. H. Vliegen, retired, since he had removed to The Hague, and by the Statutes the Chairman must be resident in Amsterdam. In his stead the leader of the diamond workers, Henri Polak, was provisionally elected, but in view of his health and of his occupation with other functions he was not able to occupy the post permanently. Thereafter, in December, 1927, Jan Oudegeest was elected.

At present the Party is striving vigorously to secure a greater circulation for the Party press. Since January, 1927, *Het Volk* has appeared twice daily, whereby an adequate body of subscribers in Amsterdam is to be assured and a possibility of starting provincial organs is to be created.

In April, 1927, elections to Provincial bodies took place which resulted for the Party, relatively to the similar elections of 1923, in a gain of 106,000 votes and 13 new seats.

On 13th August, 1927, there was held the dedication ceremony of the Troelstra Oord, a building intended to perpetuate worthily the remembrance of the leader of the Party, Pieter Jelles Troelstra, whom ill-health and age have compelled to withdraw from regular activity in the Party.

At the extraordinary Congress in December, 1927, the membership fee was considerably reduced. In consequence of this step 6,700 members joined the Party in January and February 1928. Further the Printing Works "Vooruitgang" were purchased and the offices previously used by the I. F. T. U. were taken over.

During the sessions of the International Congress in Marseille, the sad news of van Kol's death was announced. The Congress paid a tribute to the memory of the great leader of the Dutch working-class, whose whole life was interwoven with that of the Dutch movement. His long struggle against the oppression of colonial races, and the far-reaching knowledge of colonial conditions acquired during a long residence in the colonies, made him one of the leading personalities in the International.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party (Membership unknown). Obtained at the 1925 election 36,786 votes and 1 seat. The Party has undergone repeated splits. During the period reported Henriette Roland Holst announced her resignation from the Party. The Communist influence on the Labour movement is slight and decreasing.

*Literature :*

Minutes of National Congresses (Dutch). Verslag van de Commissie ingesteld door S. D. A. P. en N. V. V. tot onderzoek van het Militaire Vraagstuk. N. V. Ontwikkeling, Amsterdam 1926.

Ons Arsenaal, Feiten, Cyfers en Beschouwingen ten dienste van onze Propaganda, compiled by J. W. Mathijsen, published by the Executive of the S. D. A. P., Keizersgracht 376, Amsterdam (monthly).

A. B. Kleerekoper, Weg met de Doodstraf. Ontwikkeling, Amsterdam 1927 (all in Dutch).

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## Hungary.

### *Social-Democratic Party.*

(Magyarországi Szocialdemokrata Part.)

Founded : in 1894.

Membership : 138,472 (Trade unions as collective members).

Trade Union Membership : 122,156.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 3,060, (including 220 young girls).

Membership of Women's Organisations : 22,000.

Educational Organisations : in existence.

Press : 1 Daily, 3 Monthlies.

Official Organ : "Nepszava", Budapest VIII, Conti-utca 4.

Parliamentary Representation : 14 out of 245.

Voting Strength : 126,854. (Restricted franchise for men, more heavily restricted for women, majority election rule, only in some towns proportional representation, for the most part without secret ballot ; election terrorism.)

Party Executive : Secretaries : Stefan Farkas, Arpád Szakasits ; Members : Eugen Deutsch, Stefan Farkas, Rudolf Gyurey, Gabriel Horovitz, Ludwig Kabók, Anna Kéthly, Karl Peyer, Alexander Propper, Arpád Szakasits, Illes Monus, Franz Szeder.

Party Headquarters : Conti utca 4, Budapest VIII.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Peidl (E.).

During the period under report the political situation in Hungary has again been marked by unrestrained excesses on the part of the regime of dictatorship which took power after the overthrow of the Revolution. The state of martial law which was introduced in war-time is still in force. Freedom of the press, of association and of meeting, and also trial by jury, have been abolished. The Minister of the Interior has dictatorial power with regard to the rights of the press. Thus up to the present 47 newspapers and 204 printed works, including "Capital" by Karl Marx, have been banned. The chief organ of the Socialist Party, "Nepszava" could not resume sale in the streets until once again in 1928. From 1924 to the end of 1927 the Editorial staff of "Nepszava" were sentenced to 24 years 3 months and 16 days imprisonment and fines amounting to 55,130 Pengö. These punishments and in particular the rising fines had frankly the object of ruining the paper and of compelling its cessation. In addition there ensued numerous prosecutions against the leading personalities in the Party, which were instituted on the ground of a law enacted ad hoc "for the effective protection of order in the state and society".

The economic conditions of the country also act obstructively on the labour movement. The burden of taxes per head of the population has, compared with the pre-war period, nearly doubled ; in

particular general taxation as against taxation on property has increased appallingly. The Hungarian big landowners make use of their political power not only to keep down the labour movement, but also to throw all the burdens of the war and the post-war period on to the working population. To which must be added another crippling economic crisis which restricts the power of action of the trade unions. Hungary stands first in the statistics of suicides.

These circumstances are exploited by the feudal and reactionary government to restore along the whole line the absolute feudal rule of the pre-war period. The counter-revolution saved the big estates; the large Church properties, and the celebrated Hungarian large landed possessions escaped from the application of an effective land reform by means of which the landless peasants would have secured the land. Through the Hungarian land reform—"the most moderate in Central Europe"—altogether 927,600 "Yokes" of land were to be distributed according to the assessment, but in the final result merely a quite insignificant part fell to the landless peasants for possession.

Under the protection of the political terror the Hungarian counter-revolution has provoked one scandal after another.

The series of shady affairs in domestic policy were introduced by the discovery of the franc forgeries. After the Bethlen government had at first tried to conceal the forgeries, in order to hide its own participation, it was compelled by the intervention of the French government to sacrifice temporarily at least those persons immediately involved, in particular the Chief of Police Nadossy and Prince Windischgrätz. That herewith the real originators of the banknote forgeries were not touched can be clearly seen from the minority report of the parliamentary committee of enquiry which had to be set up under the pressure of international indignation. There it is stated that "The responsibility rests above all upon the Prime Minister, and in second place upon the Minister of the Interior Rakovsky and the Secretary of State in the Cabinet Pronay. For years it was possible for a secret society to deal undisturbed with plans for franc forgeries. For more than a year it was able, under the protection of the national Chief of Police, to fabricate false franc notes actually in public in the state Cartographical Institute. The government under which that can happen can no longer remain in its seat. This government cannot carry enquiries into this affair any further, it can no longer represent the prosecution. Only a government which is not itself involved can undertake this task, only such a one is fitted for the entire elucidation of the truth".

The government sought to support its position, weakened by the discovery of this scandal—which led to demonstrations abroad also—by an intensification of the terror. The trial of the communists Rakosi and Szanto on the one hand, and the proceedings against the deputy Peyer on the other, show the methods with which the



Bethlen government fights its opponents. The President of the Executive of the L. S. I., Arthur Henderson, wired to Count Bethlen a protest concerning the proceedings against Peyer, who, on account of his participation in the Paris Executive meeting of the L. S. I., which in a manifesto had pilloried the warlike preparations of Hungary, was to have his seat declared forfeited; the protest was also against the trial of communists which was directed merely against the convictions of the accused.

A climax was reached by the government terror in the parliamentary elections of December, 1926. Restrictions of the suffrage, public voting in the overwhelming majority of the constituencies and shameless acts of violence against the socialist candidates, propagandists and electors, characterised this "reference to the people". The socialists lost 10 of their 24 seats. The result cannot, however, in any way be viewed as an expression of the opinion of the electorate.

The Socialist Party of Hungary is fighting resolutely for the attainment of an universal suffrage with secret ballot, without which Hungarian feudal rule remains unassailable. The campaign for the secret ballot has been openly stigmatised by the representative of the feudal class, Count Bethlen, as "incendiarism", which would be likely to set fire to the "huts" of the feudal lords constructed since the Revolution, and reaction defends itself against this with all the means of violence and oppression.

In foreign politics Hungary has pursued an increasing activity in agreement with the reactionary block, which, under the leadership of Italy keeps south-eastern Europe in continuous tension. With fascist support the Hungarian reactionary regime is carrying on propaganda for the revision of the Peace Treaty of Trianon, which is just as unjust and one-sided as the other treaties of peace forced upon the defeated by the victorious states. The discovery of the smuggling of weapons from Italy into Hungary, which occurred in St. Gotthard, has clearly revealed the relations between Italian and Hungarian fascism. In the bloodshed which this policy must fatally provoke, the restoration of the Habsburgs is to proceed, which is intended to crown the achievements of the Hungarian counter-revolution, but which must inevitably at the same time draw the whole of Central Europe into the horror of a war. Simultaneously Hungarian feudalism is endeavouring to restore its rule over the districts taken from it by the Peace Treaty of Trianon. Since however the ruling regime allows no democratic rights and also will not relinquish public voting at elections, Hungarian feudalism would force the inhabitants of the former territories under the rule of pre-war feudal reaction and indeed even under worse than this.

Hungarian socialists have fought against the policy of alliances of the Bethlen government and have also maintained an attitude of

repudiation towards the "Rothermere action". The national congress of the Party in January, 1928, passed the following resolution in this connection :

"The Socialist Party stands for the revision of the Peace Treaty of Trianon, and only in such revision does it see the possibility of a solution of those difficult foreign, territorial, national, economic and social problems which have been thrown up by the one-sided peace treaty made during the intoxication of victory. The Peace Treaty harbours the germ of the danger of war for Central and Eastern Europe, for the removal of which the revision of the Peace Treaty of Trianon is indispensably necessary. The general political situation in Europe requires two preliminary conditions for the revision of the Trianon Treaty :

(1) The democratic transformation of the Central and Eastern European states.

(2) Peaceful and mutual understanding between those states interested in the revision.

(3) The democratic transformation of the Central and Eastern European states, as well as that of Hungary itself, brings security to the neighbouring states, permits of disarmament by stages, and therewith creates the political atmosphere which is suitable for the solution on a mutual and peaceful basis of those controversial external, territorial, national, economic and social questions, and also for the revision of the Treaty.

(4) On the basis of all this the Party Congress utters an emphatic warning against expecting from the action of a private individual any satisfactory result to the population of the country, for that can only produce deep and bitter disappointment, and the opening of the question of revision without having secured the requisite preliminary conditions, would have a prejudicial effect on the external political interests of the country.

(5) The Congress sees in a democratic foreign policy based on an internal democratic transformation of the country a guarantee for the prosperity of the country, and therefore it considers any alliance with fascist imperialism as fatal and likely to evoke the danger of war, which alliance tends to sacrifice for its own ends the interests of Hungary and to deprive us of any possibility of the revision of the Treaty.

(6) The Congress is of the conviction that Hungary can only secure rectification of the injustices inflicted on it if it accepts democracy as the basis of domestic policy and for foreign policy that of peaceful and friendly relations with all states including Russia."

The government is conducting persistent activities in the interests of the organisation of fascist troops. With the help of secret funds there are maintained corps in black uniforms who call themselves "Sasok" (Eagles). They possess approved statutes and may carry the "Fokos" (stick with a pike-head), they go in for military exercises and arm for the fight against the working-class. This was most conspicuously evident during the strike of the Budapest wood-workers. In June, 1928, 850 wood-workers went on strike to get a couple of coppers increase in the wage per hour. The fascist "Eagles" volunteered for the defence of the strikebreakers against the strikers. This of course met with the approval of the government, which threatened a trade union law with which to protect the "freedom of labour". In fact however it will proffer

support to the strikebreakers, bring the trade unions under disciplinary regulations and place these more rigorously under police and government control. The government will continue the new campaign against the labour movement with the means of fascism: on this ground it introduced old-age and invalidity insurance for the industrial workers and commercial employees, for which the Socialist Party had fought for decades. Reaction believes it can bring down the socialist movement if it enters the field with the fascist "Fokos" in one hand and with social baits in the other.

The parliamentary groups in the various countries have been repeatedly invited by the Hungarian government to visit Hungary. These invitations have been refused by the socialist parties in Finland, Esthonia and Switzerland on the ground that they cannot accept an invitation from a country where the members of parliament are elected by public voting and where reaction rules. The Hungarian government has not been successful in deceiving the socialist parties of Europe, nor democratic public opinion in Europe, for the counter-revolutionary and reactionary Bethlen regime is well enough known; not only as a stronghold of reaction but also as one of the external buttresses of fascism.

In spite of the pressure of the terror the Party has enthusiastically demonstrated its international solidarity with the enslaved Italian proletariat. When in course of Italian-Hungarian fraternisation an Italian fascist delegation went to Budapest and appeared in parliament, the socialist group in loud protestations and a speech by the deputy Malasits demonstrated against the murderers of Matteotti. A great mass meeting in Budapest on 22nd April, 1928, was the occasion of a vehement demonstration against Hungarian and Italian fascism.

Since every activity of the Communist Party is strictly forbidden by law the communists have repeatedly tried by the creation of cell organisations to found an illegal communist movement. As the field for this secret movement they have singled out the socialist party and the trade union organisations on the one hand so as to disrupt their unity, and on the other hand to get a footing in them and to secure an organisation in which they would be able to evade the persecutions of the authorities. During recent years there have been frequent smaller and larger attempts at communist organisations, which the police were able to trace every time. Heavy sentences of imprisonment were passed on the communist propagandists brought before the courts. These attempts had moreover the result that reaction raged even more wildly and restricted the liberty of action of the labour movement by means of a ban on meetings, by the extension of police supervision and unbearable intimidation.

Opposition currents within the Party are continuously exposed to the danger of being used by the communists for their own pur-

poses. The communist organisations gave the word to their members to avail themselves of every indication of an opposition movement within the party and the trade unions and of every mood of dissatisfaction arising from special circumstances existing. Thus the internal elucidation of party problems is continuously endangered by the disruptive manœuvres from Moscow. It must be counted a success that the party through all these horrors and difficulties has managed almost to maintain its strength.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party (membership unknown) illegal, no candidates at the last elections, no parliamentary representation. The leadership of the party has up to recently been in the hands of Eugen Landler in Vienna, who died in the spring of 1928.

Socialist Workers' Party : a fractional group under the leadership of Stephan Vagi, which was restricted to a small circle. The communists have repeatedly tried to penetrate into this group and have impregnated it with cells. The leaders of the party were condemned to long terms of imprisonment. Since then no organised existence of this group has been visible.

Socialist Emigrant Group "Vilagossag" (see page IV. 89).

Garami-Buchinger Emigrant Group with headquarters in Vienna.

*Literature :*

Reports of annual congresses (Hungarian). Since 2nd March 1928 there has appeared a "News Service of the Hungarian Socialist Party" which occasionally publishes information on the Hungarian labour movement. "International Information" ; in particular Volume 1926, I/4, p. 145, 230, 258, 270—272 ; DD 66 ; Volume 1927, 120, 127, 139, 379 ; Volume 1928, 16. Report to the Marseilles Congress.

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## Hungary.

### *„Vilagossag“ Socialist Emigrant Group.*

Founded: in 1920.

Party Executive: President: Anton Dovesak; Substitute: Wilhelm Böhm.

Members: Zoltan Rónai, Josef Diner-Dénes, Paul Szende, Stefan Kulscar, Ladislaus Fénjes. Secretary: Sigmund Kunfi.

Party Headquarters: Dr. Sigmund Kunfi, c/o "Arbeiter-Zeitung", Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.

Representation in the L. S. I.: Congreß Delegation.

The Socialist Emigrant group "Vilagossag" has continued in the period of this report to regard as its main task the struggle against the terrorist regime in Hungary. In addition it has performed the duty of safeguarding the political and economic interests of the Hungarian exiles:

The Hungarian counter-revolution has consolidated itself during the period elapsed, and its grip is felt not in individual acts which outrage the moral sense, but in a permanent pressure which threatens to rob the socialist policy of its spiritual content. To maintain the revolutionary past of the Hungarian working-class and therewith the great tasks before it, free from the reserves and restrictions of the White-Guard regime, to serve as a living protest against the present unworthy position of the Hungarian proletariat—these thus became the primary tasks of the social-democrats in exile.

The alliance of counter-revolutionary Hungary with fascist Italy and the support lent to it by the conservative government of England have increased the international significance of Hungary. Her increased power gives rise to dangers of war, which like the process of secret armament and the preparations for monarchist restoration, only socialists living outside the country but in close intercourse with its working-masses can point out with sufficient clearness to the international working-class. During the past year, with the help of Italian and British fascist circles, an irredentist propaganda on a large scale has been set on foot, which similarly can only be withstood successfully from abroad, since any resistance to this agitation within the country is chastised with heavy sentences of imprisonment as high treason and insult to the nation.

The Emigrant group Vilagossag has striven for the solution of these tasks within its own sphere of influence. Relatively to the previous period reported there has come about a certain relaxation in the tension attending its relations to the Hungarian Socialist Party. However, the tasks and conditions of struggle in the freedom of exile on the one hand and in terrorised Hungary on the other

differ so fundamentally that as yet no stage of closer cooperation between the Emigrant Group and the social-democrats working in Hungary has been reached.

Vilagossag is likewise waging an active propagandist campaign against the exiled communists who with the aid of very large funds are working to divide the Hungarian socialist forces.

Vienna has remained the intellectual centre of the socialist exiles, but the course of economic conditions has led to the emigration of large numbers to France, Brazil, and Germany and moreover to the return of many exiles to Hungary. This factor has rendered the presentment of their doctrines much more difficult for the Socialist Emigrant group, which has itself been less in evidence. None the less zealous endeavours have been made towards the education in socialist ideas of the body of exiles who sooner or later will re-enter the ranks of the Hungarian working-class in Hungary.

Unfortunately the group has also had to contend with internal difficulties during the present period. In consequence of the foundation of a faction within the group Alexander Garbai was unanimously deprived by the Executive of his post as its Chairman, whereupon he voluntarily left the Vilagossag in company with some other members. Although this conflict did not turn upon matters of principle but rather upon questions of discipline, it has certainly not helped to strengthen the exiled movement.

In addition to Austria, where they enjoy the special backing of the Socialist Party, local branches of the Vilagossag are active in many countries, especially in France and Brazil.

## Iceland.

### *The Workers' Association of Iceland.*

(Althydusamband Islands.)

Founded : 1916.

Membership : 4,900 (including trade union members).

Trade Union Membership : 4,500.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 150.

Membership of Women's Organisations : 910 (including trade union members).

Press : 1 Daily, 3 Weeklies.

Official Organ : Althydubladid.

Parliamentary Representation : 5 representatives in the Alting.

Voting Strength : 6,000 (in all 32,000).

Ordinary Congress : every two years, until now in the month of November.

Party Executive : President : Jon Baldvinsson ; Secretary : Pieter G. Gudmundsson.

Party Headquarters : Laugaveg 4, Reykjavik, Secretary : Pieter G. Gudmundsson.

Representation in the L. S. I. Congress delegation.

As early as 1906 there existed a socialist movement in Iceland. But not until the middle of the world war—in 1916—was a national organisation founded in order to safeguard the trade union and political interests of the workers on a socialist basis. In the same year a weekly paper was started, which in 1919 was changed to a daily, "Althydubladid". In the early years, however, publication of the paper was associated with great losses. In the first post-war years a considerable rise in prices persisted and there were no trade union funds to fall back on. All the other papers of the country maintained themselves chiefly by advertisements. The party paper however had little attraction for advertisers and therefore got few advertisements. The country is large and is thinly populated, so that the whole activity of the Party is considerably more costly than is the case in other countries. Under these circumstances, expressions of international solidarity as shown in the assistance given by several labour parties,—in particular by the Danish Party—have been of special significance for the labour party of Iceland.

At the congress held from 3—12 December, 1926, the following proposal was introduced on 12th December, 1926, and adopted with 2,837 votes against 640 :

"The Congress of the Althydusamband of Iceland decides to instruct its Executive to submit, on behalf of the Althydusamband of Iceland, a proposal for the latter's affiliation to the Labour and Socialist International".

At that time the organisation consisted of 27 trade union organisations with 4,540 members and 5 political societies with 308 members in a country with about 100,000 inhabitants. Communist

tendencies in the movement were first discernible in 1922. Affiliation to the L. S. I. then appeared as the most suitable means of securing a clear political line for the organisation. The affiliation was approved at the Executive meeting of the L. S. I. in Paris in February, 1927. The consolidation of the Party is making satisfactory progress. At the elections to the Alting in the spring of 1927 it obtained with 6,000 votes out of a poll of 32,000, 4 districts seats as against 2 formerly. The Party had already one national seat and thus now holds 5 seats out of 42 in the Alting (Government Party 20, Conservatives 16 and 1 Liberal). The Party supports the Peasants' Party, which favours progress, against the conservatives.

With regard to internal affairs the Party has fought chiefly for the following reforms : universal insurance ; reduction in hours of work, in particular on fishing steamers ; nationalisation of the cod and herring trade ; direct taxation ; prohibition of the import and manufacture of alcohol. When the first state of Iceland was set up it was a republic and so it remained throughout the centuries. At present the country is linked in a so-called "personal union" with the Danish kingdom. A great many people incline towards an early restoration of the republic, a movement which has its best and surest support in the labour party.

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"International Information" (French) page 315.

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## Italy.

### *Unitary Socialist Party of the Italian Workers.*

(Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani.)

Founded : In Italy in October 1922. Dissolved in November 1925. Re-formed immediately ; dissolved anew in November 1926. Re-formed in France.

Membership : 527 abroad at the time of its re-formation in France. This figure has since increased.

Trade Union Membership : all the registered members.

Membership of Youth Organisations : —

Membership of Women's Organisations : no separate organisations at present.

Educational Organisations : no separate organisations at present.

Official Organ : *Renascita Socialista*, 16, Rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, Paris.

Parliamentary Representation : abolished by fascism.

Voting Strength : nearly half a million in 1924 at the time of the worst fascist repression. The strongest in votes of all the parties of the Left.

Ordinary Congress : annually.

Party Executive : Bertone, Giani, Magliano, Zenera, Becconi, Modigliani, Morgari.

Party Headquarters : Modigliani, political secretary ; Morgari, administrative secretary.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Modigliani (E. B.), Treves (E.).

The period elapsed since the Marseilles Congress has witnessed the ultimate phase in the direct struggle within the country of the democratic elements against the dictatorship in Italy. When at the end of 1926 the fascist government announced that it would no longer be permitted to reconstitute, even in a disguised form, any of the parties affected by the decrees of dissolution, legal existence and public activities *became impossible for all the opposition parties*. Thus the activities of these parties during the three years fall into two phases : the first, previous to November, 1926, when the various democratic parties and institutions were still facing in Italy, under increasing difficulties and with decreasing success, the problem of maintaining some vestiges of their organisation after all freedom had virtually disappeared ; and the second phase subsequent to that date, in which one after the other all the bodies and institutions of the Left were driven to take refuge abroad, and their problem shifted to that of reconstructing in exile as much as possible of the structure which had been broken to pieces at home. The restoration of Italian socialist unity was at once recognised as one of the means of this restoration, according to socialist principles, with the special object of ensuring to the Italian Socialist movement the rôle and influence due to it in the anti-fascist campaign.

Whilst the evolution of fascism in itself rendered inevitable such a course of events as has actually occurred, it was a series of particular incidents, such as the real or alleged attempts upon the life of the dictator, which gave the immediate occasion for each further stage in repression. One such attempt which occurred in November 1925, led immediately to the forcible dissolution of the "Unitary Socialist Party" and to the suppression of its daily organ "Giustizia". The Party was at once re-formed under the name of "Socialist Party of the Italian Workers", and it even succeeded in bringing out again the *Giustizia* as a weekly, though it was confiscated almost every week until the upheaval at the end of 1926 which finally put an end to it. Up to the last month of 1926, the parties of the Left were able to preserve a semblance of independent existence, while some of their press organs, though constantly confiscated or suspended, still appeared with some degree of continuity. But a new phase set in with the attempt against the life of Mussolini in Bologna on 31st October, 1926. This act was succeeded by a series of repressive measures unprecedented even in the previous stages of fascism. In addition to the usual savage reprisals upon totally innocent people, the whole of the remaining parties and institutions of the Opposition were dissolved and their press prohibited. The notorious fascist courts for judging political offences were instituted; and there was shortly afterwards inaugurated the odious system of indiscriminate deportation of suspected persons which relegates all adversaries of the regime to islands in the Mediterranean outside the pale of all civilised life.

During the succeeding months, many of the most active socialists and trade unionists, including most of the leaders, were able at great personal risk to make their escape from Italy either over unfrequented points of the frontier or, like Turati, by water. Towards the end of the year these refugees resolved to take the only course left open to them, namely, to transfer abroad, to Paris, as much as it was possible to save of their institutions. The decision to transfer to Paris, the headquarters of the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers was announced in a Manifesto issued from Paris on 7th November, 1926. In December, 1926, this Party, in conjunction with the other two parties of the Left, the Maximalists and the Republicans, announced the impending formation of an Anti-Fascist Combination (*Concentrazione Antifascista*), intended to co-ordinate the various democratic elements of resistance to fascism. This body was actually constituted in March, 1927. In January, 1927, the Italian Confederation of Labour made public its intention to adopt the same course as the political bodies, and in agreement with the I. F. T. U., to transfer its headquarters to Amsterdam. A joint meeting of the I. F. T. U. and the L. S. I., held in Amsterdam on 26th February, 1927, gave consideration to the whole problem of lending

support to these exiled organisations, and passed a resolution containing the following passage :

"When the situation changed for the worse in Italy, the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers and also the Executive of the Italian Trade Union Movement were compelled to remove their headquarters to a foreign country, in order to enable them to continue to give expression in public in unequivocal terms, to the principles of the fight against fascism in Italy. The representatives of the two Internationals therefore regard the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers and the Italian National Trade Union Centre, which have both been transferred to foreign countries, as the official representatives of the Italian workers, with whom they are in contact and whom they will assist to the best of their ability. The representatives of the two Internationals hope that Italian labour will succeed in re-conquering in Italy the recognition of the principle of the legality of free organisation and will thereby make it possible for the central authorities of the labour movement to return to Italy."

The exiled Italian movement, which is centred mainly in France (especially Paris) but also to some degree in other countries (Belgium and Switzerland) has devoted its attention principally to the political and educational organisation of the continual stream of refugees from Italy and to the establishment of an anti-fascist press.

Even earlier, there had been attempts at a political organisation abroad of the Italian refugees, but these attempts had not produced any considerable results. There was even issued in Paris in 1926 a daily paper, the "Corriere degli Italiani", supported by private subscriptions ; but after a whole series of ups and downs, this paper became lost to the movement and ultimately it was suppressed by the French government. After a short interval for reorganisation, the Anti-fascist Combination proceeded to publish on 1st May, 1927, its weekly organ "La Libertà", which is now the principal organ of the exiled democratic parties. In August, 1927, the satirical paper "Il Becco Giallo" which had been previously suppressed in Italy, re-appeared as a definitely anti-fascist periodical. On the 25th April, 1928, the Unitary Socialist Party began the publication of its fortnightly review "Rinascita Socialista", devoted especially to news and to theoretic studies. Besides these publications, the centres in Paris and Brussels have produced a considerable number of pamphlets, while leading speakers have undertaken lecturing tours in various European countries. All this work of reconstruction has been greatly furthered by the assistance afforded from the Matteotti fund of the L. S. I. In the "International Information" the Socialist movement has found an organ through which it was able at all times to convey to the working-class the truth about fascism. On the occasion of the Press Exhibition held at Cologne in the summer of 1928, there was arranged in the Workers' Centre of that City an Exhibition devoted to the anti-fascist press, at the opening of which on 10th June, 1928, anniversary of Matteotti's death, Filippo Turati delivered a speech.

A significant moment in the process of Italian Socialist reconstruction was the unveiling in the Maison du Peuple, Brussels, of the sculptured monument erected by the Labour and Socialist International to the memory of Giacomo Matteotti. At the moving ceremony, held on 11th September, 1927, speeches were delivered by the President of the L. S. I., Arthur Henderson, by J. Van Roosbroeck on behalf of the Belgian Party, into whose care the monument was committed, and by Filippo Turati on behalf of the Italian comrades.

The Socialist Party of the Italian Workers has already been able to hold its first Congress abroad, on the 18th and 19th December, 1927, at Paris. It then resolved to resume the name which it bore when Matteotti hallowed it by his death, a name which at the same time proclaims its will towards socialist unity. At this Congress also the Party framed a programme of action in accordance both with the duties incumbent on it in consequence of the Italian situation and with the democratic socialist tradition of the L. S. I. It was at this Congress likewise that the Party decided to throw its whole effort, as in fact it has done, into the re-organisation of Italian socialist unity. And it is true to say that this effort is meeting with an increasing response even among the Maximalists of the other Italian Socialist Party, which does not belong to the L. S. I. At its Conference in Marseilles in January, 1928, this latter did not reject the idea of unity, although hitherto internal resistance has prevented the Maximalists from putting into effect to the extent expected the decisions reached at that Conference. This fact does not discourage the Unitary Socialist Party affiliated to the L. S. I., which is pursuing its effort towards unification concurrently with the anti-fascist campaign and with the task of internal re-organisation of the Italian democratic socialists. It is already able to point to organised branches in France, Belgium, Austria, Tunisia, Uruguay, Brazil, U. S. A. etc.

This is certainly not the place in which it would be possible to summarise even briefly the events which since the last Congress of the International have characterised the existence of the fascist regime. In the report to the Congress of Marseilles we stated that "it would be vain to try to retrace here the sum of terror, destruction, humiliation, bloodshed and mud which these three years of fascist domination represent". Things have not changed since then! The destruction of the working-class organisations could not continue to the same extent, for there was nothing left of them. But the economic crisis which has been prevailing in Italy for nearly two years, is in process of destroying the very organs of national production. It has brought about unemployment of formidable dimensions; the unemployed receive benefit which is only partial and lasts but for a very short time: during the three years the fall in wages has been from 30 to 50 per cent., while the fall in the

cost of living is only 10—15 per cent. The number of bankruptcies has beaten all past records ; the decline in foreign trade must be added to the pitiful conditions of the home market. And the ravages caused by such widespread distress are aggravated by the more and more extensive and ruthless oppression of a legalised terrorism which has definitely transformed the regime into an oligarchy installed by military force in the country and acting against everything which stands outside its political and military "machine".

A system of trade unionism which is for the workers nothing but a form of trade unionist police pressure : the constitutional reform which, unable to reconstruct the State upon a trade unionist basis which does not exist in reality, has handed over the control of nominations for parliament to the managers (Consiglio Nazionale) of the Fascist Party : a special court composed of fascist militia officers which, free of any check distributes endless sentences of imprisonment for offences of opinion and whose system of examining prisoners leads to their murder or suicide :—such are the three features of a regime towards which henceforward only one duty rests upon Italians, upon citizens of other nations and first and foremost on the socialist working-class, namely that of rallying to overthrow it on behalf of liberty, democracy, peace and socialism.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

*Partito Socialista Italiano* (Maximalists). The Italian Maximalist Party was dissolved by the Fascist Government and its members forced to take refuge outside Italy after the events of November 1926. Its headquarters are now in Paris whence the Party organ "Avanti" is published as a weekly bulletin. The Party forms the centre of the International Information Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties in Paris, of which Angelica Balabanoff is Secretary ; it belongs further to the Anti-Fascist Combination. Its last Congress was held at Marseilles (9th and 10th January 1928).

*Partito Repubblicano Italiano*. (Republicans.) This Party has been in exile since the end of 1926. It belongs to the Anti-Fascist Combination and has its headquarters in Paris. Organ : "L'Italia del Popolo".

*Partito comunista Italiano*. (Communists.) This Party does not belong to the Anti-Fascist Combination ; indeed it is continually launching against the Combination appeals for the united front which no longer deceive anyone. In its programme, made public a few weeks ago, it admits as its principal aim that of fighting against the group of Italian democratic and socialist forces which it denounces as "allies of fascism". And in practice, in France and Belgium especially, the whole of its "anti-fascist" activity consist in damaging the genuinely anti-fascist labours of the Combination and of the Unitary Party. In Italy the communists were able fairly quickly to adapt their organisation to the new demands of the political struggle. They did not even shrink from appropriating the name of the General Confederation of Labour and the titles of its periodicals with the object of exploiting for the benefit of bolshevism a tradition which they had always fought against and ridiculed. At present, however, little or nothing of their organisation remains. Moscow does not carry its solidarity to the point of assuming in face of Italian fascism the defence of its Italian adherents with the same energy which it displays against the socialists. Indeed, Moscow prefers not to compromise its diplomatic relations with the regime which strikes ruthlessly in Italy everything which is not subjected to fascism. Organ : L'Unità.

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## Latvia.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

(Latwijas Sozialdemokratiska Strahdneeku Partija.)

Founded : in 1904.

Membership : 5,000, including 960 women.

Trade Union Membership : 22,000

Membership of Youth Organisations : 510, including 180 young girls.

Membership of Women's Organisations : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : Workers' Educational Centre.

Press : 3 Dailies, 8 Weeklies, 4 Monthlies.

Official Organ : "Socialdemokrats" (D.) Kr. Barona iela 25, Riga.

Parliamentary Representation : 33 out of 100.

Voting Strength : 260,000 (33%) 1925. Proportional representation, men and women.

Ordinary Congress : Annually, generally in the month of April.

Party Executive : President : A. Rudewitz ; Secretary : Peter Ulpe ; Members : F. Cielens, R. Bilmanis, K. Lorenz, W. Bastjanis, E. Morics, J. Rainis, F. Menders, Br. Kalnin, P. Kalnin, F. Wischne, A. Buschewitz, M. Rosentals, E. Dimara.

Party Headquarters : Peter Ulpe, Aku iela 10, Riga.

Representation in the L. S. I. : F. Cielens. (E.)

The Labour movement of Latvia has to contend with a strong reaction under the leadership of the Peasants' Party. The elections of October 1925 with an increase in the percentage of votes for the Social-Democratic Party from 31.5% to 33%, did not lessen the strength of this regime in spite of the change in the government. Until December, 1926, the country had to suffer under a guidance especially weak in financial policy. Through a system of credits and import regulations little was achieved but the enrichment of the followers of the government. The Social-Democratic Party succeeded, however, in preventing a change for the worse in the Press Laws and the Laws on Freedom of Association. At length the government's lack of financial ability and the corruption of the governing party resulted in a parliamentary crisis. The Social-Democratic Party now had to deal with the problem either of taking part in a coalition government or of submitting to an even more reactionary state of affairs than before.

The Left Coalition Cabinet which was eventually formed at the same time as the terroristic rule of Woldemaras was inaugurated in Lithuania, had 4 members from the Social-Democratic Party, 1 from the Social-Democratic Menshevik Party, and 4 from the Democratic Centre. The Government Declaration given in the Sejm on the 17th of December, 1926, got 52 votes. The power of the Cabinet in Parliament was conditioned by the votes of the democratic centre and of the minority parties in addition to the 32 social-

democrats, 4 representatives of the Social-Democratic Menshevik Party and 1 left socialist. Accordingly participation in the government, determined above all by the need for a stand against the fascism threatening from Lithuania and in Latvia itself, for the Social-Democratic Party meant a modification in policy, restricting their programme to the defence of the rights of democracy, respect for minorities, political equality of women and fight against corruption in the civil service. The development of Social Insurance and a rational economic policy was planned. A Customs' Union is being built up with Esthonia. Foreign policy thus had as a guiding principle close cooperation with the other Baltic States besides aiming at treaties of guarantee and non-aggression and of commerce with Soviet-Russian. The Commercial Treaty was concluded in May 1927 but the former met with difficulties. In the Reval Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Latvia, Esthonia and Finland, the latter also being a social-democrat, the endeavours to arrive at common lines of foreign policy for these states was pursued.

After the ratification of the Letto-Russian Treaty some bourgeois members withdrew support from the Government, which on December 13, 1927, decided to hand in its resignation. From 20th of January, 1928, Latvia has again had a pure bourgeois government, supported by 53 out of 100 members of the Diet.

The Social-Democratic Party supported and has been developing the policy of its members in the government. They have contributed to the question of foreign policy by means of conferences with the social-democratic parties of the other Baltic States, for instance in Riga, June, 1926. The Party Congress in April, 1927, made the achievement of the following reforms the condition of the continued participation in the coalition government: democratisation of the civil service and of the army, a determined stand against Fascist tendencies, reform of taxation and customs policies, the solution of the housing problem in the country, the reduction of military service, a rational land policy, introduction of the jury system and reform of criminal law.

The elections have not made the Party suffer for their participation in the government. In the municipal elections of February last they achieved results which promise well for the Sejm elections in the autumn. These will, however, at the very most mean a new coalition government with a strong preponderance of the social-democratic members. The membership of the Party which was progressing in 1925, has been advancing favourably ever since. The generally recognised need for a closer contact with the small peasants has been complied with. The conservatives have been concentrating their attacks on the Workers' Sport and Defence Corps which stands closer than ever to the Party. They have for instance attempted to enact a statute prohibiting membership under the age of 21. The trade unions belong to the I. F. T. U. and showed in



April, 1928, a rise in membership since 1925 of 7000 (from 15,000—22,000). They have participated in the formation of a Baltic Trade Union Committee.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

The Social-Democratic Menschewik Party ; 4 members of the Sejm, as against 7 before the last elections. The Latvian section of the General Jewish Workers' Association, the "Bund", operates in coalition with the Social-Democratic Party, 1 member of the Sejm.

The Communist Party is illegal, arrest taking place as late as April, 1928. Its members are, however, able to take an active part in the work of the trade-unions and have even supported the Social-Democratic Party in some elections.

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## Lithuania.

### *Socialist Party.*

(Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija.)

Founded : in 1896.

Membership : 2,000.

Trade Union Membership : 6,000.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 400.

Women's Organisation : see Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : Within the Party.

Press : 1 Weekly, 1 Monthly.

Official Organ : "Socialdemokratas" (W.) Kestučio 40, Kaunas.

Parliamentary Representation : 15 out of 78 (The Sejm was dissolved at the beginning of 1928 and has hitherto not been summoned again).

Voting Strength : 170,000, May 1926 (Proportional representation, men and women).

Party Executive : Chairman : Kairis, Treasurer : Galinis, Secretary : Galini.

Party Headquarters : Kestučio 40, Kaunas.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

In accordance with the established custom of reactionary governments, the foreign relations of Lithuania are utilized to mask the inner difficulties of the fascist regime which succeeded the coup of the 17th December 1926. The *Vilna* problem occupies the centre of public attention in the country itself and in the world at large as far as the problem of Lithuania and even of the Baltic States is concerned. The factitious state of war between Lithuania and Poland was ended on the 10th December 1927, but the problem of peaceful intercourse between Lithuania and Poland and the wider ramifications of the conflict which Zeligovski's raid on Vilna on October 9th, 1920, apparently riveted to the two countries, are as unsettled as ever.

The years since the Marseilles Congress in 1925 have seen various attempts by the Labour movement of Lithuania and of the other Baltic States in collaboration with the L. S. I. to alleviate the situation. The Conference at Riga on the 19th and 20th June, 1926, between representatives of the labour movements of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania maintained the principle of self-determination for the inhabitants of the Vilna district. The standpoint of the Lithuanian Party was laid before the North-Eastern Conference of the L. S. I. in Berlin on 18th and 19th December, 1927, convoked in view of the war danger arising out of the Vilna problem, in a resolution containing the following passage :

"The Lithuanian Socialist Party, founded in the Vilna district 30 years ago and active there up to the end of the world war, is convinced that the

present position in the Vilna district is not normal or rightfully regulated. The Party's motives differ fundamentally from the point of view of the Lithuanian nationalist parties, who base their claims merely on historical rights and accordingly assume the Vilna districts as unquestionable property of Lithuania. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, holds, that the Vilna district has traditional ties with Lithuania economically, culturally and socially; however, it has never supposed that the Vilna question could be settled by forcible measures. Today it still maintains the same standpoint. It is firmly convinced that the only way in which the question can be settled according to logic and reason implies a free vote of the Vilna population. Only the population itself can choose and fix its own national status; but for that conditions of freedom instead of forcible occupation are required."

Till May 29th, 1926, Lithuania had lived under a regime of Martial Law. The elections for the Saimas of the 8th—10th May returned a majority against the reactionary clericalism in power, which had ruled with a majority of 40 to 38. The Labour Party on becoming the next strongest party with 15 seats as against 8 before (a rise in the number of votes from 100,000 to 170,000) elected to enter into a coalition government with the democrat populists who had got 22 seats. With the support of the 15 minority representatives and some 5 representatives of minor groups, the coalition government could face the 30 members of the parties now in opposition with seeming equanimity. The regime of Martial Law was to be brought to an end, an amnesty was to set free 200 political prisoners, a new agricultural council was to take care of the agrarian reform and to support the small peasants, who had indeed got land but from lack of funds were getting into the hands of money-lenders and land-buyers. Finally the most difficult job of all, the miserable state of the country's finances was to be handled energetically. And legal proceedings were to be instituted against the unlawful acts of those elements, who had compromised themselves under cover of the Clerical Democratic regime.

The opposition consisted of those strata who felt themselves threatened by the economic policy of the Government and who took an unfavourable view of the friendly relationship with Soviet Russia, as e. g. of the treaty of non-aggression ratified on November 9th 1926; it included the Clericals, against whom Government measures were directed, that deprived the clergy of their perquisites and stipends from the State Exchequer. The intended dissolution of some army detachments was also opposed. Thus the active support of the officers of a number of army corps was secured.

The civil service personnel still being under the influence of the old regime and the influence of the government in the army being very weak, with no labour organisations prepared for this kind of an emergency, the revolt of December 17th, 1926, succeeding only too well. On December 25th the regime of Woldemaras with Smetona as President of the State was definitely established.

Great numbers of the labour party succeeded in fleeing to neighbouring countries. In spite of the terrorist methods brought to bear upon the country, the greater part of our members in the Saimas decided to remain at their post. In a meeting of the Saimas not summoned by the President according to the regulations and attended only by the supporters of the coup d'état and some representatives of Minority parties, Smetona was elected President of Lithuania, though not with the majority required according to the Constitution. But the 13th April, 1927, saw him and Woldemaras condemned by a vote of 45 to 30. He thereupon dissolved the Diet. The fascist trend of his rule was still further emphasized in March and April 1928 by the announcement of the final dissolution of the Diet and its offices and later on of the revision by presidential decree of the Constitution restricting considerably the rights of popular representation and conferring a larger measure of power upon the President, the Government to be responsible to him personally.

The fate of the Labour movement was one of dissolution, seizure of Press Organs, emigration, military courts, congested concentration camps and capital punishment. The rights of assembly and of association embodied in the constitution have been rendered ineffectual. The Fascist government is doing its utmost to destroy the political organisation of Labour and the trade unions. Numbers of Social-Democrats are, however, being enabled to exist in exile by the Latvian, Polish and German sections of the International. The Matteotti Fund has contributed towards the aid of political prisoners. The Bureau and the Executive of the International have again and again called attention to the conditions obtaining under Woldemaras's rule.

Many of our comrades have been driven to live in hiding in the forests. The group living in Latvia are under the protection of the relief committee of the Latvian Social-Democrats. The Vilna group is bringing out its own paper the "Pirmyn" but is not empowered to represent the official opinion of the Lithuanian movement, this being reserved for the Social-Democrats actually in the country itself. They are there at their peril. October 1927 saw heavy reprisals by the Woldemaras' Government following upon the Tauroggen rising in September, and even in 1928 numbers of them have been imprisoned on the flimsiest of pretexts.

The Catholic workers' organisations (Darbo Federacija) are losing their grip on the proletariat. The communists are encountering campaign difficulties on account of the attitude of Soviet Russia whose foreign policy favours a Lithuania inimical to Poland, and who consequently takes no determined stand against Woldemaras. The programme of the L. S. I. visualising the right of self-determination, democratic rule and peaceful international relations as the first steps towards a settlement of the troubles of Lithuania, is in accord

with the reasoned point of view of our sections in the countries concerned and serves as a basis for the struggle of our Lithuanian comrades against reaction and fascism.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

The Communist Party : Membership not quoted by the Communist International. Illegal. No representation in Parliament.

Revolutionary People's Party : A group akin to the Left Social Revolutionaries in Russia ; likewise illegal.

Socialist Zeirei-Zion (Jewish).

Labour Federation (Clerical) see above.

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## General Summary. (\*) (Arranged according to membership of Parties affiliated to the L. S. I.)

Table I

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Countries	Population in Millions (1)		Workers belonging to various Organisations (2)		Membership of Affiliated Parties	Women (included in total Membership)	Membership of Youth-Organisations (3)	Trade Unions (4)		Franchise		Votes of Parties affiliated to L. S. I.		Total Number of Members of Parliament	Members of Parliament from affiliated Parties		Upper House (5) Members from affiliated Parties		Daily Newspapers	
	in Millions	Per cent of Population	in Millions	Per cent of Population				Affiliated to the I. F. T. U.	Not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.	P=Proportional Representation W=Women R=Restricted (7)	Percentage of Population enfranchised	Exact Number	%		Total Number of Members of Parliament	Exact Number	%	Total Number of Members of the Upper House (5)		Exact Number
					A	B	C							D					E	
<b>A. Parties with Trade Unions as Collective Members.</b>																				
Great Britain	45.50	5.53	13.6	3,388,286		300,000 (8)	12,000	4,163,994			P.	5,487,620	34.0	618	160	26.0			2	
Belgium	7.88	0.73	9.6	597,971		80,000	24,600	514,841			P.	820,650	39.4	187	78	41.7	153	60	39.2	8
Hungary	8.52	0.28	3.3	138,472		22,000	3,060	122,156			B.	126,854		245	14	5.7			1	
Iceland	0.1	0.004	4.2	4,900		910	150	4,500			F.	6,000		42	5	11.9			1	
British Guiana	0.31			1,073			33				B.								1	
<b>B. Parties based on Individual Membership.</b>																				
Germany	63.10	6.90	11.5	867,671		181,541	55,342	4,976,971			P. F.	9,146,165		491	153	31.2			195	
Austria	6.75	1.04	16.0	683,786		225,200	30,977	156,392			P. F.	1,539,635	42.3	165	71	43.0	50	20	40.0	6
Sweden	6.07	0.45	7.5	202,338		26,018	41,223	492,029			P. F.	725,844	40.9	230	105	45.7	150	52	34.7	18
Czecho-Slovakia	14.35	1.67	12.3	184,960		44,549	30,087	565,264			P. F.	1,042,443		300	46	15.3	150	23	15.3	13
Denmark	3.48	0.31	9.4	148,492		48,469	11,325	309,885			P. F.	497,106	37.2	149	53	35.6	76	25	32.9	64
France	40.93	1.07	2.7	99,106		600	3,964	600,000	300,000		B.	1,692,960 (10)		612	100	16.3	300	17	5.7	5
Poland	29.59	0.54	1.9	63,406 (9)		12,100	16,200	289,000			(P. F.)	1,115,000		444	69	15.5	111	10	9.0	6
Holland	7.53	0.52	7.3	52,904		15,364	6,725	209,614			P. F.	706,704	22.9	100	24	24.0	50	11	22.0	2
Finland	3.55	0.05	1.4	37,722		10,133	4,193		75,846		P. F.	267,572	28.3	200	60	30.0				1
Switzerland	3.96	0.26	6.7	36,072		1,550	600	165,692			P.	195,768	25.0	198	49	24.8	44	2	4.5	15
Bulgaria	5.48	0.05	1.0	30,126		1,490 (9)	1,560	2,500	35,000		(P.)	60,000		272	10	3.7				1
Palestine (Poale Zion)	0.86			22,500 (12)		500		26,700						201	54	26.9				1
America (U. S.)	118.02	3.61	3.5	15,000		included	1,000		5,000,000		P.	(1,000,000)		435	1	0.2	96	0		4
Rumania	17.22	0.05	0.3	13,000		included	300	36,000			(P.)	49,752		369	0	0.0	170	0		2
Argentina	10.35	0.12	1.4	10,000		included	2,500	120,000	10,000		B.	90,000		158	2	1.3	30	1	3.3	3
Spain	22.29	0.45	2.1	7,964			1,500	221,000			B.									1
Danzig	0.40			5,418		950	450	30,000			P. F.	61,588		120	42	35.0				1
Latvia	1.87	0.04	2.4	5,000		960	510	22,000			P. F.	260,000	33.0	100	33	33.0				3
Estonia	1.12	0.03	2.7	4,500		800	300	6,000			P. F.	119,914	22.9	100	24	24.0				1
Yugo-Slavia	12.80	0.06	0.5	4,000		300	1,500	40,000	20,000		P.	25,000		313	1	0.3				6
China	450.00	0.30	0.1	3,500																1
Greece	7.00			2,800		260	200	50,000			B.	7,800								1
Portugal	5.78	0.04	0.6	2,500		included			78,000		B.									1
Lithuania	2.25			2,000			400	(6,000)				(170,000)		(78)	(15)	19.2				0
Luxemburg	0.27	0.01	5.4	1,155		65	425	13,398			P. F.			52	12	23.1				1
<b>C. Illegal Parties and Emigrant Organisations.</b>																				
Armenia																				
Georgia																				
Italy	40.43																			
Russia	112.00	6.60	5.0						10,441,700 (11)											
Ukraine																				
Hungarian Emigration																				
<b>Total</b>				<b>6,637,622</b>		<b>973,759</b>						<b>25,568,209</b>		<b>6,176</b>	<b>1,181</b>	<b>19.1</b>				<b>354</b>

(\*) For Notes see the following page.

At an interesting celebration held on 21st August 1927 at Esch-sur-Alzette to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the birth of the movement, a monument was unveiled to the founder, the late Dr. Welter, while on behalf of the International Comrade van Roosbroeck attended and spoke at the ceremony.

Early in 1928 the Party severed its connection with the printing works which up till then had been responsible for the production of the "Arbeiterzeitung", (the daily organ since 1924), and the paper passed into other hands : However the Cooperative Printing Works in the town of Luxemburg, which are jointly owned by the trade unions and the Party, have now acquired in its stead another daily, the "Escher Tageblatt".

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party, membership unknown.

*Literature :*

International Information, see especially I. I. 1926 p. 234; I. I. 1927 p. 347.

## Norway.

The disunity of the labour movement in Norway has been decisively overcome during the period since the International Congress in Marseilles. The strong tendencies towards unity among the Norwegian working-class, originating in their melancholy experiences of division, induced the *Norwegian Communist Party* (N. K. P.) to consider the idea of proposing as a watchword the formation of a "labour party" on the English model. After some hesitation they received from Moscow an endorsement of these tactics. This communist scheme has failed especially in consequence of the resistance offered to it by the *Norwegian Labour Party* (N. A. P.) which belonged to the Paris "Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties". The Labour Party propagated the proposal of "unity of organisation", i. e. the admission of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, under definite stipulations, into the labour party. This idea likewise failed after negotiations. On the other hand, the proposal of the *Norwegian Socialdemocratic Labour Party* (N. S. A.) which was affiliated to the L. S. I. to conduct negotiations unconditionally, led to re-union between the Social-Democratic and the labour parties. The re-united Party was able to register a success in obtaining renewal of collective affiliation by the free trade unions. This collective affiliation was a matter of course as long as the unity of the political party organisation existed in Norway. After the divisions of 1921 and 1923 the trade unions continued their collective affiliation to the troupe which retained the name "Norwegian Labour Party". However, the Trade Union Congress of 1925 suspended collective affiliation altogether.

The union of the two parties and the restoration of the old relations between Party and trade unions had however, to be purchased at the price of a cessation of the international relations of the Norwegian Labour Movement. In accordance with the arrangements leading up to unification, the Social-democratic Party was obliged to give up its association with the L. S. I., and the Labour Party its association with the Paris Bureau. No alteration occurred in the situation of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation as to international affiliation, it belonged to no International and hitherto has persisted in this isolation. The necessary sacrifice of abandoning its connection with the L. S. I. was most keenly felt and it viewed as of the utmost importance that this step should be taken only by understanding with the L. S. I. and with the remaining Socialist Parties of Scandinavia. Accordingly the Norwegian Social-democrats proposed the convocation of a *Scandinavian Conference*, held



on 9th November, 1926, in Copenhagen. This Conference was attended by *Magenus Nilssen* and *H. Amundsen* for Norway, *Stauning*, *Frederik Andersen* and *Alsing Andersen* for Denmark, and *Gustov Möller* and *P. Albin Hansson* from Sweden. Despite serious doubts the Danish and Swedish representatives declared themselves unwilling to dissuade the Norwegian socialists from achieving unification under the conditions contemplated. Thereupon the *Secretary of the L. S. I.* was invited by the Norwegian socialists to attend the meeting of the enlarged Party Executive at Oslo on 27th and 28th November, 1926, which was to take the final decision.

At this session the Secretariat of the L. S. I. was guided by the following considerations, which had already formed the subject of thorough discussion within the Bureau of the L. S. I. at its session of 27th August, 1926, when for the first time a discussion took place on the eventuality of the developments in Norway which subsequently were realised :

The Statutes of the L. S. I. concluded with a call to unity of the socialist movement both in the individual countries and in the International. Broadly, both aims are attainable in like manner and concurrently. The normal condition of the labour movement is that of unity within a country and of unity within the International.

In cases where unity is still to be realised, there may arise the tactical problem in which sequence the steps towards unity should be taken.

Unity in the International must be and must remain the ideal basis for all labor parties. But unity within the country is the basis of organisation for the building up of a vigorous labour movement. Therefore, it is altogether to the interest of the International to encourage unity within the separate countries, since only thus can its own international organisation consist of healthy limbs. At a time of reconstruction of the international organisation, the International as such should accordingly place no impediment in the way of unity in the individual countries. It will therefore, regard it as no disloyalty to the International organisation if the Party in Norway affiliated to the L. S. I. should at first allow an intermediate stage to elapse in the matter of international affiliation for the sake of finding a way towards unity in their own country. The method adopted would be, more or less, that the uniform re-united party should at first be affiliated to no international organisation and that the question of joining the International should only be brought up for decision after internal consolidation had been completed. The members of the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. will feel this period during which the question remains in suspense to be a heavy sacrifice. But the L. S. I. will be able to appreciate their motive—that of serving the great end of working-class unity. The L. S. I. will understand that this sacrifice on the altar of unity in international organisation is being offered temporarily, and expects that at the negotiations for unity the Norwegian Party will succeed in making the principles of the L. S. I. heard. The L. S. I. can await the end of this time of transition in Norway with the fullest confidence that the decision as to the question of the International will fall in favour of affiliation to the International of the working masses, namely to the Labour and Socialist International.

The enlarged Executive of the Norwegian Social Democratic Labour Party approved against only 4 votes the bases of unity which were then accepted a few days later by the Norwegian Labour Party also. The ultimate decision was reserved to the Congresses

which were to meet at the end of January. The communists attempted once again to interfere with the process of unification, but they were unable seriously to disturb the will to unity of the Norwegian working-class. On 28th January, 1927, the Congresses of the two parties which had worked out the basis of unity met and this basis was approved by both of them. At the Unity Congress summoned on the following day there were present 175 representatives of the Social-democrats 461 of the Labour Party and 247 of the Free Trade Unions affiliated to no Party. The only difficulties arose as to the distribution of the principal official posts. As Secretary of the United Party the former secretary of the Social-democratic Party Olav Aksvik was nominated. In addition the Social-democratic Party obtained in Magnus Nilssen one of the two Vice-Chairman. Oskor Torp became Chairman of the Party, Martin Tranmael became editor of the principal organ "Arbejderbladet".

In the Parliament (Storting) there took place a fusion of the two groups which were joined also by two deputies of the communist group which numbered six deputies. The newly formed group of the Labour Party became 34 members strong. The elections to the Storting in the autumn of 1927 showed the effects of the unification upon the masses of the workers. The new Storting includes 59 members of the United Party. The consequence was that the Party when in January 1928 it received the offer of the Government, resolved to proceed to form a Labour Government for the first time in Norway. It could rely on obtaining a majority in the Storting with the aid of the three communist deputies and of a portion of the 31 members of the bourgeois Left as to a number of questions. A fortnight later, however, this government was defeated. The attack upon it proceeded from circles outside Parliament, especially from the Director of the State Bank. For him the question at issue was that of throwing upon the State the consequences of the deflation policy consistently carried out since 1921. The State guarantee demanded by the Director for the benefit of the Banks could indeed not have been obtained from the Storting even under a bourgeois government, and was in point of fact not realised subsequently. But the banking circles managed by means of tactics of passivity as to the fluctuations of exchange to create a temper tending to "lack of confidence" and transfer of capital which led to the overthrow of the Labour government. This interference by extra-parliamentary forces was a fresh proof of the need for unity in the labour movement, which has re-established the internal connection of the political movement with the trade unions and also with the leading elements in the co-operatives. The strong impression made by these events was perceptible further in the fact that the leader of the communist parliamentary group Scheffo, has announced his intention to pass over to the Norwegian Labour Party.

*The Parties :*

The Norwegian Labour Party, the United Party (Det Norske Arbeiderparti —det forente Arbeiderparti.) United in 1927, membership 76,000. Trade unions not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.

Youth Organisation : 10,000.

Educational Organisation : Central Committee' of the League of Youth, Study Groups. Official Organ "Arbejderbladet" (D.), Oslo.

Parliamentary Representation : 59 out of 150.

Voting Strength : 367,000 (36.9%), in October 1927 (P. R. for men and women).

Party Executive : Chairman : Oskar Torp ; Vice-Chairman : Magnus Nilssen, Eduard Bull ; Secretaries : Olav Oksvik.

Party Headquarters : Folketshus, Oslo.

The Norwegian Communist Labour Party obtained at the 1927 elections 3 representatives in the Storting as against 6 previously. Voting Strength 40,000, 4%), and now has only 2, since the departure of the ex-leader of the group.

*Literatur :*

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Edvard Bull : The Development of Labour in the three Scandinavian countries (both in German).

## Palestine.

### *Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation "Poale Zion".*

(Jüdischer Sozialistischer Arbeiterverband Poale Zion.)

Founded : in 1907.

Membership : 22,500, including 500 women. (Palestine 4,000, Poland 5,000, Lithuania 1,000, Latvia 500, Rumania 1,000, Russia 3,000—an approximate figure in view of the illegal conditions in which the Party exists there—U. S. A. 5,000, Argentine 1,000, England 1,000, other countries—Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, Brazil—1,000.)

Membership of Trade Unions : 26,700 of the General Federation of Jewish Workers (Histadruth Haowdim Haklailith) ; officially the Achduth Avodah only numbers 4,000 members, but at all the elections it secures a majority of workers' votes. In the other countries the members belong to the unions affiliated to Amsterdam.

Youth Membership : in Palestine, U. S. A., Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Austria, Brazil and Rumania.

Women's Organisation : in America (Women's Organisation for the Pioneer Women in Palestine).

Educational Organisations : Jewish Schools in Palestine, Poland, Rumania, Brazil, U. S. A., Latvia, Lithuania.

Press : 3 Weeklies, (Palestine, Rumania and Poland), 4 fortnightly reviews (U. S. A., Argentine, Austria, Latvia), 1 Monthly Review (Brazil). In Palestine 1 daily of the trade union movement.

Official Organ : —

Parliamentary Representation : Among the 201 members of the Assefath Haniwharim (legislative body) of Palestine the Achduth Avodah numbers 54 seats.

Voting Strength : —

Ordinary Congress : every two years.

Party Executive : General Secretary B. Locker.

Party Headquarters : Paris (3e), 11 rue Etienne Marcel prolongée.

Representatives in the L. S. I. : Kaplansky (E.) Substitute Locker.

The Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation Poale Zion has had to contend with a number of complicated problems. In a country such as Palestine, still industrially backward and now undergoing a new process of colonisation stimulated by the restrictions recently placed on the Jewish immigration into the U. S. A., the industrial issues of wages and working hours and the conditions of employment generally are the most vital matters for the working class ; but the solution of that problem is closely bound up with that of the many intricate religious, racial and political questions raised by the peculiar position of an Eastern country, inhabited by two distinct races, and now since 1922 governed under mandate by a Western Power, Great Britain. Additional complications exist in consequence of the absence of agreement between the Jewish Labour organisations and the middle-class Zionist movement, which is officially recognised and encouraged by the British authorities in Palestine.

During the process of colonisation which has been continually going on, much successful work has been done through the activities of the Jewish Labour Party in Palestine (Achduth Avodah, which forms part of Poale Zion) and of the Jewish Labour Union "Histadruth". The main objects of effort at the present time are the establishment of a general minimum wage, urgently necessary in view of the irregular and inadequate standards in vogue, and secondly the attainment of uniform legal regulation of working conditions. The Histadruth which is affiliated to the I. F. T. U. has been able with its help and with that of British labour to secure recently the passage of some important legislation tending especially to improve the conditions of women and children at work. This Jewish labour movement has also been very active in the sphere of local administration. In the municipality of the new Jewish town Tel-Aviv, which is elected on a democratic system, it has 14 out of 31 members, and its candidate has been elected Mayor. The system of co-operative farming colonies which in various forms has been widely adopted—communal colonies (Kvutzoth), enterprises on an individual basis, in which however the work is done by the colonists themselves, who have joint co-operatives—has played a prominent part in aiding the settlers in the difficult task of adaptation to agricultural work with which they were often quite unfamiliar. The land-workers, both those of the colonies belonging to the workers and the paid labourers of the capitalist colonies, are organised in a union of agricultural workers, of 9,500 members (6,000 of them paid labourers, the remainder belonging to the workers' colonies). Recently workers' guilds have been organised in planting work. Besides the agricultural co-operatives there exist a workers' co-operative bank, a consumers' co-operative (Hamashbir), a builders' co-operative, a sickness benefit fund (Kupath Holim) and a centre of education and of training. In August, 1927, Poale Zion submitted to the British Labour Party a statement pointing out that in the execution of public works under government departments, now being undertaken on a large scale, organised labour is practically excluded in favour of private arrangements for the employ of cheap, unorganised and sweated labour among the Arab population.

During the period under report, Poale Zion has held two Congresses; the former the VIth full Congress in Vienna (5th—13th August 1925). On this occasion the union of Socialist Zionists united with Poale Zion, thanks to which their movement has spread in Russia, Lithuania, Latvia and other countries. Since then the name of the party is: Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation Poale Zion (United with the Association of Socialist Zionists). The Congress discussed, in addition to the primary questions relating to colonisation in Palestine, the attitude to be taken up towards the Zionist Congress of that year, and also matters relating to the rights of Jewish minorities. On 24th August 1927 delegates of the organisations of Poale Zion in various countries met in Bâle for deliberat-

ions lasting several days upon similar questions, including also the relations of the parties within the organisation towards other socialist parties.

At the XVth Zionist Congress in the autumn of 1927, the Poale Zion group presented a motion demanding recognition for the "Histadruth" and likewise for the principle of organisation of labour and equal treatment for all forms of colonisation, whether collective or individual. Following a contest with the bourgeois elements in the Congress, the workers' section of Poale Zion opposed the new Zionist executive.

The fortunes and progress of the different parties composing the federation continue to differ very widely from one country to another. In Russia the Socialist Zionist Party is the only Jewish Socialist Party which carries on important activities under the present regime of reprisals and illegalities. Hundreds of members have been imprisoned and deported to Siberia, Solovetski Islands, etc. In Lithuania the Socialist Zionists and the Social-Democrats have worked hand in hand. Latterly the majority of the organisations has been closed down by order of the Lithuanian government. In Rumania likewise the legal conditions are unfavourable to the work of the Party; at the recent parliamentary elections Poale Zion supported the candidates of the Rumanian social-democrats. In Poland where the effects of the split of 1920 were most severely felt, the Party has now made much progress towards consolidation and accomplishes valuable work, especially among the trade unions and in education. In the elections to the Sejm Poale Zion supported the candidates of the Polish Socialist Party except in the constituencies where they put up their own candidates. In the U. S. A. similarly, the organisation has grown substantially. There exists a women's P. Z. organisation with over 2,500 members, the "Women's Organisation for the Pioneer Women in Palestine". Further the "National Union of Jewish Workers", a co-operative league for insurance, education and help for the workers in Palestine, with a membership of 8,000, is closely associated with the P. Z. On the initiative of the P. Z., the great Jewish unions of the U. S. A. undertake every year common propaganda campaigns and collections for the benefit of the workers in Palestine. New branches have been formed. On 25th December, 1927, several small groups existing in Belgium agreed to unite in the formation of a Belgian section. The young section in Brazil, founded less than three years ago, has made considerable strides despite the difficulties of the vast distances and imperfect communications.

With regard to the publishing work of the organisation, the Histadruth has since 1925 published in Hebrew a daily entitled "Davar" (The Word); it issues also in Arabic twice a week a paper under the title "Itachad il Amal" (Unity of the workers) which has the special object of bringing about understanding between Jewish

and Arabian workers and of promoting the spread of trade unionist ideas among the latter. The Union of Railwaymen and Postal Workers, which has Arabian and Jewish members and is affiliated to the Transport Workers' International, also publishes a Hebrew bulletin and in Arabic "Hakator" (The Engine). On 25th March 1927 there appeared under the title "Jewish Workers News Service" the first number of a bulletin in German, dealing especially with the movement in Palestine itself, and with the activity of the Party in Russia.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

(a) in *Palestine* : Communist Poale Zion ; "Hapoel Hazair", the Labour Party. (b) *outside Palestine* : The General Union of Jewish Workers "Bund" (Poland, Rumania).

Jewish sections of the national communist parties (Russia, Poland, etc.)  
Communist Poale Zion (except in Poland, very unimportant).

*Literature :*

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Shorthand reports of the Conference of Achduth Avodah, 1924, 1926.

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## Poland.

### *Socialist Party.*

(Polska Partja Socjalistyczna P. P. S.)

Founded : 1892.

Membership : 50—60,000 (economic crisis of 1925 ; technical reorganisation of the Party not yet terminated ; repression in Polesia).

Trade Union Membership : 276 000 (decreased as a result of the economic crisis).

Membership of Youth Organisations : about 15 000.

Women's Organisations : 12—15%.

Educational Organisations : Worker's University League (T. U. R.), Child Welfare Groups.

Press : 4 Dailies, 9 Weeklies, 1 Monthly.

Official Organ : "Robotnik" (D.), Rue Warecka 7, Warsaw.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House (Sejm) 63, Upper House 10.

Voting Strength : 1,115,000 of 4th March 1928 (Proportional Representation, men and women from the age of 21).

Ordinary Congress : every two years.

Party Executive: Chairman: N. Parliczi; Vice-Chairman: M. Niedzialkowski; General Secretary : C. Puzak ; Members : C. Czapinski, J. Kwapinski, R. Jaworowski, Sophie Prauss, A. Szczekowski, S. Zarembo, B. Zieliński, S. Zulawski.

Party Headquarters : Rue Warecka 7, Warsaw.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Diamand (E.), Niedzialkowski (E.).

At the end of 1925 Poland was experiencing the pressure of a severe economic and financial crisis. The stabilisation of the currency was not finished and fresh attempts towards it were threatening to impose enormous burdens on the working-class. In these circumstances the P. P. S. found itself compelled to depute its representatives to the coalition government of Mr. Skrynski. But the egoistic policy of the capitalist Right and of the Peasant Centre prevented the Cabinet from realising the "minimum" programme drafted at its constitution (i. e. a tax on capital as the basis of financial stabilisation); towards May (1926) the socialists withdrew from the cabinet and the political crisis was intensified to a grave degree.

Economic distress began to assume catastrophic proportions ; concurrently the development of fascist nationalism became visible. Discontent was widespread. Such was the time upon which Pilsudski's coup d'état fell in May 1926.

Its proximate cause was a personal disagreement between Pilsudski and the President of the Republic Mr. Wojciechowski, and further the contest between Pilsudski and the "National Democracy", a nationalist Party, who had been at variance with one another since the revival of the Polish State. In the eyes of the masses the



rising wore the character of a revolutionary movement against the reactionary government of Mr. Vitos. The workers' organisations of all shades—even the communists—placed themselves on the side of Pilsudski, and, if victory was assured to him without the necessity of a prolonged civil war, it was above all to the general strike of the railwaymen that he owed it.

The intentions of Pilsudski himself were to secure by means of a military demonstration a compromise with the President of the Republic and the withdrawal of the Vitos Cabinet. But at the close of three days of bloodshed, he found himself a popular hero and dictator de facto of all Poland.

The mass of the workers hoped for a "government of workers and peasants". People anticipated a bold approach towards a democratic system, and social reforms. The P. P. S. proposed the only possible, democratic issue, that is to say dissolution of the Chamber and the Senate with immediate general elections which would result in June-July 1926 in a Socialist-Peasant majority with Pilsudski as President of the Republic.

But the Marshal's political scheme did not coincide either with the aspirations of the masses or with the programme of the Democratic party. He desired indeed revision of the constitution in order to increase the relative strength of the executive power and to lower the influence of parliament; but he had not in mind either the realisation of far-reaching social reforms or the introduction of a genuinely democratic regime in the internal life of the Party, in the problem of national minorities etc.

He was unable to move forthwith towards a revision of the constitution in an "American" or "Bonapartist" sense or on frankly non-democratic lines. He preserved silence as to his plans. He did not want a socialist-peasant parliamentary majority; he retained the parliament shaken by the coup d'état, the parliament with a reactionary majority whose popularity had ceased to exist and which he could easily crush by proclaiming through the mouth of the "theorists" of the regime that there was no question at all of a campaign against "parliamentary government in itself", but only against the existing parliament, which had a nationalist majority of the Right.

Gradually, during 1926 and 1927, the policy of the regime swung towards reaction. Big industrial capitalists, high finance, the large land-owners rallied to the side of Pilsudski: the old National Democratic Party was soon in rout. At the same time disillusionment increased among the masses of workers and peasants.

In order properly to grasp all the difficulties of the situation, it must always be borne in mind that Pilsudski is the hero of the struggle for Polish independence, that he sprang from the socialist ranks, and that since 1924 he had symbolised the whole cause of

Polish democracy, a cause detested by the groups of the Right and, broadly speaking, by the so-called possessing classes.

Socialist criticism of Pilsudski's policy began as early as July, 1926, and from the month of September it became very trenchant. In November, 1926, the National Council of the P. P. S. passed by a strong majority a motion declaring the Party's intention to go over to the Opposition. For some time this opposition was hampered by a group of comrades—personal friends of the Minister Moraczewski, old companions of Pilsudski from before 1914—who still believed that there were regrettable misunderstandings, and that the Marshal was only trying "tactics" with the object of dispersing the nationalist Right. The leaders of the Party, being altogether convinced that by its attitude of definite opposition it had taken the right road, was not anxious to alarm these comrades by exaggerated language, all the more since the regime was doing its utmost to disintegrate all the existing parties.

Thanks to the prudent tactics of the Party leaders Polish socialism has triumphantly withstood the attempt to sow discord in its ranks. Today it is the only one in Poland which has not undergone division. Unquestionable facts soon supplied a quantity of proofs that the resolute policy of opposition was the right one. The party entered upon the election campaign in perfect unity : on 4th March 1928 it secured the votes of 1,511,000 men and women (compared with 906,000 in 1922), and the National Council in April 1928 voted its adherence to the Opposition which was already sincerely united. The celebrated speech pronounced by Pilsudski on 1st July dispersed the last illusions. At the date of the international Congress at Brussels two forces stand confronting one another in Poland : the first, the present regime, a symbol of political reaction of fascist tendencies, but devoid of clear-cut doctrine or declared programme, a symbol of the economic policy of the capitalists and owners of great estates ; and the second, the Polish Socialist Party, rallying around it all the forces of democracy.

No doubt the autumn and winter months will bring a solution, whether it be that of a coup d'état, a declared dictatorship, or else that of democracy combined with an increasing socialist influence over the Polish Republic.

The foreign policy of the regime has hitherto been very prudent. The P. P. S. endeavoured to abide by it as regards the questions of relations between Poland and Russia, Lithuania and Germany respectively.

The conflict between Poland and Lithuania which has been present since the autumn of 1920 threatened to lead to renewed bloodshed in view of the fact that two dictators now faced each other in Poland and Lithuania. Since the decision reached by a session of the Council of the League of Nations in December 1927 did not succeed in averting the danger, the L. S. I. summoned a Conference

of the Socialist parties of North Eastern Europe, which sat in Berlin on 18th and 19th December. At this Conference the Polish delegation made a declaration containing the following passage :

"The Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) expresses its profound conviction that on the day of the triumph of democracy in Poland and Lithuania all the complex problems today dividing the two countries will find their pacific solution on the bases of the principles of international socialism, and of the right of self-determination of all peoples".

In the matter of the negotiations towards a trade agreement between Germany and Poland, which are of the utmost significance for the Border States, the present regime has marked no advance. Clearly recognising the importance of this problem, the P. P. S. has repeatedly demanded an equitable solution of the matters in dispute.

The period reported includes one very gratifying feature which is of much significance for the future evolution of the labour movement in Poland : a common fighting-front has been established between the P. P. S. and the German socialists in Poland. At the elections joint lists of candidates were drawn up, and a joint election programme published. Certain elements of opposition in the P. P. S. organisation of Upper Silesia were promptly removed by the withdrawal of certain persons, especially Biniszkiewicz.

The P. P. S. has conducted a campaign for an amnesty; in agreement with the German socialists a bill was introduced into the Chamber. This bill has proved helpful in the struggle to extend the amnesty bill proposed by the Government and voted by Parliament.

In the sphere of local politics, the Party has been able to register solid successes. It has secured control of a large number of towns (Lodz, in combination with the German S. P., Lublin with the Jewish "Bund", Radom, Plock, Sosnowiec, Dgorouwa, Vilna in combination with the radical Left, Ostowiec, Pietkow, Tomasrow, Mazowiecki and some ten smaller towns). At Warsaw the President of the City Council is a socialist.

In respect of the organisation of the Party there is gratifying progress to record in the workers' youth movement. In June 1928 three Workers' Youth and Sport Congresses gathered at Lodz, Sosnowiec and Cracow, some ten thousand delegates of the Sport and Educational organisations of the Workers' Youth sections of the P. P. S.

Towards the end of May the majority of the Independent Party, headed by comrade Drobner, came into the Party ; the minority under Dr. Kruk is trying to "maintain" the division. Today the union is an accomplished fact in almost all the towns where bodies of the Independent Party used to exist.

In consequence of the election of Daszynski as Marshal of the Sejm comrade Diamand was elected Chairman of the National Council of the P. P. S.

During the period of the report the P. P. S. suffered a severe loss through the death (15th April 1927) of Felix Perł, for many years Chairman of the Executive of the Party and Editor of its chief organ "Robotnik", a man whose life was intimately linked with the history of the Polish Labour movement.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

German Socialist Party in Poland (see p. IV. 123).

Independent Socialist Party of Poland (group of Dr. Kruk, see p. IV. 121), votes at election before the division 21,929.

General Jewish Workers' Union "Bund", 9000 members, at the last elections 94,000 votes, no seat.

Jewish Socialist Party "Poale Zion", belongs through the Federation Poale Zion to the L. S. I. (see p. IV. 112).

Left Poale Zion, voting strength 30,000, belongs neither to the L. S. I. nor to the Communist International.

Communist Party, illegal, membership unknown. At the last elections 306,000 votes ; this number would be raised to about 540,000 by the inclusion of lists of communist tendency or those bearing fictitious names (e. g. the Left P. P. S.—a legal form of communism in Galicia).

Communist Party of West Ukraine (East Galicia), united with the official Communist Party.

The Ukrainian Socialist-Radical Party, a more or less Peasant Party, cannot yet be viewed as a socialist party (in the sense of the Russian social-revolutionists) ; however, the evolution of radicalism among the small peasants towards socialism is proceeding voting strength 268,000.

National Labour Party : the democratic wing (so-called Right) has a voting strength of 296,000 ; the Caesarian wing (which supports the regime)—voting strength 121,000.

The White Ruthenian Socialist Revolutionary Party, numbers only some dozens of members.

The Ukrainian Socialists, are now scattered.

*Literature :*

"The Socialist Movement in Poland" : Report to the International Congress of Hamburg. Warsaw 1923 (French).

Reports of Party Congresses (Polish).

International Information, see especially : I. I. 1926 ; D. D. : p. 20. f. ; I. I. 1927 : p. 517, 535.

## **Poland.**

### *Independent Socialist Party.*

(Partja Niezaleznych Socijalistow w Polsce.)

Ever since the period of constructing the new State the development of Poland has been punctuated by crises ; this condition has resulted in differences of opinion within the Labour movement as to the best road to follow, and out of these differences the foundation of the Independent S. P. arose in 1922. On the one hand, contrary to the P. P. S. it desired to adopt bolder tactics, more accordant with the principles of the revolutionary class-struggle, while, on the other hand, it also took up an attitude repudiating bolshevism.

The situation of the movement, whose resources as to finance and organisation were very limited has always been handicapped by perpetual police persecutions. Again and again the Party offices have been closed by the police and its meetings prohibited. The organ of the Independent S. P. was on one occasion confiscated in consequence of the effect of the speech delivered by Henderson, as President of the L. S. I. at the International Congress of Marseilles. Immediately before the elections all the Party leaders were put under arrest and thus the electoral campaign completely crippled.

These terrorist measures applied against the Independent S. P. have on many occasions been the subject of attention by the parties of the International in other countries. At its session, in February, 1927, the Executive of the L. S. I. considered this question, while British comrades and the French Socialist Party have registered protests against the violences of Polish reaction.

The difficult situation into which the Party came both in consequence of the extreme pressure exerted against it and of the whole state of the Labour movement in Poland, led to the result that its tactics became the subject of intensive controversies within the organisation. Two opposing tendencies were ranged against each other; one led by Dr. Drobner (founder of the Party and its representative on the Executive of the L. S. I.) sought to persist in the agitation for the tactical standpoints to which the Independent S. P. owed its origin, within the P. P. S. which is the organised structure of the masses of Polish workers : and by means of union of organisation with the P. P. S. to direct more effectively the campaign against the dangers threatening democracy. Against these another

group led by Dr. T. Gozdawa and Dr. Kruk rejects this view and seeks to maintain the separate organisation. The Drobner group claims the right to consummate the union on behalf of the Party founded and hitherto led by Dr. Drobner. In the "Robotnik" of 3rd June, 1928, Dr. Drobner, T. Kapitulka and S. Martynovski announce the completed fusion with the P. P. S.

Whether the group which desires to persist in a separate organisation can be regarded as affiliated to the L. S. I., is a question which the Executive will have to decide in its session of August 1928.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

See page IV. 112, 116, 123.

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## Poland.

### *German Socialist Party.*

(Deutsche Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei in Polen (D. S. A. P.))

Founded : in 1922.

Membership : 8,406 (including 2,500 women).

Trade Union Membership : 13,000 (including 4,500 employees).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 1,200 (including 480 girls (German League of Working Youth in Poland)).

Membership of Womens' Organisations :

Educational Organisations : League for Workers' Education 6,000 members.

Children's Welfare Groups 300 members.

Press : 2 dailies, 2 papers appearing twice a week, 1 weekly.

Official Organ : "Volkswille" (D.), Kosciuszkiego 29, Katowice. "Lodzer Volkszeitung", Lodz (district organ).

Parliamentary Representation : 3 out of 444 in the Polish Sejm (Warsaw), 2 in the Silesian Sejm (Autonomous Provincial Diet).

Voting Strength : 77,680 jointly with the P. P. S. on 4th March, 1928 in East Silesia ; 23,640 (10%) at the election to the Silesian Sejm in September 1922 (Proportional representation for men and women).

Ordinary Congress : every two years, generally in the month of December.  
Party Executive : President : Johann Kowoll ; Treasurer : Eduard Matzke ;  
Members : Dr. Bloch, Buchwald, Brandes, Folmer, Dr. Glücksmann, Henschel, Karch, Mrs. Kowoll, Kurzella, Lukasz, Müller, Masurek, Ossadnik, Pankratz, Peschka.

Party Headquarters : Ul. Dworciwa 11, Katowice.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Congress delegation.

The German Socialist Party in Poland had its origin on the one hand in the German Socialist organisation, existing prior to the war in the territories of Germany and Austria now joined to Poland, and on the other hand in newly formed bodies in the district around Lodz. In 1925 there took place a formal union of these two groups under the present name and a joint Party Directorate was set up. The idea of complete fusion encountered, however, difficulties connected with matters of organisation, relating particularly to the question of the headquarters of the joint directorate. However, after the statements made by Dr. Glücksmann, of the organisation in Upper-Silesia, at the National Congress of the Lodz group last May, it may be assumed that this question also will be solved in the near future.

It has been the chief task of the German S. P. in Poland to prevent the struggle for the national cultural rights of the German minority from being exploited for jingoist aims by the bourgeois parties of the German population. It has combined the claim for national cultural autonomy with the intention of attaining this aim through an understanding between the working-class parties of all nationalities in Poland. At the beginning of 1927 there was already a joint conference between the German S. P., the P. P. S. and the Jewish "Bund". Shortly before the election the P. P. S. again approached the German S. P. with a view to forming a joint elect-

oral block. The negotiations led to a favourable result, so that the two parties not only drew up joint lists of candidates, but also issued a common electoral manifesto in which they laid stress in their intention to work in mutual agreement towards the fulfilment of the national cultural claims of the German working-class. This first step towards the fusion of the socialist forces of all nationalities in Poland is of the utmost importance for the future of the entire Polish Labour movement.

Since September, 1926, the German socialist deputies in the Silesian Sejm have been attached to the group of the P. P. S.

The German S. P. considers it as its duty to be the intermediary between Poland and Germany. The fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Lodz organisation of the German S. P. became an impressive demonstration of the will of the working-class to withstand all jingoist tendencies and to bring about a peaceful solution of all the questions pendent between Poland and Germany.

The elections of 4th May, 1928, yielded for the German S. P. three seats, two of which were secured on common lists with the P. P. S. Less happy was the outcome of the election in Upper Silesia, where nationalist agitation obtained its principal successes and where likewise some friction occurred with the local organisations of the P. P. S., a difficulty which seems to have been finally overcome by the removal of the respective members of the P. P. S. concerned from their organisation.

A feature in the effort towards peace is the sustained protest by the parliamentary group of the German S. P. against the enormous armaments of Poland which consume a vast proportion of the budget, whilst resources are lacking for effective measures of social reform and for a sound economic policy.

The German S. P. is developing a fruitful activity in the sphere of local politics. For purposes of guidance and mutual understanding a Commission on Self-Government and an Association of Local Representatives of the German S. P. have been formed. The German S. P. has likewise played a foremost part in the campaign for an amnesty on behalf of political prisoners in Poland. Towards this end a draft Bill was drawn up jointly by the German S. P. and the P. P. S.

The press of the Party has on many occasions been exposed to drastic persecution affecting both the "Lodzer Volkszeitung" and also the "Volkswille" of Katowice. The last-named was confiscated no less than 113 times within five years.

*Other Workers' Parties* : see p. IV. 112, 116, 121.

*Literature* :

Data to the Second Annual Congress of the German Socialist Party in Poland compiled by Dr. Siegmund Glücksmann, Bielitz, 1924 (in German).

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## Portugal.

### *Socialist Party.*

(Partido Socialista Portugues.)

Founded : in 1875.

Membership : (?) 2,500 (including women).

Trade Unions : General Confederation of Labour : 78,000 (not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Youth Organisations : None.

Educational Organisations : Educational circles ; Workers' Sports' Union (3,000 members).

Press : 2 Weeklies, 2 Fortnightlies, 1 Monthly.

Official Organ : "Heraldo" (F.) Largo Afonso Pena 35, Lisbon.

Parliamentary Representation : ?

Voting Strength : (?)

Party Headquarters : Alfredo Franco, Alameda das Linhas de Torres 34, Lisbon.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

(These data refer mainly to 1925, no later ones being available.)

Although after the deposition of the Monarchy in 1910 Portugal was endowed with a Republican Constitution which on paper appeared very sound and which possessed some of the main features of the modern apparatus of democracy, such as universal manhood suffrage, these changes have not sufficed to give to the country any stability as to its central government. Supreme power over the country remains in the hands of Cabinets which are largely composed of military and naval officers, and which form combinations so unstable that since 1910 between 40 and 50 different Governments have been in and out of power. Moreover the advent of the Republic has by no means delivered the country from the danger of sudden coups d'état at the hands of conspiring soldiers ; for since the change of Constitution there have occurred some twenty such attempts, several of which succeeded in overthrowing the existing government and in taking its place for a while. Two-thirds of the population of Portugal is agricultural, and under the Monarchy it was the class of the large landowners who had the chief political power in their hands. In recent years, however, the supremacy has been passing from the landowners to the well-to-do bourgeoisie, while the increasing influence wielded by foreign capital, especially by British capital, is a factor that can never be neglected.

The great influence of the Catholic Church, especially antagonist to the Republic for having separated Church and State, has been consistently thrown on the anti-democratic side.

Already handicapped by this unfavourable social setting, the working-class forces have been prevented by various causes, especially by their own internal lack of unity, from emulating altogether the striking progress secured in the last two decades in the neighbouring movement of Spain. The General Confederation of Labour has increased its membership up to 78,000 ; but it is not yet affiliated to Amsterdam, and indeed to a considerable extent is non-political. The fortunes of the Socialist Party have fluctuated a good deal in the post-war years. On the one hand it has to make headway against repression by reactionary governments, which deny to it freedom of the press or of meeting, while towards the Left its work is hindered by the prevalence of anarchist groups and by the activities of the Communists, who find their principal support among the workers of the arsenals. The insurrectionary outbreak which began on 23rd February, 1927, one of the stubbornest of recent times, had indirect results for the socialists also, though the Party had not participated in it and had indeed in a manifesto advised its members to hold strictly aloof, the collapse after great bloodshed of the rising was followed by closure of many of the socialist headquarters, especially in the north where the movement is strongest, for a period of nearly a year.

In such conditions it is very satisfactory to note that the Portuguese Party is persistently advancing. In particular, the active propagandist press published in Lisbon, Oporto, and other northern towns, has been able to extend its circulation, and also in several instances to increase the size of its publications. For the presidential elections which are expected to take place before long, the Party's candidate is Dr. Agostinho Fortes, Professor at the University of Lisbon. The Party has announced its readiness to participate at all parliamentary or other elections on conditions of receiving a proper freedom to carry on propaganda.

A particularly fine achievement is the erection in Oporto of a handsome Labour Headquarters, expected to be completed within two years, which is due to the initiative of the cooperatives of that city.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party : membership unknown.

*Literature :*

International Information, see especially I. I. 1926 : p. 130 ; I. I. 1927 : p. 128.

## Rumania.

### *Social-Democratic Party.*

(Partidul Socialdemokrat din Romania.)

Founded : in 1921 (Federation of Socialist Parties) consolidated in Social Democratic Party on May 9th, 1927.

Membership : 13,000, inclusive women.

Trade Union Membership : 36,000.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 300.

Women's Organisations : —

Educational Organisations : in some districts.

Press : 2 Dailies (German), 4 Weeklies (1 Rumanian, 1 Yiddish, 1 Hungarian, 1 Ruthenian).

Official Organ : "Socialismul" (W.), Strada St. Ionica 10, Bucaresti.

Parliamentary Representation : Chamber : 0 out of 369, Senate 0.

Voting Strength : 49,752 (1.80%) in July 1927. (Proportional Representation for men : gross falsifications of elections.)

Ordinary Congress : every two years, generally in the month of May.

Party Executive : Bernau, Bartalici, Bosermeny, Dan, Flueraș, Geller, Germann, Jordachi, Jumanca, Mayer, Moscovici, Petrescu, Pistiner and Radaceanu ; Bureau : Flueraș, Jumanca, Moscovici, Petrescu, Pistiner, Radaceanu.

Party Headquarters : Secretary : Radaceanu ; Treasurer : I. Moscovici, Strada St. Ionica 10, Bucaresti.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Pistiner (E.).

Any attempt at grasping the state of development of the Labour Movement of Rumania must visualise the system of atrocities and the lack of civil liberties inherent in the regime. Emergency acts are employed by the parties in power in order virtually to outlaw the workers' movement—the fascist movement, on the contrary being expressly excluded from such acts, as being a form of "national defence". Beatings, arrests, torture, corruptible courts, such are the characteristics of "law and order" in Rumania.

The semi-feudal stage of economic development is being deliberately maintained so as to avoid the risk of any change in the distribution of power by the introduction of colonising capital from without and the rise of indigenous capitalism. The loan policy of the State in reality has in view the reinforcement of the tottering position of the regime, and the land reform has been the subject to much misuse, although on the other hand it should not as a result of the Hungarian attacks, be watered down in favour of the Magyar Magnates. Under these conditions, in a culturally backward state the prospects for Socialism reside only in a numerically small industrial working-class.

The prime necessity of unification of the workers meets with special difficulties attaching to the structure of Greater Rumania.

The differences in nationality, tradition, economic and cultural development between the working-class of Old Rumania and that of the various countries joined to it as a result of the Peace Treaties of 1919 (as the Banat, Bessarabia and Bukovina) have made it seem natural to employ a federal system of organisation. The period under review had, however, so strengthened the tendencies making for a greater measure of unification that the Congress of the Federation of Socialist Parties on the 7th to 9th May, 1927, was able to register the fusion of the federated parties into one organisation providing for centralised political control under the name of "Social Democratic Party". The old independent regional parties are from now on merely the regional organisations of one and the same party. They are to retain autonomy in cultural questions.

The Congress had before it the draft of a new Party Programme. In consequence of opinions expressed by foreign comrades such as Kautsky and Otto Bauer and likewise of objections urged from the body of the Congress itself, the final decision as to the Programme was postponed, and only the minimum programme provisionally. The latter is to be extended especially regarding the question of minorities.

There is agreement within the Social-Democratic Party in Rumania as there was within the Federation, that without some measure of democratic guarantees progress is for the present inconceivable. So the movement has at every election decided to cooperate with the National Party and the Peasants' Party (in September 1926 fused into the National Peasants' Party) with the express aim of obtaining liberty of elections and breaking the back of the so-called "Liberal" regime. In truth the "Liberals" in 1926 alternated with the followers of Averescu but this has hardly meant more than a change in the personnel of the regime, Averescu leaning perhaps somewhat more decidedly towards fascism. In any case both make use of an election system, combined with terrorism and corrupt practises against opposition members of the electorate, which hardly finds its equal anywhere. So the general elections of July 1927 with the "Liberals" in power could register 61.97% of the total poll for the "Liberals" as against 7.34% in the elections of May, 1926, when Averescu controlled the machinery and got 55.09%.

Under these conditions the labour movement always stands to lose; all the more, because no Party gets a seat at all unless reaching 2% of the total poll. This was the reason why the only parliamentary seat of the Party, held by Pistiner, was lost on May 25th, 1926. And the Social-democrats had achieved 26% of the total poll in his constituency, 35% in the town of Czernowitz itself. When recently after the dissolution of the Municipal Council of Czernovitz on 4th September, 1927, elections were held, the socialists secured 41.6% of the votes notwithstanding all the electoral frauds practised, for example when the authorisation to vote was

not delivered to numbers of workers. Nevertheless the Social-Democrats got 10,000 more votes in 1927 than the year before and reached 1.80% of the poll as against 1.55% in 1926. Only 5,000 votes were lacking for the required 2%. In a number of municipal councils there are now representatives of the Social-democratic Party.

In the past few years the party organisation has substantially extended. The educational work has been reinforced and for the first time popular concerts have been held. The visit of Sassenbach, the Secretary of the I. F. T. U. in the spring of 1918, rendered it possible for the first time in many years to hold a mass meeting in Bucarest.

The unification of the labour movement was nowhere more needed than in Roumania. It has from time to time been attempted to make the Communists understand this, but as a rule without success. Still some degree of unification has been possible. Thus in February 1928, a communist independent group with its representative in the Municipal Council of Bucarest re-joined the Social-democratic Party.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

The "Block of the Workers' and Peasants" is the Communist organisation of Rumania. In the election of May, 1926, they registered 39,243 votes, in July 1927 : 31,930 (1,11%). There is a section of the Poale Zion. The so-called Left Poale Zion is already completely united with the Communist Party.

*Literature :*

International Information 1925—1928, see especially I. I. 1925, No. 1 p. 2, 16, p. 2, 36 p. 1 ; I. I. 1926 : No. 6 p. 3, pp. 63, 98, 132 ; I. I. 1927 pp. 135, 213, 304, 506.

The Marseille Report, 1925.

Josef Gabriel : Fünfzigjährige Geschichte der Banater Arbeiterbewegung, Temesvar (Rumänien) 1928.

Jacob Pistiner : Der Imperialismus der Randstaaten, Der Kampf, Vienna 1925, pp. 375—380.

Lothar Radaceanu (Bucarest) : Die bürgerliche Revolution in Rumänien, ibid 1926 p. 158.

do. Die Wahlen in Rumänien, ibid p. 285.

do. Das Linzer Programm und der Sozialismus des Ostens, ibid 1927, pp. 72—75.

Z. Topalovic : Zehn Jahre Kommunismus auf dem Balkan, ibid. pp. 512—518. Die rumänische Gewerkschaftsbewegung vom Jahre 1923 bis 1926. Bericht des Landesgewerkschaftsrates an den Landeskongress in Bukarest vom 29. bis 31. August 1926.

## Russia.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

(Rossijskaya Socialdemocratitsheskaya Rabotchaya Partiya R. S. D. R. P.)

Founded : in 1898.

Membership : unknown.

Trade Union Membership : 4,556,000 (not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Membership of Youth Organisations : Exist illegally.

Press : 1 Weekly bulletin (German), 1 Fortnightly (Russian), both in Berlin.

Various illegal periodicals in Russia.

Official Organ : "Socialistitscheski Westnik" (Socialist Herald) (F.), 7—8 Zimmerstrasse, Berlin.

Parliamentary Representation : —

Party Executive : Chairman : T. Dan, Secretary : A. Jugow.

Party Headquarters : (Foreign Delegation), R. Abramovitch, Berlin-Schöneberg, Bozenerstrasse 9.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Abramovitch (E. B.), Substitute : Dan.

During the period reported the activities of the Russian Social-Democrats retained their character of illegality, since, now a ever, under the communist dictatorship in Russia, all possibility of legitimate political activity by other socialist parties is stifled. None the less the Russian Social-Democrats are succeeding in securing a steady increase of their influence over the working-class and the young. The party machinery, which is well centralised, is in a position to maintain connections with the local organisations and to remain in active contact with the portion of the Party which is working abroad. These two co-operating parts of the Party—the illegal one in Russia and the Foreign Delegation in exile—in their fight for democratic liberties for the removal of the privileges of the Communist Party, for the freedom of the trade union and co-operative movements, have to perform the extremely arduous task of keeping a watch at the same time over the necessity that the present dictatorship in Russia should not be overthrown politically by a counter-revolution and by fascism and economically by a dictatorship of private capital, but that its place should be taken by a democracy of the working masses. Along the lines of this policy, guided by Marxist conceptions, the Russian Social-Democrats wage an unceasing struggle against the untenable conditions brought about by the Party dictatorship of Bolshevism in Soviet Russia in the political and economic sphere. It is from these angles that the work of agitation in Russia is directed, that the attitude adopted towards the universal problems of socialism and towards questions of daily politics in Russia is conditioned, and that all the various situations are dealt with, such as the Opposition within the Communist Party, the ques-

tions of industrialisation and of the relation between the urban and rural proletariat, the trade agreements and the relations with the Border States. The Manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in November 1927, which was circulated in Russia and published in the Documents and Discussions (I. I. V. p. 26), deal with these problems. Its concluding passage is in the following terms :

Our party seeks only to liquidate the dictatorship *peacefully*, to steer it into the track of democracy. It is convinced that such a transition is possible when all workers without distinction of party or group hand themselves together to fight for the *immediate requirements* framed by our party which are a necessity for the entire working-class and which alone can assure to it the support of all workers from town and country :

- (1) Freedom of speech, of the press, of meeting, of association and of conscience.
- (2) New and free elections for the Soviets with equal franchise for workers, peasants, employees and unemployed.
- (3) Unconditional and absolute abolition of the death penalty.
- (4) Immediate cessation of the G. P. U. and of other organs of the terror.
- (5) Full amnesty for all political offenders in prison or banishment and cessation of every form of punishment by administrative procedure.
- (6) Abolition of the privileges of the communist party and of the Comintern and stoppage of subsidies to them out of public money.
- (7) Liberation of the trade union and cooperative movements, freedom to strike, free re-election of the committees in the factories and workshops.

When the breach of diplomatic relations between England and Soviet Russia threatened to become a danger to world peace and a grave impediment to the economic reconstruction of Russia, the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democrats resolved on 28th May 1927 to draw the special attention of the international working-class to these dangers and it addressed to the L. S. I. an appeal expressing the conviction that in the event of an aggravation of the situation the L. S. I. would call upon the affiliated parties to prepare for a fight against these dangers (I. I. IV, p. 246, 260). Within the boundaries of the International likewise the Russian Social-Democrats are endeavouring by active work at the great problems of socialism to give expression to this policy, which is founded on Marxist conceptions and socialist principles. Its central organ "The Socialist Herald", which appears fortnightly in Russian in Berlin, offers guidance by means of reports and theoretical articles on the general and temporary problems of the Russian and the international labour movement. This periodical also circulates illegally in Russia and is in great demand in all circles. In German there appears weekly the Press Bulletin "Information Service" (R. S. D.) which is widely reproduced in the socialist press. The growing interest of the working-class in Western Europe in the problem of the Russian labour movement is inducing various organisations to arrange lectures by Russian comrades. Thus for example comrades Abramovitch, Dan, Bienstok, Schwarz and others have lectured on Russian problems and conditions in various towns of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland.

During the period of this report the Russian Social-Democratic movement has suffered a particularly heavy loss. On 17th April, 1928, the patriarch of Russian social-democracy, one of the founders of the first socialist organisations, the "group for the liberation of labour", the unwearying fighter for socialism, Paul Axelrod, died. The numerous telegrams and letters of sympathy from the parties in all countries and from individual friends and fellow militants expressed the profound grief felt at the loss of this unforgettable pioneer of international socialism.

To the S. D. P. of Russia is affiliated, as an independent unit, the Russian section of the General Jewish Labour Union "Bund" represented abroad by I. Judin and R. Abramovitch.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Social Revolutionary Party, see page IV. 133.

Left Social-Revolutionary Party, illegal in Russia, Split off in 1917 from the Social-Revolutionaries, mainly on the question of their attitude towards the war. During the first months after the Bolshevik revolution it supported the Bolsheviks and took office in the Soviet Government, but later on declared against the Peace of Brest Litovsk and against the Bolshevik dictatorship, and is now suppressed in Russia like every other socialist tendency. The Party belonged from 1921 to 1923 to the Vienna Union, but opposed the fusion with the Second International and held aloof from the Hamburg Congress.

The various groups of Zionist Socialist (see Poale Zion) p. IV. 112, and likewise the anarchists and syndicalists, in so far as they are at odds with the dominant Communist Party, are equally illegal and persecuted in Russia.

*Literature :*

Aktionsprogramm der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei Russlands, Vienna 1925.

Der Terror gegen die Sozialisten in Russland und Georgien, Berlin 1925 both German.

*Th. Dan* : Sowjetrussland, wie es wirklich ist. Prague 1926, published by the Directorate of the German Socialist Party in Czecho-slovakia (Swedish, German).

*J. Martow* and *Th. Dan* : Die Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie. Berlin, Verlag Dietz, 1926 (German).

"R. S. D.", Information Service of the Russian Social-Democrats. Berlin, Zimmerstrasse 7—8, German.



## Russia.

### *Social-Revolutionary Party.*

(Partiya Sotsialistos Revolutionaeros S. R.)

Founded : in 1900.

Membership : unknown.

Membership of Trade Unions : see "Social-Democratic Party".

Press : 1 Monthly (Russian), 1 Bulletin (French), in Prague ; various illegal publications in Russia.

Official Organ : "Revolutionnaja Rossia" (M.), Uhelny trh. 1, Prague.

Parliamentary Representation : in 1917 the majority of the Soviets ; 224 representatives for the Constituent Assembly ; at present no representation.

Party Executive : An illegal Central Bureau has taken the place of the Central Committee sentenced in the Moscow trial.

Party Headquarters : (Foreign Delegation), Uhelny trh. 1, Prague.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Souchomlin (E.), Substitute : Stalinsky.

The Social-Revolutionary Party is fighting in Russia to liberate the working masses from the political and economic yoke which crushes them down. Against the bolshevist dictatorship it sets the policy of a free democracy of labour corresponding to the true character of the Russian Revolution. It is fighting for a democratic republic on a broad social foundation. The Party is by no means of the opinion that the economic structure of bolshevism can simply be replaced by capitalism. Nor does it hold that the Russian Revolution can only lead in the end to the installation of the bourgeoisie to political and social power. The Party believes that above all the land in Russia must remain the property of the State. Similarly, those branches of industry which are already strongly centralised must remain nationalised, in so far as this does not detract from the interests of production, oil, iron, coal, railways, water power, and those nationalised industries already self-supporting.

In this fight for political liberty, for the permission to political parties to exist for the rights of the workers and against the bolshevist terror, there developed the Party of the S. R., in particular within the groups in exile, certain divergencies in political principles and doctrine. According to the communications of the S. R. Party's Foreign Delegation (Supplement to No. 65 of "Revolutionnaia Rossia", March, 1928) the S. R. abroad at present comprises 4 groups, which are in general grouped around the following organs : (1) "*Zentralniy Organ Partij S. R. Revolutionnaia Rossia*" (Central Organ of the Party of the S. R., Revolutionaris Russia"), appears monthly in Prague, published by Tzchernov with Gurevitch, Rus-sanov, Gr. Schreider, etc. as collaborators. (2) "*Volja Rossji*" (Russia's Freedom), appears monthly, published by Lebedjev, Slonim, Stalinski, Suchomlin. The three latter in conjunction with Postnikov published in October, 1927, the first number of a new

periodical "*Socialist-Revolutionär*". (3) The daily paper "*Dni*" ("Days" (appearing in Paris, published by Kerenski, Sensinov, etc. and (4) "*Sovremennje Sapiski*" ("Contemporary Chronicles") under the direction of Avksentjev, Bunakov, Rudnev, Vischniak, etc.

The Central organ "*Revolutionnaia Rossia*" gives as its opinion that the picked troops of the S. R. Party—in Russia a among the carious groups in exile—who have remained true to the old traditions, to the claims of the fight for the freedom of the workers and for socialism, will follow the principles which must serve as Guiding-lines for the policy of the S. R. and which can be formulated as follows : "(1) We must abide by the principle that reconstruction is not to signify restoration but a new septem, that the wach word "back to February" can no longer be acceptable to the Party, since it only blurs the tasks in front of us ; that the popular movement exploited by the bolshevists in October, was not the consequence of the mistakes of February, but was partially conditioned the events of February themselves ; only the misuse of the October stage of the Revolution by the bolshevists can be traced back to the mistakes of February. (2) the reneval of the Party must come not from the exhausted bands of exiles, but from the younger generation in Russia itself, from the new generation which has grown up on freshoil under new conditions, which isspired by new endeavours and new needs and is permeated with dislike of any retrogression and any restoration. (3) the unification of forces must not be directed according to the watch word with the devil himself, if only against the bolshevists ; the Party needs a unification of forces which will serve the coming constructive work, which will lead Russia with rapid steps and along a sure road to socialism. ("*Revolutionnaia Rossia*" No. 61, October, 1927, page 2.)

From among the comrades grouped around the central organ "*Revolutionnaia Rossia*", a number including Gurevitch, Gr. Schreider, Tschernov, etc., have taken a prominent part in the foundation of the "League of the New East", which considers its chief task to be propaganda for the peaceful settlement of national problems in Eastern Europe.

*Literature :*

Le Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire et la situation actuelle, Paris 1919 (French).

News of the I. A. S. P. Vol. I. Nos. 2 and 4 ; Vol. 2. Nos. 3 and 4.

The Twelve who are to Die (The Trial of the Social-Revolutionaries in Moscow), Berlin 1922. (German French, English).

"The Tcheka" (written in the Prisons in Moscow), Berlin and Paris, 1923 (German, French, Russian).

Theses for the Hamburg Congress in "*La Vie Socialiste*", Paris 1923 (in French).

Victor Tschernoff : "Constructive Socialism", Prague, 1924 (in Russian).  
The Tragedy on the Solovetski Islands, Berlin 1925 (in German).

Victor Tschernoff : An der Wende zweier Epochen, in "*Die Gesellschaft*", Berlin 1925, Kautsky special number.

## Spain.

### *Socialist Labour Party.*

(Partido Socialista Obrero Español.)

Founded :— in 1879.

Membership :— 7,964.

Trade Union Membership :— 221,000.

Membership of Youth Organisations :— 1,500.

Educational Organisations :— Lay Schools, Lecture Courses, School of Socialist Youth, Cesareo del Cerro Foundation, Pablo Iglesias Foundation, (in course of organisation), Typographical School, Metallurgical Schools.

Press :— 1 daily, 14 weekly, 4 monthly.

Official Organ :— *El Socialista*, Carranza 20, Madrid.

Parliamentary Representation :— Chamber suppressed.

Voting Strength :— There have been no elections since the establishment of the Directory, except local elections (of workers' corporations) and for certain Councils (Council of State, Municipal Councillors, Workers' Council, etc.).

Party Executive: President: Julian Besteiro; Vice-President: F. L. Caballero. Secretary: Andres Saborit. Members: F. de Los Rios, T. Gomez, A. Ovejero, M. Cordero, A. de Gracia, A. Sanchez.

Party Headquarters :— Carranza 20, apartado de Correos 10,036, Madrid.

Representation in the L. S. I. :— Besteiro (E) Substitute: Saborit.

The political situation in Spain throughout the last three years has been, as before, conditioned by the continued dictatorship of Primo de Rivera's Directory, which has maintained itself in the position by coup d'état in 1923. Such opposition parties as exist are deprived by the absence of any Parliament of their chief natural organ of expression, while their other principal means of expression, the press, is subjected to a strict censorship. Nevertheless some elements of opposition continued their propagandist activities as best they could; among them the leadership has more and more tended to revert to the most resolute and uncompromising element namely the Socialist Party.

Despite the Directory's continuance, certain signs have appeared of a modification in the temper of the public towards it, so that the ruling clique has felt the necessity of making, at least in appearance, some concession to democratic feeling. Ever since 1925 the dictator had promised to replace the Parliament which his regime had suspended by a National Assembly which should provide for the country as a whole some channel through which its voice could be heard. A long time passed, however, before this promise was translated into action. During the long interval of waiting the socialists reserved their judgment as to the value of such a body, and likewise their decision as to participating in it. Thus in October 1926,

when the chances for or against socialist cooperation in such a body were already the subject of brisk discussion in the press, the leader of the Party, Professor Julian Besteiro, expressed himself in the following terms :

„During this period of transition upon which, as it seems to me, Spanish life has entered for more than three years past, I hold that the action of our Labour and Socialist masses cannot do other than follow some such lines as the following :

- (1) to reject as absurd and harmful any intention to move backwards towards obsolete phases of political equilibrium which today have become out of the question ;
- (2) to work unceasingly for the establishment in Spain of a true democracy, that is, not a merely apparent and confused system, but rather one so organised as to be able to fulfil the functions to which modern nations are called ;
- (3) to guarantee the free expression on individual liberty by the election under universal suffrage of a legislative Assembly capable of being at all times as faithful an image as possible of the general feeling in the country.”

When in the autumn of 1927 the constitution of the forthcoming Assembly was actually made known, it was found that as expected, its functions were to be merely consultative, and that its composition, resting upon various official categories framed by the government, was such as to exclude any possibility of the body possessing a really representative character. At a special congress of the Unión General de Trabajadores, the trade union central organisation, it was unanimously determined that no seats in the National Assembly ought to be accepted by the workers' representatives. A resolution by the Socialist Party, which held a Congress immediately afterwards, on October 9th, 1927, ran as follows :

“The Socialist Party of Spain records a vigorous and unreserved protest against the regime of dictatorship instituted for the last four years. It protests equally against the creation of a “National Assembly”, to which the Socialist Party, fully agreeing with the decision of the General Union of Workers, will send no delegate.”

The proceedings in the Assembly, where a few attempts at independent criticism of the government have invariably been forcibly silenced by the dictator, have afforded a strong justification of the refusal.

A symptom of the evolution of public opinion appeared on the occasion of a proposal by the University of Madrid to confer on King Alfonso for the 25th Anniversary of his succession, the honorary degree of Doctor. Fourteen of the professors, including all shades of political opinion, among them Professor Besteiro, signed a memorandum in opposition to the proposal, and in a debate which followed, openly criticised the conduct of the King, especially for his interference with liberty of opinion.

On 1st October, 1927, the Party Organ, “El Socialista” appeared in an enlarged and improved form, and is now a paper of a high value, with an excellent service of foreign contributions. In August

1927, for having reported the protests against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, it was suspended for a week by the government.

Within the last twenty years, thanks to the efforts of the Party and the Trade unions, important workers' centres (Casas del Pueblo) have been established in the following cities: Madrid, Valladolid, Mataró, Vigo, Yecla, Gallarta, Palma de Mallorca (Balearic Isles), Baracaldo. The chief cooperative centre is in Madrid, and there are a number of others in the provinces. In 1926 the Party acquired the premises of an important cooperative printing works, in which the newspaper "El Socialista" is now edited and printed.

The Spanish Party underwent in December 1925 a very painful loss by the death of the founder and leader of the working-class movement in Spain, *Pablo Iglesias*, at the advanced age of 75. The Secretariat of the L. S. I. telegraphed to the Spanish Party a message expressive of its sympathy and esteem. It was resolved later to adopt the anniversary of his death, December 9th, as a special day for collections on behalf of the paper "El Socialista" which he founded, and which has still to meet a deficit.

The Spanish Party has now resolved, without awaiting any longer the return of normal political conditions, to hold a National Congress at Madrid on 29th June 1928. This Congress, the first since 1921, which will thus be an event of special interest, will have to deal with the whole social and political position in Spain. With reference to it, the Party has issued a special volume of 700 pages, providing complete data on its history and organisation.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party : very weak. No seat at the elections of 1923.

*Literature :*

Year Book of El Socialista 1928 (in Spanish).

Special Report published for the Congress of June 1928 (700 pp. in Spanish).

## Sweden.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

(Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti.)

Founded : in 1889.

Membership : 203,338 (including 24,479 women).

Trade Union Membership : 492,029.

Membership of Youth Organisations : 41,223.

Membership of Women's Organisations : 45,960. (1)

Educational Organisations : in existence.

Press : 18 Dailies, 6 papers appearing three times and 2 papers appearing twice a week, 1 Weekly, 3 Monthlies.

Official Organ : „Social-Demokraten“ (D.), Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm.

Parliamentary Representation : Lower House 105 out of 230, Upper House 52 out of 150.

Voting Strength : 725,844 (40.9%) in September 1924 (Proportional representation men and women).

Ordinary Congress : Every four years.

Party Executive : President : P. Albin Hansson; Secretary : Gustav Möller;

Members : Arthur Engberg, Rickard Sandler, Ernst Wigforss, Arvid Thorberg, Z. Höglund.

Party Headquarters : Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm, Gustav Möller, Secr.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Möller (B.), Hansson (E.).

The Third Socialist Minority Government which took office in January 1925 with Sandler as Premier in succession to Branting, was defeated in June 1926, in consequence of the increasing interaction between the bourgeois parties. The immediate cause of its fall was the attitude of the Government over the question of unemployment benefit in an instance where the function of strike-breakers had been allotted to unemployed men by the local authorities. The liberals realised a bourgeois majority in favour of their own interpretation of Branting's official instructions as to unemployment benefit. The new liberal minority government is an exponent of the policy of bourgeois unification, which is taking a more and more prominent place in Sweden, and is tending in all respects to intensify the campaign against the working-class. This is likewise visible in the "policy of industrial peace" of the bourgeois parties (cf. compulsory Arbitration Act of 25th May, 1928), in their policy respecting social insurance, and further to a certain degree in their attitude towards the State Commission of Enquiry into possibilities of socialisation, which has been at work since the time of the first Branting Government. The investigations hitherto undertaken concern especially the socialisation of the railways and of the metal-ore mines. Even in the disarmament question where the proposal of

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(1) This figure relates to the Swedish Socialist Women's League, an organisation specially devoted to recruiting propagandist activity among working women.

1925 was a compromise with the Left, the bourgeois left wing elements appear to be moving nearer to the Right. As to foreign politics, however, the line of Branting and Uden (e. g. Uden in Geneva, March 1926) is being continued by this government also, to some extent through its representation in the League of Nations by the Socialist ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Uden. The Socialist Party is standing resolutely for a policy of entente with Soviet Russia, as for example in the treatment in the Swedish Chamber in March, 1928, of the question of the Russian trade delegation in Sweden and its rights.

The attitude of the Party towards the bourgeois majority definitely reflects the policy which found expression in the activities of the socialist government : namely legal establishment of the Eight Hour Day in lieu of the existing provisional status of it, old age insurance, unemployment insurance, land reform (relief of land from financial encumbrances, encouragement of settlement, protection for leaseholders, continuation courses in agriculture), amendment of the constitution in respect of the Upper House. This policy serves likewise to impress on the small farmers and agricultural workers their community of interests with the labour movement. The co-operative idea which is now at present in high favour in Danish and Finnish agriculture and also in the Swedish labour movement is here utilised as a counterpoise to the bourgeois agrarian policy. The resolutions on the agrarian programme adopted by the Party Congress in June 1928 take into account the fact that other portions of the population besides the industrial workers must now be introduced into the Party.

The electoral successes betoken the fruits of this policy. The local elections in the autumn of 1926 were from this point of view promising for the elections to the Second Chamber, which will be held in September 1928. The spread of the organisation is proceeding perpetually. The number of branches and the membership have far outrun the figures of 1925. The membership figure for Stockholm at the close of 1927 was 38,444, an advance of 2,607. The admission to the Party of the so-called Höglund communists occurred in October, 1925.

The Youth movement which has had to be rebuilt from its basis since 1917 in consequence of the communist split, was able in October, 1927, to show for its 10th anniversary a membership of 35,000. The advance is proceeding and the movement at present numbers over 40,000. It should be noted that there is a close relationship between the socialist Swedish labour movement, Party, Youth movement and trade unions on the one hand, and the model, very extensive, educational organisation (Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund) on the other, which in its report of 1926/27 showed a membership of 1,086,900. The archives of the Swedish labour movement in Stockholm, which with their 200,000 volumes provides a splendid library of the labour movement especially in the Scandinavian countries,

has been further enriched after Branting's death by the great collection of books which he possessed.

The four-yearly Congress of the Party was held from 3rd—9th June, 1928, paid due attention to the development of the movements, to the unification of the bourgeois parties and in general to the changed position, especially by passing unanimous resolutions on the disarmament question and on the question of accepting office in governments.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party : 1 representative in the First Chamber and four in the Second Chamber. Its poll in 1924 was 63,601, its membership 16,732.

*Literature :*

Minutes of Party Congresses, Annual Reports (Swedish).

International Information 1925—28, esp. I. I. 1925 : No. 37, p. 2 ; I. I. 1926 : p. 218 ; I. I. 1927, 499 ; I. I. 1928, p. 262—263.

E. Ahlander : Archives of the Labour Movement of Sweden (German and French).

Rudolf Heberle : Zur Geschichte der schwedischen Arbeiterbewegung. Kiel 1925 (German).

Dr. Ernst Wigforss : The political situation in Sweden (article in „Die Gesellschaft“) 1928, vol. I, p. 343, (German).



## Switzerland.

### *The Socialist Party.*

(Sozialdemokratische Partei (S. P. S.).)

Founded : in 1888.

Membership : 36 072 (including 1550 women) at the end of 1927.

Trade Union Membership : 153,797 (1926).

Membership of Youth Organisations : ca. 600.

Membership of Women's Organisations : See Women's Report.

Educational Organisations : there are 90 sections.

Press : 15 Dailies, 2 Weeklies, 1 Monthly.

Parliamentary Representation : 49 out of 198 (National Assembly), 2 out of 44 (National Council).

Voting Strength : 195,768 out of 764,733 (1925) = 25%.

Ordinary Congress : annually.

Party Executive : President : Ernst Reinhard, Secretaries : August Huggler, Paul Graber.

Party Headquarters : Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne.

Representation in the L. S. I. : R. Grimm (E. B.), Substitute : Graber.

At its National Congress in November 1926 the Socialist Party of Switzerland passed by a four fifths majority a resolution to enter the Labour and Socialist International. The act of entry was realised on 1st January, 1927.

Even during the war years the question of international relations occupied a foremost place among the interests of the Swiss Labour Movement. In the foundation and activities of the Zimmerwald movement comrades of the Swiss Party had a leading share. After the war the question as to joining the Third International in accordance with the "Twenty-one Conditions" led to a schism in the movement : some 5,500 members left the Socialist Party and passed over to the Communist Party (National Congress at Berne, December, 1920). Thereupon the Socialist Party affiliated to the Vienna Union, and thereafter attended—though indeed merely for purposes of information—the foundation Congress of the Labour and Socialist International. With the object of avoiding more acute antagonism within the Party over the question of international affiliation, and likewise the necessity of purchasing unification in the International at the cost of endangering the national unity of the movement, it was resolved to abstain for a while longer from joining the L. S. I. and to await a further evolution of opinion among the rank and file. Ultimately, the Congress of 7th November, 1927, by its resolution to affiliate, put the finishing touch to this process of development.

The division of the Party in 1920 dealt a severe blow to the vigorous labour movement in Switzerland,—incidentally the only

neutral country in which at the end of the war, in the general strike of November, 1918, serious conflicts with the bourgeoisie occurred. The party membership sank between 1920 and 1922 from 51,013 to 34,061 ; and that at the very time when the wave of reaction was reaching Switzerland also and menacing the most essential foundations of the labour movement. Concurrently therewith, there came an economic crisis of unusual gravity, which similarly weakened the powers of resistance of the trade unions. Nevertheless the attacks on the workers' right of meeting and combination, and on the eight hour day, were successfully parried. Obviously, however, the offensive capacity of the Party during this time was restricted within narrow limits.

Since that time the Socialist Party has been continuously on the up-grade, whilst the communist movement has almost entirely vanished from the scene. The membership has mounted again to about 26,000. Whereas the elections of 1922 showed a drop in the poll from 178,000 to 170,000, at those of 1925 an increase by 25,000 to 195,000 was recorded. Thereby the Socialist Party has become the second strongest in the country. On the contrary, the communist Party has disappeared altogether throughout Western Switzerland and the bulk of German Switzerland, and maintaining its hold only in some few towns such as Basle and Schaffhausen. In Zurich the communist movement has diminished to a mere shadow. In another direction the Grütli movement which played an extremely notable part in the history of the Swiss movement, has also faded out completely; its working-class elements have passed into the camp of socialism, while the remainder have found a home with the bourgeois parties.

The unity of the labour movement, thus realised in practice, has brought with it notable successes. The municipal elections in Zurich, at 15th April 1928, added to the working-class majority already existing in the City Council, a socialist majority in the Executive Council also. A Socialist, Dr. Klöti, was elected "City President" (Mayor). In addition the industrial centre of Biel, the town of Burgdorf and the industrial community of Arbon together with Le Locle and la Chaux-de-Fonds in the industrial area of West Switzerland are under the administration of socialist majorities.

The successes have further brought to the front the demand of the socialist party for introduction of legal proportional representation in the composition of the executive authorities of municipalities and cantons. Already the introduction of P. R. for the legislative bodies of the Swiss Confederation has broken down the predominant position of the urban bourgeoisie organised in the Liberal Party (Freisinnige Partei), and revealed the points of difference between this latter and the peasantry ; similarly the introduction of the reform in connection with administrative authorities will have to curb the privilege of the bourgeoisie in this sphere

too. The pressure exercised by socialism with its newly-won majorities in important municipalities all over the country, will compel the bourgeoisie to comply with this demand of the working-class.

In 1920, directly after the division, the Socialist Party elaborated its theoretical programme. In September, 1924, there followed the decision upon the programme of action which embodies in summary the present tasks of the Party.

In accordance with the statutes of the Labour and Socialist International, Executive members of the L. S. I. belonging to the country where the Secretariat has its headquarters, are members of the Administrative Committee and thereby also of the Bureau of the L. S. I. This function has been assumed by comrade Robert Grimm who was in addition elected to the Commission for Administration of the Matteotti Fund. The substitute on the Executive is comrade Ernst Paul Graber.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

*Communist Party :* membership according to communist data about 4,000 : at the last elections 14,837 votes (1,8%) and three seats. The Party arose out of the union of a small communist group with the wing of the Socialist Party which seceded at the Congress of Berne (1920). With the exception of a few particular places, it has almost wholly forfeited its influence in the labour movement.

*Grütli Union :* decided in 1925 to dissolve. Only in some isolated places are efforts still being made to maintain tiny groups.

*Literature :*

Minutes of National Congresses (German and French, according to language of the speakers).

Administrative Reports of proceedings (German and French).

Robert Grimm : Das Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsprogramm. Berne 1925 (German).

Otto Lang : Sozialismus oder Kapitalismus. Zurich 1925 (German).

Die Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz (historical notes on its origin growth and action, Berne 1928 (German).

Dr. Ernst Schenker : Die Sozialdemokratische Bewegung in der Schweiz. Appenzell 1926 (German) ; see also Professor M. N. Reichesberg : Small Encyclopaedia (German).

## Turkey.

### *Independent Socialist Party.*

Party Headquarters : Chakir Rassim, Béchik-Tache, Keuy Itchi 57, Constantinople.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Congress Delegation.

Under the system of oppression prevailing in Turkey the labour movement's opportunities for development are exceedingly limited, and it is most difficult from a distance to arrive at an opinion as to the significance of the beginnings of organisation which are in existence. When the L. S. I. was founded, it took over all the branches which were then affiliated to the Second International and to the Vienna Union. Among the first there belonged likewise the Independent Socialist Party of Turkey with which MacDonalld had established connection during a visit to Constantinople. Subsequently, however, it has not been possible to secure permanent contact with this organisation, indeed the connection has become slighter and slighter and at present has almost ceased.

In 1926 the *Social-Democratic Party* in Constantinople on whose behalf Professor Dr. H. Riza Bey writes as founder and President, made application for affiliation to the L. S. I. With regard to this party information was given that it had been founded in 1918, but that notwithstanding three attempts to obtain government authorisation no reply had ever been received from the government. The membership is stated to be 6,000. With a view to clearing up these matters the Secretariat of the L. S. I. entered into communication both with Charkir Rassim of the Independent Socialist Party and with Riza Bey of the Social-Democratic Party. The former replied in a letter of 5th August, 1926, that the Social-democratic Party had indeed been founded but that it was nor registered by the government and no longer existed. And similarly on 23rd August 1926, Riza Bey wrote that the Independent Socialist Party had for some time ceased to exist.

In view of these statements which from a distance remain unverifiable the Secretariat of the L. S. I. has been for the time being compelled, pending an opportunity for objective investigation, to assume a waiting attitude towards both these parties and to leave in suspense the question of affiliation to the L. S. I.

## Ukraine.

### *Social-Democratic Labour Party. (U. S. D. R. P.)*

Founded : in 1900 as Ukrainian Revolutionary Party, since 1905 Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party.

Membership : 35,000 in 1919.

Trade Unions : at present suppressed.

Membership of Youth Organisations : at present suppressed.

Women's Organisations : at present suppressed.

Educational Organisations : at present suppressed.

Press : at present suppressed.

Official Organ : "Sozialistyca Dumka", appears irregularly.

Parliamentary Representation : —

Voting Strength: 550,000 at the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, in November 1917.

Ordinary Congress : annually.

Party Executive : Foreign Delegation : I. Mazepa, J. Bezpalko, P. Fedenko, H. Niantschur.

Party Headquarters : (Foreign Delegation) Isaak Mazepa, Podebrady (Czechoslovakia) Central Hotel.

Representative in the L. S. I. : Bezpalko (E.).

The situation of the Ukraine, politically, culturally, and in respect of its legal status as a state is very complicated and unsatisfactory. Even before the war, while it was still half under Russian and half under Austro-Hungarian control, the Ukrainian people was striving for political and cultural self-determination. During the agitations and upheavals of the post-war period it seemed at first as if the Ukraine also was about to attain national emancipation. It still remains, however, cut up into four parts : the East Galician portion is included in Poland, another has been attached to the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the third in the Bukovina and Bessarabia today belongs to Rumania, while the fourth, Carpathian Russia has been allotted to Czechoslovakia. This state of things signifies that Ukrainian socialism has to fight its battle for political and social rights within four distinct states. In Poland and Rumania, where recognition of the rights of nationality has in fact always been refused to Ukrainians, the struggle revolves around political and cultural claims against the Polish and Rumanian domination. In the Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand, while a fair degree of autonomy exists in cultural matters, the fight against the Bolshevik dictatorship remains primarily one against foreign rule and is waged under the watchword of Ukrainian independence. While in the Soviet Union Ukrainian socialism is obliged to work as a virtually illegal party, in Czechoslovakia it has found a certain freedom of action.

The murder of Petlioura on 25th May, 1926, re-opened anew the question of his responsibility for the bloodstained series of pogroms

during the years 1918—1920. With regard to the assassination the Ukrainian Socialist Party defined its position especially in a resolution of its Central Committee of 23rd June, 1928. This resolution and articles in the press by the leading members of the Party gave rise to a complaint being lodged by the Russian Social-Democratic Party with the Labour and Socialist International. In this complaint exception was taken to the conduct of the Ukrainian Socialist Party, on the ground that this latter by its nationalist policy had departed, in the Schwarzbud-Petlioura affair, from the position which debitted a labour party affiliated to the L. S. I.

The Executive of the L. S. I. referred the consideration of this matter to the Minorities Commission of the L. S. I. The representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Party laid before the Minorities Commission of the L. S. I. extremely voluminous material intended to show the existence of sharp dividing lines as between the policy of Petlioura on the one hand, and on the other the tragic events during the chaos of the civil war, and finally in respect of its own conduct as a Socialist Party which claimed to have acted consistently in obedience to the principles of international socialism.

To this question the Minorities Commission of the L. S. I. devoted a special session which was held in Zurich on 23rd February 1928. After a detailed statement of the whole group of questions involved by the representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Party, and after a thorough discussion in which all the members of the Minorities Commission took part, the way was cleared towards agreement on a resolution between the complainants representing the Russian social-democrats and the representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Party. This resolution was presented on behalf of the Minorities Commission by its Chairman de Brouckère to the Executive at its session of 28th February 1928, and met with unanimous acceptance. It ran as follows :

“In the atmosphere of an intense struggle between nationalities and a mutual embitterment on the part of nationalities, which still prevails in Soviet Ukraine under the influence of the appalling acts perpetrated in the civil war and the Jewish pogroms, in this atmosphere it is doubly necessary for socialist parties aiming at representing the interests of the working-class in the fight for the liberation of their nations, in which they must take part, to preserve their independence towards the universal bourgeois-nationalist movement, and to avoid everything which might give the working masses the impression that the socialist party was identifying itself with bourgeois jingoism and its national tactics. Only by a sharp and distinct division from the incitement to nationalism practised by the capitalist and bourgeois parties—which are striving to divert the masses from the class-war and to mobilise them for the national fight—only thus is it possible for the socialist parties to form a “third power” between and above the conflicting factions of nationalism.

In order to fight successfully nationalism and reaction it is essential that the socialist parties of the individual nations in the countries of the Soviet Union should enter into relations with one another, which will strengthen the present confidence and solidarity of the masses of the workers.”

The necessity of the tactics expounded in this resolution is becoming day by day more obvious as regards the Socialist parties of all nationalities both in Soviet Ukraine and throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union jingoist currents are increasing to disquieting proportions as a reaction against the bolshevist regime, which is in the main of foreign nationality and hostile to the peasants. But in the milieus of the Ukrainian exiles likewise several tendencies are raising their head, and the foundation of several permanent fascist periodicals has already come to pass. Accordingly the task of Ukrainian socialism consists not only in convincing public opinion within the Ukraine itself of the mischief of the jingoist reaction, but equally in opening the campaign against reaction among the exiles outside the Ukraine.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

*Socialist Revolutionaries*, likewise illegal in the Ukraine, not affiliated to the L. S. I.

*Communist Party of the Ukraine*, (177,000 members in 1919, according to the Communist International).

*Literature :*

Manifesto of the Ukrainian Socialist Labour Party to the Socialist Labour Congress in Hamburg, 1923.

"The Famine in the Ukraine", Berlin 1923 (German, English).

I. Mazepa : Bolshevism and the Russian Occupation in the Ukraine, Berlin 1923 (in German).

P. Fedenko : "The National and Social Struggle for Freedom in the Ukraine", Berlin 1923 (in German).

W. Doroshenko : "Revolucijna Ukraijnska Partija", Lemberg 1921 (in Ukrainian).

"Wijjna Ukraiijna" (Free Ukraine), a bulletin published occasionally by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Party.

"Juden und Ukraine" (letters of a Jewish socialist) by S. Golderman, Hamojn, 1921.

Die Lage der Juden in der Ukraine (a compilation of documents) Ukrainian press service, Berlin 1920 (in German).

O. Hermajse, "From the History of the Revolutionary Movement in the Ukraine", Kiev, 1927 (Ukrainian).

The Question of Ukrainian-Jewish relations before the Labour and Socialist International (published by the Foreign Delegation of the Ukrainian Socialist Party (Prague 1928, Ukrainian).

## United States of America.

### *Socialist Party (S. P.).*

Founded : in 1901.

Membership : 15,000 (including women).

Trade Union Membership : About 5,000,000 in the American Federation of Labor and outside of it. — (not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 1,000.

Membership of Women's Organisations : not separate.

Educational Organisations : Rand School of Social Science, New York.

Press : 1 English daily : Milwaukee Leader, 528 Juneau Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis. 1 Italian Daily, 1 Jewish Daily, 1 Finnish Daily and several weekly publications in different languages.

Official Organ : "The Leader Appeal", 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Parliamentary Representation : Senate 0 out of 96, Congress 1 out of 435.

Voting Strength : see details below (Universal suffrage for men and women from the age of 21 years).

Ordinary Congress : Every four years, normally in the month of May.

Party Executive : Chairman : Victor L. Berger, Secretary : H. Henry ; International Secretary : Morris Hillquit ; Head of Youth Organisation : Louis Robinowitz. Members : Berger, Hillquit, Hoan, Oneal, Roewer, Lilith Wilson, McLevy, Sharts, J. H. Maurer.

Party Headquarters : 2,653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.  
Representatives in the L. S. L. : Berger, Hillquit (E.).

The Socialist Party of the United States has not yet fully recovered from the ravages caused by the government terrorism during and immediately after the war and from the division in its ranks provoked by the Communists. One of the principal reasons why the process of recovery has been slower in the United States than in the countries of Europe is to be found in the extraordinary wave of post-war prosperity, which has also been reflected in a substantial increase of wages for some sections of the working class. The all-absorbing pursuit of wealth by the middle classes and the sustained struggle of the workers to maintain their relatively high standard of life coupled with the general disappointment over the results of the war "to save democracy" have created an atmosphere of crass materialism unrivalled even in that most materialistic of all countries—the United States. The period of eight years since the formal conclusion of peace has been one of profound political and spiritual indifference and general cynicism. Hence the triumphant election of such colourless persons as presidents Harding and Coolidge and hence also the retrogression of all radical, humanitarian and idealist movements, including those of trade unionism and socialism.

But the condition of general reaction could not last forever. Already we are beginning to see unmistakable signs of a definite turn of the tide. The fools' paradise in which the American people have



lived since the war is fast collapsing. The spirit of dissatisfaction and militant opposition is gradually awakening among the working masses.

Many causes are contributing to this change of attitude. The much vaunted American prosperity, which has never been general for all sections of the workers, is slowly but definitely waning. The system of "rationalisation" or "scientific management" of our industries has increased the productivity of American labour without a corresponding expansion of the market, with the result, that millions of workers have become "superfluous". Unemployment is assuming alarming proportions; the number of the jobless workers is variously estimated between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000. This condition is naturally a standing and grave menace to the stabilised standard of the workers' lives. Already wage cuts have been effected in some industries and strikes to resist wage reductions have been lost in others. A notable example of the latter is the case of the coal miners who have now been on strike for almost a year and who seem to be losing their battle in spite of a wonderfully persevering and heroic fight.

Politically the ruling classes have overreached themselves to the point of recklessness. Taking advantage of the passive attitude of the workers our courts have annulled one vital labor law after another under the pretext that they offend against the constitution; our legislatures have turned a deaf ear to all demands of the workers for legislative relief and the administration, national and local, Republican and Democrat, are hardly taking pains to disguise their maladministration and outright corruption.

The Socialist Party, which is practically the only party of serious opposition in the United States, has taken full advantage of these conditions and of the nascent spirit of unrest. Through numerous public statements and proclamations, in its press and in meetings and demonstrations it has exposed the reactionary and corrupt policies of the ruling classes and their political parties and called on the workers to rally to its banner. The response has on the whole been quite gratifying and has expressed itself in some increase of membership, in a more friendly attitude on the part of some trade unions and in other ways.

In the presidential elections of this year the Socialist Party will participate officially and independently for the first time in eight years. The last time the party conducted an independent presidential campaign was in 1920, when its candidate, Eugene V. Debs, then in prison under a sentence of ten years for opposing the war, polled about 1,000,000 votes. In 1924 the socialist Party supported the candidacy of the late Robert M. La Follette, who was actively backed by organized labour.

This year the Socialist Party in a well-attended and enthusiastic convention named Norman Thomas for President and James H. Maurer for Vice-President of the United States. Both candidates

are excellent campaigners and are well and favorably known in the labor movement. Organizations for their support are in existence or in process of formation in practically all of the fortyeight states of the union. The party has mapped out a very comprehensive campaign and its prospects of success seem bright. Simultaneously it has remodelled and liberalised its form of organisation and made the admission for new members easier. As all these changes are of very recent date their concrete results cannot yet be ascertained. We hope to be able to report a substantial progress after the election in November.

In the ensuing presidential campaign the socialist party will be the only serious political party of labour. The Farmer-Labour Party, which for a time seemed to be giving promise of growth, has practically ceased to exist, has no real organisation outside of the state of Minnesota and will not attempt to name a candidate for president. The Social Labour Party is a historic survival of the old party of that name, which closed its active career in 1900. It has a handful of members and no political strength or influence.

The Workers' Party, which is the official name of the Communist Organisation in the United States, has nominated candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, but it is safe to predict that it will poll a very insignificant vote. While the American communists have in the past shown enough strength to sow discord in the ranks of the workers of foreign origin and to cause considerable mischief in the socialist and labour movement, they have been entirely impotent to build up an independent political force or to accomplish any constructive purpose whatsoever. About two years ago they managed to obtain control of some important trade-unions in the needle-industries, but their management was so incompetent and disastrous, that they were soon driven out of office. Today they stand totally discredited in the labour movement and without any foothold in American politics.

A little less than a half of the whole membership of the party is organised in foreign language federations: Finnish, Jugo-Slav, Jewish, Italian and Lithuanian. With regard to the question of coloured workers, the Party is opposed to their exclusion by the great trade unions of the white workers.

The parliamentary activities of the Party devolve principally upon Comrade Victor L. Berger, its only representative in the national legislature. He has submitted proposals in Congress for the repeal of the law on espionage, for old age pensions, for the humanisation of the immigration laws, for the release and restoration of full rights of citizenship to all political prisoners etc. These resolutions while meeting with no success in Congress have attracted considerable public attention to the socialist platform. Comrade Berger further introduced a motion demanding an investigation into the circumstances surrounding the trial and conviction of Sacco and

Vanzetti. The Socialist Party took a prominent part in efforts to prevent the execution of these two men. In the same connection the International cabled on the 9th August, 1927, to President Coolidge a demand that there should be no execution in the case of men of whose innocence more than half the world was convinced.

On October 20th, 1926, the Party lost its veteran leader, Eugene V. Debs, who was one of its founders in 1901. At the funeral service Hillquit spoke on behalf of the International, which had sent a cable of condolence to the Party on the death of its devoted leader. As successor to Debs Comrade Berger was elected Chairman of the party's Executive Committee. On October 20th, 1927, the first anniversary of Debs' death, the Party held a "Debs Memorial Day", which inaugurated a series of special propaganda meetings continuing up to November 5th, Debs' birthday.

Efforts have been made to start youth organisations, and there is now a small nucleus of 1,000 members covering several states organised as the Young People's Socialist League.

In the international sphere the Party has declared its solidarity with the workers of China and Mexico, and in a Manifesto issued in January, 1927, has denounced the American government's treatment of Nicaragua, and called upon farmers, workers and all liberty-loving Americans to insist upon a constructive and democratic foreign policy, the cornerstone of which should be the principle of "No Intervention". The party has repudiated the method followed by the United States Government of settling war debts upon an arbitrary basis with discrimination in favour of reactionary governments.

At the 1926 elections the Party had candidates in 24 states: Comrade Berger was re-elected to Congress for Milwaukee, and the socialist vote in New York rose to 50,930, a gain of 33 per cent. compared with 1924. The municipal elections of November, 1927, marked likewise a considerable advance by the socialist organisations. In New York City, the socialist poll rose by nearly 7,000 votes: and the socialist poll for the Governorship of the State of New York increased by some 4,000 as compared with 1926. In the large mining centre of Reading, in the state of Pennsylvania, the control of the municipality has for the first time passed into the hands of the Socialists, whose candidate has become Mayor of the city.

*Other Workers' Parties:*

Farmer Labour Party, founded 1919. No representatives in Parliament.  
Workers' Party, founded by the communists in December 1921: the official communist organisation. No parliamentary representative.  
Socialist Labour Party: founded 1888.

*Literature:*

American Labor Year Book: 1926, 1927, 1928.  
Report of Party Convention of 1928 published by the Socialist Party.  
"Walls and Bars" by Eugene V. Debs, published by the Socialist Party.

## **Yugo-Slavia.**

### *Socialist Party.*

(Socijalistička Partija Jugoslavije.)

Founded : in 1921 by unification of the earlier independent Socialist parties in the territories which together have formed the new Yugo-Slav State.

Membership : 4,000 (including 300 women).

Trade Union Membership : 40,000 (besides about 20,000 under communist influence, not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.).

Membership of Youth Organisations : 1,500.

Membership of Women's Organisations : in existence.

Press : 5 Weeklies, 1 paper appearing twice weekly, 1 paper appearing twice weekly in German.

Official Organ : none.

Parliamentary Representation : One representative.

Voting Strength : 23,000 October 1927 (Proportional representation for men).

Ordinary Congress : every two years.

Party Executive : President : Dr. Nedeljko Košanin, University Professor.

Party Headquarters : Dr. Zivko Topalovic, Bokelsjika 4, Beograd.

Representation in the L. S. I. : Topalovic (E.).

The political situation of Yugo-Slavia is determined by two decisive circumstances. The country is emerging from the national democratic revolution ; however, in consequence of the cultural and religious differences between the various races, this revolution moves only with the utmost difficulty towards its goal—the establishment of a greater South-Slav State. On the other hand the national revolution was consummated in another direction as the winding-up of the war under the guidance of the dynasty. Thus Yugo-Slavia's constitution is in a sense self-contradictory, since it endeavours to fit the monarchy into a democratic apparatus, a monarchy moreover which represents a living force, especially in the eyes of the great masses of the peasantry, as the promoter of the recent land reform.

The attempt by the communists to use this country as the lever for revolution in the Balkans resulted in the departure of important sections of the working-class from the democratic ranks, which in this manner suffered substantial decline. Simultaneously, however, the peasants who for the time being had satisfied their economic appetites in consequence of the land reform, withdrew from political activity. Thus it came about that democracy stood defenceless against the aggrandizement of the dynasty and of military circles.

Moreover, the conditions in the Balkans in respect of foreign politics worked in the same direction. In face of the menace of advance by fascist Italy in the Balkans, in face also of the dangers involved for the South-Slav State by the fascist system of alliances in the Balkan Peninsula itself, the national impulse of self-defence

went to strengthen the military monarchy. Instead of endeavouring by understanding with the other Balkan States to establish a uniform line of defence against fascist imperialism, a feverish preparation of military defensive measures was undertaken. This circumstance likewise helped the military monarchy to become more and more the dominant power in the State.

In such a situation the Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia has to contend with an extremely difficult task. It has to assert itself against the political indifference of the masses of the working population, an indifference inevitably consequent on the disillusionment at the failure of the previous communist leadership. It has likewise to struggle against the repression of democracy by governments which use the power of the state against any opposition and in the first instance against the working-class. And concurrently with all this it has to ward off all endeavours by the communists to obtain by every kind of manoeuvre renewed influence on the resurgent labour movement.

Nor are the tasks of the Party less heavy in the realm of foreign politics. On the one hand, the attacks of Italian fascism and the encouragement of these by its reactionary vassals in the Balkans, the military system of alliances in which Yugo-Slavia is entangled, and on the other the conflicts of nationality make the struggle for the preservation of peace a standing and arduous duty of Yugo-Slav socialism. The danger of war in the Balkans arising especially from the Italo-Albanian Treaty, has on several occasions occupied the attention of the Labour and Socialist International. In a manifesto of February 1927 the Executive of the L. S. I. clearly stated its attitude in this question.

Despite these enormous obstacles the Party has moved upwards. The organisation has been restored, the membership relatively to 1925 has more than doubled. Although the advances made in the various spheres of work are uneven, yet the consolidation of the Party is visible on all hands.

Thus during the period reported, the Party has managed to achieve a number of considerable successes. After an interval of three years it was possible once again at the parliamentary elections of 11th September, 1927, to introduce into parliament a socialist representative, comrade Jossif Petejan, whose activity at once made itself felt in the whole life of the Party, especially in its propagandist work. He has continually succeeded in compelling the government to discuss vital questions in parliament and thereby to disclose its hostile intentions towards the working-class.

At the municipal elections in Maribor on 18th December, 1927, the Party gained in the town itself 750 votes compared with the previous elections, thereby increasing its representation from 4 to 12 seats and becoming the second strongest group in the Council

Chamber. In the district of Maribor the increase of votes amounted to 2,532. Throughout the whole country the last local elections brought to the Party some 25,000 votes and approximately a hundred seats.

These facts support the view that the labour movement's period of disablement which ensued on the defeat of the movement led by communists, is now an end and that under socialist leadership it is slowly but surely moving forwards.

*Other Workers' Parties :*

Communist Party, illegal. After the dissolution of the communist party (1923) the "Independent Workers' Party" was founded. The right wing of this Party was subsequently expelled. At the last elections the independent Workers' Party obtained 25,000 votes, no seat.

*Literature :*

International Information : I. I. 1927 pp. 261, 348 and 509.

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General Summary. (1) (Arranged according to membership of Parties affiliated to the L. S. I.)

Table I

IV. 156

Countries	Population in Millions (1)			Workers belonging to various Organisations (2)	Membership of Affiliated Parties	Women (included in total Membership)	Membership of Youth-Organisations (3)	Trade Unions (4)		Franchise		Votes of Parties affiliated to L. S. I.		Total Number of Members of Parliament	Members of Parliament from affiliated Parties		Total Number of Members of the Upper House (5)	Upper House (5) Members from affiliated Parties		Daily Newspapers	
	A	B	C					D	E	F	G	H	I		P = Proportional Representation W = Women R = Restricted (6)	L		M	N		O
				in Millions	Percent of Population	Affiliated to the I. P. T. U.	Not affiliated to the I. P. T. U.							Percentage of Population enfranchised			Exact Number			%	
<b>A. Parties with Trade Unions as Collective Members.</b>																					
Great Britain	45.50	5.53	13.6	3,388,286		300,000 (8)	12,000	4,163,994			F.	L.	5,487,620	34.0	615	160	26.0			2	
Belgium		7.88	0.73	9.6	597,971	80,000	24,600	514,841			F.		820,650	39.4	187	78	41.7			8	
Hungary		8.62	0.28	3.3	138,472	22,000	3,000	122,156			B.		126,854		245	14	5.7	153	60	39.2	
Iceland		0.1	0.004	4.2	4,900	910	150	4,500			B.		6,000		42	8	11.9			1	
British Guiana		0.31			1,073		33				B.									1	
<b>B. Parties based on Individual Membership.</b>																					
Germany	63.10	6.90	11.5	867,671	181,541	55,342	4,076,971				P. F.		9,146,166		491	183	31.2			195	
Austria	6.75	1.04	16.0	683,786	225,200	30,977	156,392				P. F.		1,539,635	42.3	165	71	43.0	50	20	40.0	
Sweden	6.07	0.45	7.5	202,338	26,018	41,223	492,029				P. F.		725,844	40.9	230	105	45.7	150	52	34.7	
Czecho-Slovakia	14.35	1.67	12.3	184,960	44,549	30,087	565,264				P. F.		1,042,443		300	46	15.3	150	23	15.3	
Denmark	3.48	0.31	9.4	148,492	48,469	11,328	309,886				P. F.		497,106	37.2	149	53	33.0	76	25	32.9	
France	40.93	1.07	2.7	99,106	600	3,964	600,000	300,000			B.		1,692,960 (10)		612	100	16.3	300	17	5.7	
Poland	29.59	0.54	1.9	63,406 (9)	12,100	16,200	289,000				(P. F.)		1,115,000		444	69	15.5	111	10	9.0	
Holland	7.53	0.52	7.3	52,904	15,364	6,725	209,614				P. F.		706,704	22.9	100	24	24.0	50	11	22.0	
Finland	3.55	0.05	1.4	37,722	10,133	4,193		75,846			P. F.		267,572	28.3	200	60	30.0				
Switzerland	3.96	0.26	6.7	36,072	1,550	600	165,692				P.		195,768	25.0	198	49	24.8	44	2	4.5	
Bulgaria	5.48	0.05	1.0	30,126	1,490 (7)	1,550	2,500	35,000			(P.)		60,000		272	10	3.7			15	
Palestine (Poale Zion)	0.86			22,500 (13)	500		26,700								201	54	26.9			1	
America (U. S.)	118.02	3.61	3.5	15,000	included	1,000		5,000,000			P.		(1,000,000)		435	1	0.2	96	0	4	
Rumania	17.22	0.05	0.3	13,000	included	300	36,000				(P.)		49,752		369	0	0.0	170	0	2	
Argentina	10.35	0.12	1.4	10,000	included	2,500	120,000	10,000			B.		90,000		158	2	1.3	30	1	3.3	
Spain	22.29	0.45	2.1	7,964		1,500	221,000				B.										
Danzig	0.40			5,418	950	450	30,000				P. F.		61,588		120	42	35.0			1	
Latvia	1.87	0.04	2.4	5,000	950	510	22,000				P. F.		260,000	33.0	100	33	33.0			3	
Estonia	1.12	0.03	2.7	4,500	800	500	6,000				P. F.		119,914	22.9	100	24	24.0			0	
Yugo-Slavia	12.80	0.06	0.5	4,000	300	1,500	40,000	20,000			P.		25,000		313	1	0.3			1	
China	450.00	0.30	0.1	3,500																0	
Greece	7.00			2,800	260	200	50,000				B.		7,800								
Portugal	5.78	0.04	0.6	2,500	included			78,000			B.										
Lithuania	2.25			2,000		400	(6,000)						(170,000)		(78)	(15)	19.2			0	
Luxemburg	0.27	0.01	5.4	1,155	65	425	13,398				P. F.				52	12	23.1			1	
<b>C. Illegal Parties and Emigrant Organisations.</b>																					
Armenia																					
Georgia																					
Italy	40.43																				
Russia	112.00	6.60	5.0					10,441,700 (11)													
Ukraine																					
Hungarian Emigration																					
<b>Total</b>				<b>6,637,622</b>		<b>973,759</b>							<b>25,568,209</b>		<b>6,176</b>	<b>1,181</b>	<b>19.1</b>			<b>354</b>	

(1) For Notes see the following page

Table II

## Special Table of Countries with several Parties.

Countries	Population in Millions (†)		Workers in various Organisations (‡)		Membership of the Parties Affiliated to the L. S. I.	Women included	Membership of Youth Organisations (¶)	Trade Unions; to the I. F. T. U. (¶)		Suffrage		Votes of Parties affiliated to L. S. I.		Members of Parliament Total Number	Parliamentary Members of the Parties affil. to the L. S. I.		Upper House (¶) Total Number of Members	Upper House (¶) Represent. of the Parties affil. to the L. S. I.		Daily News-papers					
	B	C	D	E				F	G	H	I	K	L		M	N		O	P		Q	R	S	T	U
England	45.50	5.63	13.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	P.	—	—	—	615	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Labour Party	—	—	—	3,388,286 (12)	300,000	12,000	4,365,619	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	160	—	—	—	—	2					
I. L. P.	—	—	—	30,000	14,000	7,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(29) (14)	(47)	—	—	—	—					
S. D. P.	—	—	—	2,000	included	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Fabian Society	—	—	—	1,899	in. J. u. d. e. d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Austria	6.75	1.04	16.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	P. P.	—	—	—	165	—	—	50	—	—	—					
German S. P.	—	—	—	669,586	221,500	28,162	756,392	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	71	43.0	20	40.0	6	1					
Czech S. P.	—	—	—	14,200	3,700	2,825	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Czecho-Slovakia	14.35	1.67	12.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	P. P.	—	—	—	300	—	—	150	—	—	—					
Czech S. P.	—	—	—	122,659	20,049	5,614	347,564	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	9.7	14	9.3	6	—					
German S. P.	—	—	—	65,151	24,000	22,973	210,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	6.7	9	6.0	7	—					
Ruthenian S. P.	—	—	—	5,150	350	—	4,200	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(1)	—	—	—	—	—					
Polish S. P.	—	—	—	2,100	150	1,500	3,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Hungary	8.52	0.28	3.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	B.	—	—	—	246	—	—	—	—	—	—					
S. D. P.	—	—	—	138,472	22,000	3,060	122,156	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	5.7	—	—	—	1					
Vilagossag	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Poland	29.59	0.54	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	(P. P.)	—	—	—	444	—	—	111	—	—	—					
Polish S. P.	—	—	—	55,000	9,600	15,000	276,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	63	14.2	10	9.0	4	—					
Independent S. P. (¶)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
German S. P.	—	—	—	8,406	2,500	1,200	13,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	0.7	—	—	—	2					
Russia	112.—	6.00	5.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Social Democrats	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
Social Revolutionaries	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					

## NOTES TO THE STATISTICAL SUMMARY:

(1) From the International Statistical Year-book 1927, League of Nations, Geneva, April, 1928. Table 1. (Estimate for 1926). — (2) The information in columns c and d is taken from the 4th Year-book of the I. F. T. U. (1926), based on population figures therein, and refer to trade union (including for example denominational) organisations; all at 31. XII. 1924. — (3) Individual members (The number affiliated through trade unions is considerably higher). — (4) Upper House (Senate) is taken into account only so far as it results from direct election or of election through directly elected representatives of the people. — (5) The figures are taken from the 5th Year-book of the I. F. T. U. (1927) in cases where no more recent information is available from the parties; they include consideration of trade unions of the "Amsterdam tendency" even if not affiliated to the I. F. T. U. — (6) Including the Farøe Islands. — (7) Restricted suffrage. — (8) See note 16. — (9) Not included in the membership of the Party, column e. — (10) In the first ballot. — (11) At 1. X. 1927. — (12) 4000 in Palestine, 6000 in America, 12,800 in Europe.

## TO THE SPECIAL SUMMARY:

(13) Trade unions as collective members. — (14) 113 out of the 160 members of parliament belonging to the Labour Party are individual members of the I. L. P. 29 of them were candidates nominated by the I. L. P. itself. — (15) Jointly with the P. P. S. on 14th March, 1928 in East Silesia. — (16) A section of the Independent S. P. united with the P. P. S. in 1928 so that at present no figures are available.



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**Third Congress of the Labour and Socialist International**  
**Reports and Proceedings**  
**Section V.**

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**Price 1 sh 6 d**

# **The Colonial Problem**

**Material submitted to the**  
**III<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the**  
**Labour and Socialist International**

**Brussels, August, 1928.**

**Special Edition**  
**with an Appendix including the Proceedings**  
**and the Resolution of the Congress**

VI:17  
F8

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**1928**  
**Published by the Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International**  
**Zurich**  
**Publications Department, Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square,**  
**London S. W. 1.**

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## I. The Questionnaire of the Colonial Commission.

The Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International at Marseilles (1925) resolved to place the colonial question on the Agenda of the next International Congress.

In pursuance of this resolution there was appointed by the Executive of the L. S. I., at its session in Zürich on 11th April 1926, a Commission which is to submit a Report on the colonial problem to the International Congress. This Commission consists of the following members: R. Abramovitch (Russia), Otto Bauer (Austria), William Gillies (Great Britain), Jean Longuet (France), Jules Mathieu (Belgium), G. E. Modigliani (Italy), Gustav Moeller (Sweden), W. H. Vliegen (Holland), Otto Wels (Germany). At the constitutive session W. H. Vliegen was elected Chairman and a provisional plan of work adopted.

At a session in Brussels on 9th September 1927, the Colonial Commission drew up a questionnaire, with a view to obtaining comprehensive information on a uniform basis on the situation in colonial areas and on the activities of the Labour Parties. It was intended that this questionnaire should be answered primarily by the socialist parties of those countries which at present possess colonies or mandates; but the socialist parties in colonial and mandated areas were of course to be entitled likewise to work out reports on the problems of their own country. It was indicated as desirable that such reports should be submitted to the party in the mother-country. The questionnaire includes only the points upon which the Commission, in its own view, absolutely requires information; it was, however, left open to the parties to add remarks on points not appearing in the questionnaire. The replies were to present: (1) The present situation in relation to the policy pursued by the governments. (2) The tactics of the Party. It was pointed out that the quotation of numerical and statistical data was of value.

In the introduction to the questionnaire it is stated that "the purpose . . . of this enquiry is to prepare the discussion of colonial problems for the next international congress, so as to enable it to arrive at a programme of constructive colonial policy able to lead to the realisation—with the least possible delay—of self-government and thus be able to lay the foundations of the independence of colonial peoples".

The questionnaire is as follows :

I. Political problems.

(1) Description of the systems of government which exist in the different types of native communities.

(2) Whether these systems of government will lead up to self-government of the native populations at the earliest possible date ? and if so how ?

## II. Development of the resources of the colonies.

(1) Native rights in the ownership and use of the land, and generally of the natural resources; freedom of labour, forced labour, compulsory migration, etc.

(2) Methods of levying and applying taxation in respect of both natives and foreigners ; application of the profits realised within the colony by capitalist enterprise.

(3) Does the state engage directly in economic enterprise and in what forms ?

(4) The "open door" ; customs tariffs, prohibitions, preferential treatment of the colonising power, freedom of capital, freedom of immigration ; civil and political status of settlers not belonging to the colonising power.

III. Improvement in the condition of the natives from the material, intellectual and hygienic point of view, etc.

IV. International responsibility in respect of the government of non-selfgoverning peoples; problems of mandates, the existing system, possibilities of extending the system. How are the present mandates administered ?

V. Freedom of opinion and Right of association.

VI. Is there any labour movement in your colonies? of what kind?

VII. Are there any problems of race or nationality ?

VIII. Does there exist in your colonies any movement in favour of self-government or national independence ?

IX. What system of military service exists in your colonies ? Is enlistment compulsory or voluntary ?

X. To what extent can native troops be used in war in the service of the colonising powers ?

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At its session of 2nd and 3rd June, 1928, the Colonial Commission agreed upon a draft resolution on the Colonial problem based upon the Memoranda received and on a thorough discussion. The resolution is to be submitted to the 1928 Congress in Brussels. The Draft is subjoined to the Memoranda.



## II. Memorandum submitted by the British Labour Party

(April 1928).

### A. British Empire (excluding India).

#### The British Colonial System.

##### The Problem of self-government.

(Question I. 1 & 2)

The control and direction of the British Empire rest in seven partner governments, none of which is entitled, to interfere in the internal affairs of any other, and which have, in theory at least, equal voices in connection with external affairs. These are Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland and Newfoundland. The authoritative statement of their position is :—

“They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs.”

(Summary of Proceedings, Imperial Conference, 1926,  
Cmd. 2768, p. 14.)

Theoretically, India has a similar status. It is dealt with in a separate memorandum.

The constitutional link between these partners is the Monarchy, which, however, is not permitted to exercise any authority, real power residing entirely in the Ministries and Legislatures.

The conduct of Colonial Affairs is in the main left with the Government of Great Britain. But others of the partners possess important Colonies, for example, New Guinea controlled by Australia, and Zululand by South Africa. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa hold mandates, for which they are directly responsible to the League of Nations, of which they are members. In addition several have subject populations within their borders. In the case of South Africa the subject race greatly outnumbers the whites and Asiatics.

The Colony of Southern Rhodesia with a population of 40,000 whites and 840,000 blacks has self-government (by the whites), but

has not yet attained full "Dominion status" (the technical term for equal partnership with Great Britain). While certain legal rights of interference on behalf of the native population have been retained by the Government of Great Britain, no effective means exist of enforcing these rights and they cannot be regarded as of any practical effect.

In consequence of the structure of the Empire, the British Labour Party is not directly concerned with Colonies, Mandates or subject races under the control of the Dominions or Southern Rhodesia. Their reply to the Questionnaire is occupied solely with those communities within the powers of the British Parliament. The huge and complex country of India is treated separately.

From a purely legal point of view, dependencies of Great Britain, apart from India, are classified as follows :

- (1) *Colonies*. British territory inhabited by British subjects.
- (2) *Protectorates*, which are technically foreign territory. The native inhabitants are not, and do not enjoy the rights of, British subjects. They are 'British protected persons'.
- (3) *Protected States*, the inhabitants of which owe allegiance to a local sovereign.
- (4) *Mandated Territories*.

There are also certain territories with anomalous and ill-defined status, not regarded as parts of the British Empire, though treated in many respects as such. Egypt and the Chinese concessions are examples.

This legal classification is not of much practical importance and bears no relation to the type of government. Generally speaking, however, there is an obvious connection between the industrial and social structure of a dependency and its political development. For these reasons the following division is often convenient.

#### A. DEPENDENCIES WITH A EUROPEAN CULTURE.

In the Mediterranean and West Indian Colonies, St. Helena, the Falkland Islands and Seychelles, the inhabitants are either Europeans or Europeanised Africans, speaking English or French. They are British subjects, European in culture, language, religion and industry. No question arises of 'natives'.

#### B. DEPENDENCIES WITH AN ORIENTAL CULTURE.

Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Malaya, Iraq and Hongkong have Asiatic civilisations and are passing through the same industrial stages as their great neighbours, India and China. Mauritius, largely inhabited by Indians, but with a Creole aristocracy, is intermediate between this and the previous category. Palestine presents somewhat similar problems.

### C. DEPENDENCIES INHABITED MAINLY BY ABORIGINES WITH PRIMITIVE CULTURE.

These are the African and Pacific territories which constitute the most urgent Colonial problem. They are :—

*West African.* Gambia ; Sierra Leone ; Gold Coast (with Ashanti and Northern Territory) ; Nigeria. The mandated territories of Togoland and British Cameroons are treated as parts of Gold Coast and Nigeria respectively.

*East and South African.* Somaliland ; Sudan ; Kenya ; Uganda ; Tanganyika ; Nyasaland ; Zanzibar ; Northern Rhodesia ; Bechuanaland ; Basutoland ; Swaziland. (Control of the Sudan is exercised through the Foreign Office, not the Colonial Office.)

*Pacific.* Fiji ; Gilbert Islands ; Tonga ; Solomon Islands ; North Borneo ; and Sarawak.

The political structure is modelled on the older forms of the British constitution. There is a Governor (who may be termed Commissioner or Resident) appointed by 'the Crown', in reality by the Minister in charge of Colonial affairs, "the Secretary of State for the Colonies", having under him a civil service, the superior members of which are appointed by the Minister, the subordinates by the Governor ; an Executive Council, which the Governor is bound to consult on all important matters ; and a Legislative Council which passes legislation, votes money, but without any right to initiate a vote, and has general rights of criticism, but no control over administration. In the less developed dependencies, the Legislative Council is dispensed with, legislation being effected by proclamations issued by the Governor. The Budgets are entirely separate from those of Great Britain and are not brought before the British Parliament.

The degree in which the local population participates in the government is determined partly by the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils and partly by the extent to which powers are allowed to remain with, or are delegated to, purely native governing bodies. The latter do not, of course, exist in the case of dependencies with a European culture.

Membership of the Legislative Council may be :

(1) Official. Usually the heads of the more important departments of government are members. They are bound to vote as directed by the Governor, if required.

(2) Unofficial, who may be either nominated or elected. Nominated members are appointed by the Governor, usually with a view to representation of capitalist or racial interests.

The Governor presides with both an original and a casting vote.

The Executive Council consists of the highest officials, sometimes with unofficial members added.

Except in a few West Indian Colonies, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has power to override the Legislature by decree, known as 'Order in Council'. This power is rarely used.

Dealing first with the European type of Colony, it should be noted that, while numerous, they are small, Jamaica being the only one with a population of more than 400,000. Malta has full internal self-government on Dominion lines. And three small West Indian islands possess Assemblies, wholly elected in restricted, but fairly wide, franchises which control legislation and finance. Similar constitutions formerly existed in some other islands, but have been withdrawn. In Jamaica, the Legislative Council consists of 6 official, 10 nominated and 14 elected members the electorate numbering 55,000 in a population of 858,000. The votes of 9 of the elected members can prevail on a question of finance; and on other matters the unanimous vote of the 14 can only be overridden if the Governor declares that the decision is of paramount importance—a description which is interpreted so as to cover comparatively trivial matters. In the Cyprus Council the elected members are in a majority of 15 to 9. In British Guiana the elected members are in a majority on financial matters only. In no others are elected members in a majority, a typical case being that of Trinidad with 13 official, 6 nominated and 7 elected members. Gibraltar and St. Helena have no Legislative Councils.

It cannot be said that any substantial advance towards self-government is taking place.

On the other hand, dependencies with an Oriental culture have shown some slight advance. In Ceylon, which is influenced by movement in India, the Legislative Council since 1923, consists of 14 official members, 3 nominated unofficial members, 11 members elected by special interests and 23 representing territorial constituencies. The franchise for the latter is restricted, less than 180,000 voters in a population of four and a half millions. The Executive Council has 5 official and 4 unofficial members, 3 of the latter being natives. A Special Commission has been appointed by the Imperial Parliament to consider proposals for the revision of the Constitution. In Iraq a native government has been organised on the lines of constitutional monarchy and complete self-government appears to be in sight. In Mauritius there are 8 official, 9 nominated and 10 elected by 11,366 voters in a population of nearly 400,000. On the other hand, the Legislative Councils in Hongkong and Malaya have no real elective elements. The numerous Malay States are regarded as Protected States, but are for the most part governed on ordinary Colonial lines in the name of the Sultans, whose power is shadowy. Several are, however, still ruled by Sultans on native lines with more or less British Control.

Some of the dependencies with a primitive culture are populous, for example; Nigeria with eighteen millions, the Sudan with six and a half millions, Tanganyika with four and a half millions. Usually the natives have not much part in the Legislative and Executive Councils and in some cases their native systems of government

have been replaced by autocratic control under the Governor. But more frequently a system of "indirect government" through native chiefs and councils is maintained and it is the avowed policy of the British Government to support and develop native organisations. While the methods vary enormously from place to place, it may be said that in general a tribe will have a Council of elders or village chiefs, with a Chief taken from an influential family at its head. This Chief and Council will have certain magisterial powers and, subject to supervision, control over local native affairs. Government orders to natives will be given by them in their own names and they will collect taxes, retaining a part for local purposes. The Chiefs of neighbouring tribes may meet as a district Council; perhaps, as in the Gold Coast and Fiji, to nominate native representatives on the Legislative Council of the Colony. In Nigeria and Uganda native parliaments for peoples numbering millions have considerable powers for regulating native affairs. In the Sudan, where government is largely military in character and there is no Legislative Council, most of the civil administration is carried out through native sheiks and chiefs administering tribal law according to tribal custom. The Sudan, it may be observed, is nominally under the joint control of Great Britain and Egypt, but the Egyptian share in its government is limited to payment of a contribution to revenue.

One of the most developed systems is in the Gold Coast. The natives are split up among a large number of small tribes, each of which is ruled by a chief with a council, selected according to native custom. The chief, if unsatisfactory, can be deposed by his tribe. The chiefs in each of the three provinces meet as a Provincial Council, at which each is attended by persons, whose business it is to watch his conduct and to report on it to the tribal council. The Provincial Councils, which have no administrative powers, elect six members of the Legislative Council, who in their turn are attended by watchmen. The supervision of the native governments is in the hands of a number of white District Commissioners, subordinate to Provincial Commissioners who are controlled by the Governor.

The Legislative Council of the Gold Coast consist of 15 officials, 5 nominated Europeans, 3 representatives of town natives and six chiefs selected as above.

The Gold Coast system is made possible by a wider spread of education than is usual in Africa, and by a general acquaintance with English, thus enabling linguistic barriers to be overcome. It is extremely difficult to organise effective native institutions of supertribal scope until a common language is understood and literacy is sufficiently advanced to allow of proper records and accounts. For this reason the Labour Party presses strongly for improvement

and extension of education, at present very backward in dependencies of primitive culture.

There is a measure of agreement among all parties in Britain that the policy of fostering native institutions is sound and that they should be so developed as to enable natives to take an increasing share in their Government. Advance is however slow, in some cases imperceptible. It is probable however that progress will be made, even under Capitalist Home Governments, in such areas as West Africa, where the settled European population is negligible, since the interests of the European merchant are not antagonistic at present to native political evolution. Where however a local population of European or Asiatic capitalists desires to exploit native labour, they invariably endeavour to obtain control of the Colonial Government, and are able to secure support from their class in Great Britain, tempered fortunately by the self-interest of those whose advantage lies in native trade. It is certain however that capitalist interests in Great Britain will resist any progress towards native self-government likely to interfere with their profits. At the present moment capitalist advantage lies in the increase in native population and trade which accompanies a form of government acceptable to native sentiment, while financial interests are secured by the presence of the leading merchants and planters on the Legislative Councils as nominated members.

There has always been a crucial point in the evolution of self-governing institutions of the British type. This is the change from Crown Colony Government in which the Governor and his officials have—subject to the Secretary of State—absolute control of administration, as distinct from legislation and finance, to Responsible Government, in which administration is assigned wholly to Ministers appointed by the local residents or by a section of them. When a Legislative Council has reached a stage when elected members control or seriously influence legislation and finance, a conflict inevitably arises with the Executive appointed by the British Minister. This struggle may lead to responsible government when the electorate is white, as in the Dominions and Malta; or, when the electorate is coloured, to their supersession. Such conflicts now occur in British Guiana, Jamaica, Ceylon and Kenya. The Labour Party holds that Responsible Government should not be given unless the elected are to a considerable extent representative of and elected by the native population and in such cases means should be found of sharing the administration between the nominees of the Secretary of State and the elected members, so that the latter may gain experience in the direction of government departments as a stepping stone to full self-government.

## Problems of Race or Nationality

### Movements for self-government or National Independence.

#### (Question VII & VIII.)

The following answer to these questions must be taken to exclude India, self-governing British Dominions and mandated territories for which the British Government is not responsible.

It is convenient to take these two questions together. Racial questions in the British territories administered by the Colonial Office under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as well as territories administered under a Mandate by Great Britain, vary in kind and complexity.

#### A. MANDATED TERRITORIES.

*Iraq*, a purely Arab country, though under Mandate to Great Britain, is recognised as an independent kingdom in treaty alliance with Great Britain and will presently apply for membership of the League of Nations and the termination of the Mandate.

The position of *Palestine*, unlike that of *Iraq*, is complicated by the existence of two principal races, each professing a different religion, and by the fact that the country is regarded by three great religions as the Holy Land. The Arabs, professing Islam, largely outnumber the Jews, who, however, are far the more active, intelligent and enterprising community. Though the strategic question is regarded as one of great importance by the mandatory power, *Palestine* like *Iraq* should be given self-government, having regard to the terms of the Mandate and of the Balfour Declaration.

*Tanganyika*, in East Africa, is administered under the provisions of the Mandate. Recently, the Governor has been given authority to announce to the native population that Great Britain regards the territory as an integral part of the British Empire, subject only to such limitations as are imposed by the Mandate. There exists, however, in the Highland area a small white planting population, mostly British, who, if they cannot exercise a more powerful influence than at present over the Administration, will seek to have this area separated from *Tanganyika* and administered as a part of the neighbouring *Kenya Colony*. In the Legislative Council of *Tanganyika* the non-official members are nominated by the Governor. The native population is not directly represented at all, and the small white population is more numerously represented than is the very much larger and older Indian population. There is no present demand for or possibility of self-government in *Tanganyika*, but there exists a movement among the white population for some kind of closer union or federation with the neighbouring British Territories under the leadership of *Kenya*, with its notoriously reactionary policy of white racial domination.

In West Africa, the *Cameroons* and *Togoland* are administered on the benevolent lines of the neighbouring British West African Territories. Problems of race and self-government do not exist.

#### B. BRITISH COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES.

In several of the British Colonies problems of race have arisen or may arise owing to the introduction between 1830 and 1917 of Indians under the system of indentured Labour, a form of semi-slavery.

In *British Guiana*, for example, the Indians number approximately forty per cent of the total population, the remainder being negro or coloured, with the exception of a very small white community. A system of government, which is neither Crown Colony nor responsible, exists. Following the report of a Commission, the Imperial Parliament has passed an Act giving the Colonial Office Power to amend the Constitution, and conferring upon the Governor 'reserve power' subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. Here there is a growing movement, especially among the coloured and Indian population, towards responsible government.

In *Trinidad*, the proportion of Indians to the total population is rather less.

In the *West Indies*, with their mixed populations, varying forms of Crown Colony Government prevail. There is a tendency to press for an extension of power in the direction of responsible government, with the prospect of at least partial success in the case of the more advanced colonies.

In *Fiji*, the Indian population equals the native Fijian, there also being a small dominant white population highly organised.

In *Mauritius*, the Indian population is about 250,000, against a Creole and coloured population of about 100,000 with a very small white group, mostly of French origin.

The position in *Ceylon* is rather peculiar. There are nearly four million Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils and Moormen with a very much smaller Indian population, a still smaller community of Burghers, or people of mixed race, and a small group of wealthy and influential white planters. There is a strong movement towards responsible or self-government on the lines of Southern Rhodesia and Malta, and a Special Commission is at present investigating the subject.

In the West African Colonies of *Nigeria*, *Sierra Leone*, *Gold Coast*, and *Gambia* generally, there is no racial problem.

The small white community of *Southern Rhodesia* has recently been granted responsible government, and the native population is directly under the administration of the local government, though the Secretary of State for the Colonies has a theoretical veto in



respect of racial legislation, which, however, he is expected never to exercise.

*Malta* likewise enjoys responsible government.

In *Hongkong*, the population is essentially Chinese, some elements of which are under the political or economic influence of the Chinese Nationalists centred at Canton.

The British Protectorates of *Basutoland* and *Bechuanaland* have a certain amount of autonomy under the rule of native paramount chiefs. The strongest desire of the people of these Protectorates is that they shall not be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Union of South Africa, with its well-known reactionary native policy, based upon white predominance.

Part of the Protectorate of *Uganda*, too, enjoys a measure of autonomy, under its native King and Parliament (called "Lukiko").

The Protectorate of *Zanzibar*, likewise has a measure of autonomy, with its Sultan and local legislature. Here, though the population is mixed, with a large Indian element controlling its trade, there is no racial problem.

In the African territories generally, the inhabitants are not yet in a position to govern themselves. In many places, e. g. *Kenya*, a grant of self-government in the full sense would merely mean that as in Southern Rhodesia, the native inhabitants would fall under the domination of the white settlers, who, having already acquired economic predominance, would also usurp all political power. The immediate grant of self-government in the full sense would be disastrous. In most places, were the British Government to abandon these African territories, political power would be seized by local groups of white adventurers, and used for the exploitation of the Natives. Moreover during British administration of these territories, native institutions and native organs of government have been destroyed and the native populations have not yet been educated to deal with the new conditions introduced in these territories. The sudden abandonment of the African would lead to complete anarchy. The policy to be aimed at, therefore, is the preparation as rapidly as possible of the African peoples for self-government. This can be done by :—

(a) Preventing political power falling into the hands of the immigrant minorities, who will use it for the furtherance of their own political and economic interests. Accordingly, the central legislative and executive power should remain completely in the hands of the supreme government, responsible to Parliament. This responsibility should be carefully guarded and vigilantly applied. No measure of responsible government should be granted to these territories unless and until it is certain that the government will be responsible to and controlled by the African inhabitants.

(b) The general and political education of the inhabitants by means that should aim at making them as rapidly as possible capable of understanding and dealing with the political, economic, and social conditions of the modern world which are the result of the penetration of Africa by European civilisation.

Whilst the principle of trusteeship for natives, in Africa and elsewhere, should always, pending the completion of this educational process, animate the administration, and the interests of the indigenous inhabitants should be and remain paramount, immigrants should, as among themselves, enjoy complete equality with each other, and where electoral institutions exist the franchise should be general and equal, and the electoral roll a common one, with mixed electorates, to the entire exclusion of communal or community franchises, whether similar or different. The latter, whilst tending to establish and preserve racial privilege, arrogance and domination, have also the effect of perpetuating and emphasising racial and communal differentiation and segregation.

Nowhere in any of the territories referred to in this memorandum, except in Iraq, is there any movement for complete political independence.

#### Mandates.

##### (Question IV.)

The Mandatory system as now worked is open to criticism in some respects, but in the main it is based on right principles. It represents the idea that the administration of tropical dependencies, before they reach the stage of self-government, is a *trust*; and, moreover, that it is a matter of *international* concern, and should not be left solely as a field for national exploitation. It would thus help, if really carried out, to remove the constant danger of war, which is involved in the rivalry of capitalist groups under the system of economic imperialism.

The immediate value of the Mandate system is that the administration of certain colonial dependencies is periodically brought before the *public opinion* of the world. An additional advantage lies in the *pooling* of the experience of the various controlling Governments.

We believe that in the Mandated territories under the British Empire the provisions of the respective Mandates are, on the whole, strictly observed, and full reports given; but in some cases, particularly in that of Tanganyika (formerly German East Africa) there is a powerful and growing agitation, both in the territory, and in England, in favour of treating the territory, as a part of the British Empire, restricting the access of foreigners to the territory, and approximating its native policy to that of the neighbouring (purely

British) Colonies. Labour opposes this agitation, and is in favour of an explicit understanding that the sovereignty in Mandated territory is vested in the League of Nations.

The adoption of the Mandate system under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations makes it necessary to consider even in the case of British dependencies the possibility of some kind of international control. Under Article 22 the mandate system is, of course, applied only to the late German colonies. But it is applied because the Peace Conference adopted the principle which has already been put forward by Labour, namely, that the "well-being and development of" the peoples of African territories is "a sacred trust of civilisation", and that the European State administering the territories must be considered only as a trustee or mandatory answerable for its trust to the rest of the civilised world. But once this is done, and if the professions of Article 22 are honestly carried out by the League and its mandatories, the system must have great effect upon the status of European States in non-mandated African tropical territory. The implications of the mandate system and its honest fulfilment must be so important that it would be not only inconsistent but practically impossible for any State to refuse to accept in non-mandated territory the same obligations as are accepted under the mandates.

The principle of trusteeship under a League of Nations cannot be confined arbitrarily to particular pieces of territory ; it must be extended to cover all tropical Africa, and ultimately the right of the community of nations to supervise the due carrying out by the trustee of the obligations of its trust must be frankly recognised.

Meanwhile, the authority of the Permanent Mandates Commission as a supervisory authority should be strengthened, and they should hear evidence in support of petitions addressed to them by aggrieved groups in the territories in question.

## **Land and Labour.**

(Question II. 1.)

### **A. THE PRESENT SITUATION.**

With regard to native rights in the ownership and use of land, the history of the British Empire does not differ greatly from that of other Empires. The British Empire played a leading part in the Slave Trade, for instance, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its oppression of primitive peoples, particularly in South Africa, in early days, in Newfoundland and in Tasmania has not been less atrocious than that which has been inflicted upon weaker races in other parts of the world.

We believe, however, that in more recent times, certain parts of the British Empire have adopted a policy with regard to land and labour which is worthy of special study, because it may throw light on the right solution of these problems in the future. The parts referred to are mainly to be found in British West Africa. The Colonies in that region grew gradually out of mere trading posts. The exchange of products was the principal object in view. The possession of the land was not desired. The result is that the land and its wealth are still the property of the native tribes.

This policy, which may be called the "West African Policy", "favours the preservation of native rights in the land, assisting the native population to develop the resources of the land by growing crops or gathering products for export. It aims at promoting a native community of agriculturists and arboriculturists and at fostering the growth of large native industries. It does not seek to exclude European enterprise and capital, but to confine them within the limits where they can be usefully exercised without infringing the liberties or arresting the progress of the native peoples. It encourages the European merchant and issues licences to Europeans for the collection of certain forest products for a term not exceeding ten years, the native communities, which are consulted as to the issue of the licence, being credited with a portion of the fees. Subject to the discretion of the native community affected, and to the supervision of the Executive authority, leases are issued to Europeans for purposes of cultivation, not exceeding one square mile in area per applicant, and with the proviso that no one person or group of persons shall hold more than three square miles.

"The basis on which this policy rests is that the land belongs to the native communities which inhabit it, and that the paramount object of Government must be to encourage and assist native communities in the beneficial use of the land for their own advantage and profit. It is, in its broad outlines, the policy which, as will be seen below, must be adopted and extended by the Labour Movement". (*Labour and the Empire : Africa*, published by the Labour Party.)

In South East and East Africa, north of Zululand, however, the territory was mainly acquired "during that violent outbreak of economic imperialism which afflicted all the Great Powers of Europe during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. The objects of the acquisition were quite clearly stated by Mr. Chamberlain and other exponents of this imperialism : they were economic, the provision of markets for the products of British industry, sources of raw materials for British industry and profitable fields of investment for British capital. The keynote of this imperialist policy was therefore the exploitation of tropical possessions for the benefit of British capital and British industry". (ib.)

As a result, another policy has arisen, which may be called the "European" policy. "It favours the economic development of the country by European syndicates and planters through "hired" or forced native labour. It confines the native population to "reserves" and gives to that population no security of title even within the "reserves". Outside the "reserves" it sells or leases to European syndicates and individuals immense areas of land. It encourages and assists European syndicates and individuals to procure native labour. It does little or nothing to encourage and assist the native population to make beneficial usage of the land for its own profit, and it nearly always leads directly to the detribalisation of the native. It does not aim at the creation of a self-respecting race of African producers secure in their possession of the land, but at the evolution of a race of servile labourers in European employ divorced from their land." The territories to which this policy applies most clearly are Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. (ib.) (1)

The methods by which pressure is brought to bear upon natives to make them work for European employers are as follows :—

(1) The power and influence of Government officials, acting sometimes through Chiefs who are paid by the Government and are therefore under its thumb, are used to apply pressure in the same direction, euphemistically described as "encouragement", "inducement", or "advice".

Sir E. B. Denham, Acting Governor of Kenya, recently made the following declaration (East African Standard, March 14th, 1925):

"There is the strongest moral obligation on the Government of the country to give the fullest assistance it can in securing to the European settler in this country the benefit of the developments which he has created to the lasting advantage of the Colony. I wish to make it perfectly clear that such is the policy of the Administration, and that Government expects every administrative officer to give all possible encouragement to the labour within their district to work on the lands which have been opened up by the settlers".

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(1) At the various dates since the middle of the 19th century, so-called "Responsible Self-Government" has been granted to various parts of South Africa. This now applies to most of the territory south of the Zambesi River—to the Union of South Africa, including Cape Colony, Natal and the former independent States of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; and also to German South West Africa, held by the Union under a "C" mandate. It does not include Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland. It further applies to Southern Rhodesia, to which self-government was extended in 1923, with some small reservations as to the rights of the natives. According to English Constitutional Theory, the British Electorate and the British House of Commons, being no longer responsible for the affairs of these territories, have no definite right of criticising defects or demanding improvements. At the same time, it is fully recognised in the Labour Movement that "Responsible Self-Government" is one thing where there is a white majority, and quite another thing where there is a majority of unfranchised natives. In the latter case, we reserve to ourselves the right to express opinions freely on matters affecting the interests of the native majority.

(2) Various forms of avowedly "forced" labour are from time to time added to the above.

(3) The position of a "squatter" (the only secure tenure of any kind obtainable by a native in, e. g., Kenya) is granted on condition of a certain number of months' wage-labour.

(4) Breach of labour contract is made a criminal offence. The offender is tracked down by the police, the process being facilitated by the obligation to carry identification papers, with finger prints, and a labour record made by the employer.

The general effect of the "European" policy, where it has been adopted in a greater or less degree, has been that the population over large areas has declined, that famines are frequent, and that tubercular, venereal and other diseases are rapidly spreading, largely owing to the migration of workers on a scale unknown before. Native "unrest" also flares up locally from time to time.

### Land Systems of the Empire.

Dependencies have been classified in the political memorandum as those with *European culture*—Mediterranean and West Indian Colonies, St. Helena, Falklands, Seychelles.

*Oriental Culture*—Hongkong, Straits, Malaya, Ceylon, Mauritius, Iraq (in many ways Palestine).

*Primitive Culture*—Africa and Pacific Dependencies.

*Land.* No very serious question arises in dependencies of European or Oriental culture.

The main difficulties arise in lands of primitive culture, mainly in those where a certain amount of European settlement is possible. Abuses occur along three lines :

(1) ignoring native rights altogether, as has occurred in Australia, Newfoundland, and in much of Canada and South Africa. This has depended largely on native weakness ; first-class fighting men such as the Maori and Iroquois having usually retained a good deal of land. This method is out of fashion ;

(2) assuming entire control of the land, ostensibly in the common interest, but leaving the native no legal rights as in most of East Africa. This has often developed into a system of native reserves ;

(3) purchases from owners, or supposed owners, at derisory prices.

Native rights in land are adequately recognised in Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Zanzibar, Fiji and Tonga. In the Sudan native ownership is recognized, and, provided that a title is registered, can be enforced at law. The Government claims large areas of depopulated or "desert" land. In Uganda native rights are fully recognised in the old kingdom and certain adjacent chieftaincies

But the greater part of the Protectorate, some nine-tenths of the whole, is treated as Crown land. In Kenya native rights have been abolished and much of the best land has been made over to European settlers. Reserves have now been demarcated. In Tanganyika the Crown has assumed ownership of all land not alienated under the German rule, but has given a pledge to introduce legislation giving all native residents on it legal rights to the land they occupy. In Nyasaland much land was "bought" for a few pounds from chiefs treated as owners. The British Government reduced these claims, but freehold rights of European owners are recognised over about one-sixth of the Protectorate, the natives living on the estates being tenants at will. The whole of the remainder of the land is claimed by the Crown, which has so far not recognised any native rights. In Northern Rhodesia, the Barotse are recognised as owners of the large area occupied by them, but in other parts the natives have no legal rights and the system of reserves is being adopted.

*Other natural resources.* In Colonies with European or Oriental culture, the ownership of minerals is generally dependent on the system of law, indigenous or introduced. The only primitive natives concerned are the Indian tribes of British Guiana, who however only occupy a small fraction of the hinterland. The mineral riches of this interior are claimed by the Crown. In Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and parts of Southern Nigeria, native ownership of minerals is recognised by law or practice; but in all other African dependencies, except Northern Rhodesia, minerals are claimed by the Crown (or its equivalent), except on certain freehold estates. In Northern Rhodesia minerals are owned by the British South Africa Co.

Native ownership in minerals is definitely recognised in Tonga, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and Fiji. In North Borneo and Sarawak they are apparently claimed by the present rulers as successors of the former sultans.

Water powers appear to be always treated as public property except in some of the dependencies with European structure.

### **Labour Systems of the Empire.**

The Labour Party has given close attention to the different varieties of forced labour to be found in the Empire. Slavery has everywhere been formally abolished, though forms of domestic slavery undoubtedly linger, and are enforced by custom, in parts of West Africa, and Malaya, in Sarawak and possibly elsewhere.

Compulsory labour may be either for Government, for Local Authorities or for private persons. The actual facts are not easy to ascertain.

(1) *Government.* The commonest form is found in districts where wheeled transport is impracticable, and takes the form of compulsory provision of portage for government purposes. This is

found in all East Africa (except Northern Rhodesia), in Nigeria and possibly other West African Colonies, in Fiji and Borneo. Labour can be compelled on all public works in Kenya, Uganda and Nyasaland and forced labour is largely used on railways and roads in Nigeria. It is available for roads in Ceylon and Gold Coast. In all these cases it is paid.

In many places labour can be compelled under such emergencies as floods or fires.

(2) *Local Authorities* (usually native). Generally, people may be required by the native local authorities to work on local roads, water-supply, sanitation etc. in all East African, West African and Pacific territories; and also in Iraq, Ceylon and Malaya, and such labour is not paid.

(3) *For private persons*. Direct compulsion does not, so far as can be discovered, exist anywhere. On the other hand, indirect compulsion is not infrequent. The methods have been described above. A few words may be added here, however, as to the imposition of taxes which cannot be paid otherwise than by working for a European or Asiatic capitalist.

It is difficult to believe that this is not the motive for the poll-taxes or hut-taxes found in East Africa, when it is realised that they are not imposed in places, such as West Africa, (and even Somaliland) where there is no large demand for native labour. It is true that the Governor of Tanganyika has recently laid down "that no attempt should be made to force the native to work for others by imposing taxation which he cannot earn the means to pay unless he leaves his district to work on the non-native plantations", (Colonial, No. 19, page 10), but even there it is by no means clear in what other way the inhabitants of the undeveloped areas could obtain the money to pay their taxes. In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where there is little opportunity for the natives to obtain money by sale of produce, great numbers, estimated at 100,000 each year in a population of little over 2,000,000, are working in South Africa or the Belgian Congo, largely in mines, in order to meet the taxation imposed on them. In Kenya the estimated yield of the native tax for 1927 was £ 541,505, considerably more than the total value of native produce exported. In that country, and in Northern Rhodesia, there is constant pressure from the white planters for an increase of the native taxes, ostensibly on financial grounds. In the Solomon Islands, where labour is in great demand for the coconut plantations, bloodshed has recently been caused by attempts to collect a head tax, money for which can only be found by working for the white man. In all these places wages are very low, 3d to 6d a day (including value of food) being a usual figure.



## B. THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY.

British Labour has devoted a steadily increasing amount of attention to the problem of native Land and Labour during the recent years. Even during the war itself, in its "Memorandum on War Aims, 1918" it pronounced as follows :

"No European State which acquired a colonial empire in the last century can claim to have adequately protected the natives in their political rights or against exploitation for the profit of the European capitalist. The Labour Party policy implies that the League of Nations shall guarantee the following as a minimum to the natives of Africa :—

. . . The ownership of land by natives and native tribes to be safeguarded and maintained against European or other immigrants and exploiters . . .

The abolition of every form of forced or indentured labour . . ."

The following resolution was passed in 1925 :

"This Conference is of opinion that the evils of capitalist exploitation of the tropical and sub-tropical regions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and especially the use of primitive tribes as reservoirs of low grade or sweated labour without regard either to their social or moral well-being, or to the political and economic dangers involved both to the natives themselves and to the whole of the white workers in the British Commonwealth of Nations is to be strongly condemned on moral, political, and economic grounds. This Conference is further of opinion that it is essential in all tropical and sub-tropical Dependencies :—

- (a) To safeguard the native's right to the land and to preserve to him the possibility of its use according to tribal and communal custom ;
- (b) To supervise the recruitment and conditions of labour so as to prevent industrial slavery and the economic dislocation of the life of native communities ; and
- (c) To control the use of capital to prevent violations of the rights of native communities or of the creation of social conditions leading to their social and economic demoralisation.
- (d) To invite the League of Nations to elaborate a code for the protection of native rights and appoint an "Observer" to the governing body of each Dependency and Mandated Territory, whereby all such dependencies and Mandated Territories of the British and other Governments may benefit from the impartial supervision of the League of Nations, pending full self-government."

The following resolution was passed in 1926 :

"That this Conference declares that the Labour Party (whether in office or opposition) shall do all in its power to help the Native peoples to obtain control of their own land. It holds it to be essential that in all non-self-governing parts of the Empire we should :—

- (1) Restore the Natives' rights to the land ;
- (2) See that they are educated for self-government ;
- (3) Prevent industrial slavery and conscription of labour in any form, and the consequent economic dislocations of the life of the Native community and of the workers of this country."

The pamphlet quoted above, originally published in 1920, was re-written and enlarged in 1926 under the title of "Labour and the Empire : Africa", price 6d, with an introduction by Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas M. P. (Ex-Secretary of State for the Colonies.)

Mr. Thomas sums up the contents of the pamphlet as follows :

"The pages which follow contain the Labour Movement's official policy with regard to the native races of Africa and the territories inhabited by them, for which the British Government is responsible. The keynote of that policy is that, in the opinion of Labour, the Empire should be, in the words of the Covenant, a trustee for the well-being of the natives. But it should be observed the policy is in no sense a new discovery of the Labour Movement since the establishment of the League of Nations. The principle of trusteeship has always been maintained by the Movement as springing immediately from the broad principles and ideals of Labour.

"The pamphlet works out in detail how the principle should be, and can be, applied in practice to the administration of African territories. But the main points can be summarised in a few words, for the Labour Movement holds that there are three vital requirements if the well-being of the African natives is to be assured :—

- (1) The natives must be assured sufficient land for their support, and therefore the land must be treated as the property of the native communities.
- (2) The native must, as a worker, be a free man, and hence there must be no slavery, no forced labour, and no pressure upon him to work for settlers.
- (3) The administration must make itself responsible for educating the native to take his place, both economically and politically, as a free man in the conditions which Western civilisation has imposed upon Africa.

"The carrying out in practice of this policy will be by no means an easy task, for Labour will find powerful classes and parties openly or secretly opposed to it. I consider it, however, to be one of the most important tasks which another Labour Government will have to carry through, for upon our honest fulfilment of our professions will depend the future relations of Europe not only with Africa but with Asia."

#### A. *The Land Question.*

Labour's policy as laid down in the above described pamphlet and other publications is as follows :—

"(1) The land should be treated by the administration, as in Nigeria, as the property of the native community or communities.

"(2) Native rights in land and in the land's natural and cultivated products should be given secure legal sanction, and should be adequately protected and safeguarded by the home and local Governments. Native land tenure should be maintained and, where necessary, strengthened by Legislative enactment.

"(3) Where, as in the Sudan and Tanganyika, there are valuable lands unused and unclaimed by natives, such lands should be administered primarily for the benefit of the native communities. Definite alienation of land, alike to Europeans or to natives, should be prohibited for any purposes whatever.

"(4) Every native family should be assured sufficient land for its support, with security of tenure.

"(5) Where native cultivation and production of economic agricultural products are possible without the use of large capital they should be maintained and encouraged by Government. Where costly machinery, experts, etc., are required, Government should either (1) supply the necessary capital, encourage the use of such machinery by the natives, and educate the natives, through co-operation or other methods, to make

the most economic use of the land ; or (2) where the investment of private capital is necessary, should only allow such investment under Government licence and supervision. In general, native communities should in every way be encouraged and assisted in developing their land and in improving their live stock.

"(6) Concession of land to Europeans for purposes of cultivation and grazing should, when granted, take the form of short time leases, the rents being subject to periodic revision, and should only be granted over restricted areas and after careful inquiry, with the consent of the native community affected, if any, and under Executive supervision. Licences granted to Europeans for the harvesting of natural products should only be granted after careful enquiry and with the consent of the native community affected".

#### B. *The Labour Question.*

Labour policy is laid down as follows :—

**"Slavery.** Every form of slave-trading and slave-owning should be prohibited. The prohibition should be absolute of the sale, gift, transfer, or introduction into any territory of slaves, including the system of "pawning" persons, and of adoption in circumstances analogous to slavery. The status of slavery should not be recognised in any court of law, and all Governments should permit any person, over whom rights as a slave are claimed by any other person, to assert and maintain his or her freedom forthwith. The onus of proof of any debt or obligation alleged to be due from the person claimed as a slave by reason of such debt or obligation should be on the person claiming it, and should be justiciable in a court of law without prejudice to the free status of the defendant.

**"Forced Labour.** The prohibition of compulsory labour should be absolute, except for purely native purposes of public utility within the Reserves, and then only when demanded in accordance with native law and custom.

Tribal rulers should not be permitted to assign any powers they possess for calling out tribal labour. All voluntary labour should be paid by a wage in cash to the labourer and not to the Chief or any other third party.

**"Poll-taxes.** These should be gradually abolished. Meanwhile the principle laid down in Tanganyika should be strictly observed and liability confined to able-bodied men below the age of 40. All taxation discriminating between the natives engaged upon indigenous industry and those in the employ of immigrants or white men, or between those who work and those who do not, should be prohibited. Annual reports on the measures taken to ensure the above course should be laid before Parliament.

**"Contract Labour.** No labour contracts should be enforceable under the sanctions of criminal law. All labour contracts should be made before a magistrate or other officer of the administration. The labour contract should be a civil contract, breaches of which should be remedied by civil process only. No labour contract should be valid for a period exceeding six months, at the termination of which the labourer should be free to offer his services to any employer or none.

**"The Colour Bar.** No disabilities resting solely upon colour should be erected against any section of the community. All occupations should be open to every man and woman regardless of race, creed, or colour."

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(1) In primitive communities such as those in question, certain work like clearing jungle paths, has to be done by each village and the community has to have the power to see that no one shirks his share.

To sum up the above a practical policy for the present and the near future is to be found in :

(a) A code of native rights for all such dependencies, particularly with regard to land, labour and taxation.

(b) International Labour legislation, to raise the conditions of coloured workers. The International Labour Organisation to deal with coloured as well as white workers. Liberty for coloured workers to form trade unions.

(c) Government control over all capital investments in Colonial areas. Where costly machinery, experts, etc. are required, the Government should supply the necessary capital, encourage the use of machinery by the natives and educate them, through co-operation or other methods, to make the most economic use of the land.

(d) Independent native production to be encouraged (as in West Africa) as opposed to the plantation system. The abolition of all the means now in use to bring pressure to bear on natives to choose particular kinds of occupation.

(e) Encouragement of co-operative associations for selling native produce, supervising quality, enabling natives to purchase their requirements (collective or individual) at fair prices, and providing capital. Such associations to be controlled by the Government as far as may be necessary until the native members are sufficiently trained and educated to take over entirely.

(f) Encouraging and actively co-operating with native Labour in the formation of Trade Unions, in the development of pioneer work by bodies like the International Federation of Trade Unions, and in the raising and maintenance of Labour standards by the I. L. O. and the League of Nations.

### **Taxation.**

#### **Question II (2).**

In British dependencies taxes are levied for local purposes and the budgets are entirely distinct from those of Great Britain. They do not come before the British Parliament, though liable to discussion there when, as occasionally happens, assistance is given from British funds ; and no contributions are paid into the British exchequer, except in repayment of loans or, in exceptional cases, as part of the cost of Imperial troops.

In general, the most important item of revenue is the customs. The tariff is not protective as a rule, since the object is not to promote local manufactures, but to secure an exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods. In some places where local opinion is powerful, protective duties are allowed, as in Kenya.

Internal revenue, apart from such undertakings as the Post Office and Railways, is usually largely made up of licences to trade and taxes on transfers of property. The Straits Settlements and Hongkong, primarily ports, have no customs duties, obtaining most of their revenues by various forms of excise.

Although it is possible to differentiate between natives and others by indirect taxation, it does not appear that any conscious attempt is often made to do so. An exception was Kenya, where a 10% duty was levied on most imported goods, but not on certain goods especially used by Europeans, e. g. agricultural implements. It is true that in many places Europeans pay chiefly through luxuries, such as alcohol and tobacco, while natives contribute through such goods as cottons or cutlery. But in general the tariffs are prepared with the object of obtaining revenue with the least friction and interference with trade.

Direct taxation is very variable. In dependencies of primitive culture the most questionable form is that of a poll-tax or hut-tax at a fixed rate laid upon all adult male natives without distinction. This tax presents peculiarities in distribution which are obviously related to the distribution of plantation industry. In the populous areas of West Africa and the Sudan, where the settled non-native plantation-owner is of small importance, poll-tax is non-existent or negligible; nor is it found in such places as Somaliland or Basutoland, where European enterprise is absent and incidentally the natives are well-armed fighting men; but throughout East Africa from Kenya and Uganda through Tanganyika to Rhodesia and Bechuanaland and in the islands of the Pacific, where European and Asiatic plantations require cheap and abundant labour, the poll-tax is an important element of the revenue. Indeed in those areas in which the demand for labour is most urgent and its employment most profitable, such as Kenya, and the Solomon Islands, this form of taxation has been developed to the point of serious oppression.

In a few of these territories (Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Fiji) an income-tax is paid by the non-natives, but an attempt to impose it in Kenya was successfully overthrown by the Europeans. An income-tax also exists in many of the dependencies with European culture.

### **Tariff Policy.**

#### **Question II (4).**

By a West Indian-Canadian Treaty in 1912, ten West Indian legislatures introduced preferential rates in their tariffs for certain Canadian and British goods. In Northern Rhodesia, outside the International Treaty area, the rates leviable upon British goods were limited. With these exceptions it may be said that, between

1860 and 1919, there were no protective import duties, with or without preferences, in Great Britain or in those British Dependencies whose tariff policies were determined in London. Low tariffs for revenue only were the general rule in the Crown Colonies, and preferences did not exist. The British Budget contained no protective customs duties and no preferences, although from 1897 to 1919, tariff preferences were given voluntarily by the self-governing Dominions to Great Britain, and, in some instances, to dependent colonies. Before 1919, however, there was a preferential duty on tin ore exported from the Federated Malay States to be smelted in Great Britain, Australia or the Straits Settlements, which still exists. Now, Nigeria also imposes a differential export duty on tin ore.

The Imperial Conference, in 1917, declared in favour of the principle that "each part of the Empire . . . shall give especially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts", and in 1919 Great Britain introduced preferential rates on all dutiable goods, mostly food stuffs, coming from the self-governing Dominions and the dependent colonies. It has been stated officially that the duties into which a protective element enters apply to only 2 or 3 per cent of British imports. Nevertheless, the Labour Party opposed without qualification all preferences and all protective customs duties. Preferential duties were also encouraged in dependent colonies, although it is claimed by the British Government that in each case the decision to grant preferences was taken with the consent of the unofficial members of the respective Governing Councils. Cyprus, Fiji and Mauritius imposed a complete system of preferences, and the West Indian-Canadian preferences were imposed generally and in all parts of the West Indies, except Bermuda. According to the United States Tariff Commission (1922) "only about 5% of the total trade of the British dependent colonies is affected by these differential duties".

Some colonies and protectorates give no preference to British goods; other territories are prohibited from giving preferences by international treaty. The policy of "equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League of Nations" is guaranteed in the mandated territories of Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons by the Covenant. It is also embodied in the Mandates for Iraq and Palestine. The titles to the phosphate deposits on the Island of Nauru, for which the British Empire is a mandatory, and on the British possession of Ocean Island, have been purchased from the British firm formerly owning them and vested in the British Phosphate Commission, a Board of Commissioners comprising three members, one appointed by each of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain. These Governments hold all the capital. The Phosphate Commission may not sell or supply any phosphates to, or for shipment to, any country

or place other than the United Kingdom, Australia, or New Zealand, except with the unanimous consent of the three Commissioners. Under the existing arrangements, the three Governments are entitled to an allotment of all the phosphates produced in each year in the following proportions: Great Britain 42%, Australia 42%, New Zealand 16%. The Bill embodying the agreement between the three Governments was opposed at all stages by the Labour Party in the British Parliament as being inconsistent with the principle of trusteeship accepted by Powers undertaking a Mandate on behalf of the League.

The export of rubber from the British rubber producing areas, Ceylon and the Malay States, is controlled by a system of variable export duties which depend upon the prevailing price of rubber and the quantity to be exported, the object being to regulate the price of rubber. These export duties do not discriminate between different foreign destinations. All these restrictions on the export of rubber will be removed on 1st November, 1928.

The following table shows clearly the tariff systems in the British dependent Colonies:—

### Import Duties.

Assimilated.	Preferential.	International	Open Door.
South African Customs Union.	West. Indian-Canadian Treaties 1912 and 1920.	Treaty	Hong Kong Straits Settlements
Basutoland	Trinidad	Nigeria	Federated Malay States
Swaziland	British Guiana	Gold Coast	Ceylon
Bechuanaland	Barbados	Kenya	Seychelles
Northern Rhodesia, South of Congo.	Jamaica	Uganda	Gambia
	Leeward Islands	Zanzibar	Sierra Leone
	Windward Islands	Nyasaland	Somaliland
	British Honduras	Northern Rhodesia, Congo Basin	Gibraltar
	Bahama Islands	Mandated Territories.	Malta
	Cyprus	Tanganyika	St. Helena
	Fiji	British Togoland	Bermuda
	Mauritius	British Cameroons	Falkland Island
		Palestine	Gilbert and Ellice Islands
		Iraq	Solomon Islands
			Anglo-Egyptian Sudan <sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Preference to Egypt.

## **Export Duties.**

### **Preferential.**

Federated Malay States<sup>(1)</sup> <sup>(2)</sup>  
Nigeria<sup>(1)</sup>  
Ceylon<sup>(2)</sup>

### **Prohibitions.**

Nauru Island<sup>(2)</sup>

The trade between Great Britain and its colonies and the inter-colonial trade is open to all vessels without discrimination. There are no shipping restrictions within the British Empire.

## **Investment Policy.**

### **Question II (4).**

Freedom of investment in British dependent colonies is not formally restricted to British citizens. The London Money Market is free to all investors. Nevertheless, the field of investment open to foreign capitalists has been restricted in practice by the fact that in the era of Colonial development, Great Britain has had capital to export; and the British colonies naturally attract British settlers and British capital. Moreover, through direct British Government loans for railways, public works, etc., or guaranteed loans, the credit of Colonial Governments has been supported by the credit of the British Government itself. The Colonial Governments may therefore raise money more cheaply on the London Money Market than many foreign Governments, especially since 1900, when many Colonial Government loans were included in the securities on the British Market in which trust funds may be invested. Protectorate Government loans are not so included.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Differential export duty on tin ore.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mandated Territory. Phosphates reserved to Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

<sup>(3)</sup> Export duty on rubber.



## **The State and Economic Enterprise.**

### **Question II (3).**

In Colonies and Protectorates the Government usually carries on numerous activities connected with transport. In nearly every case the railways, local shipping services and harbours are owned and managed by the State and in several territories, e. g. the Gold Coast, motor transport is added, though the tendency is to leave this to the private capitalist as soon as it becomes profitable. In some cases docks are also State owned. In the case of harbours and docks, the management is often in the hands of a Board, controlled by Government, but including nominees of the capitalists interested.

The supply of water and of electric light and power is usually in the hands of Government or municipality. But the hydro-electric power undertaking in the Malay States, though partly owned by Government, is managed by the capitalist interest.

Telegraphs are invariably owned by Government ; but on the other hand the cable communications with other parts of the Empire are (except in Fiji) owned by private companies.

The State occasionally undertakes industries where, though necessary to small producers, capitalism or co-operation has failed to provide them. Thus there is a Government flax-mill in St. Helena and a cotton ginnery in St. Vincent. Such enterprises have in the past, as in the case of State-controlled sugar factories in the West Indies, been sold to capitalists as soon as development has made this course possible.

The pearl fishery in Ceylon is owned, and supervised, by the Government.

Two instances of economic enterprise on a larger scale are the Nigeria Government colliery, which has an output of about 250,000 tons a year, and the Nauru-Ocean Island phosphate industry. The Nigerian Government is by far the largest consumer of coal from the former and reports suggest that the native miners' condition and pay is fairly good, judged by native standards. This is apparently due to the fact that, as the natives own land from which they can subsist, they are in a position to refuse work on unsuitable terms.

The phosphate deposits on the tropical islets of Nauru (mandated) and Ocean (British) have been purchased by the Governments of Britain, Australia and New Zealand, jointly from the Company that formerly leased them. The output is shared at cost price between the three Governments who pass it on to the farmers through manufacturing firms which are allowed a fixed basis of profit.

The natives are paid a small royalty on the output. They are not permitted, on medical grounds, to work in the quarries, though some are employed as boatmen or artisans. The quarrymen are mainly Chinese. The conditions of both the natives and the labour undoubtedly benefit from being subject to review by three Parliaments and (in Nauru) by the League of Nations.

### Profits of Economic Imperialism.

#### Question II (2).

In the case of Great Britain, as in that of all imperialist Powers, the motives which caused the acquisition of Colonies and dependencies during the last half of the 19th century were economic. The economic impulse came from the desire to obtain new markets and secure markets for the products of the imperialist Power's European industries and the new sources of food supplies and raw materials required by the European industrial population. This opening up of Asiatic and African territories being conducted by capitalists and Governments under the influence of capitalists was and is being put through on capitalist lines. Except in rare instances, the economic exploitation of the dependency and its inhabitants has been a principal consideration of the administration.

There is no doubt that the original ideas of those who successfully preached a doctrine of imperialism for profit have proved to be largely illusions; the original imperialists laid immense stress on the need of acquiring secure markets, on the principle that trade follows the flag. For example, the market which Britain, for instance, has secured for her products in Africa by the acquisition of her four dependencies on the West Coast and her four on the East is relatively negligible. Her exports to these 8 "possessions" in 1925 were valued at about 19 million pounds, or only 2½% of her total exports. Her exports to French West Africa were much larger than those to Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone, and Gambia taken together, and were nearly equal to her exports to Kenya and Uganda. Britain exported nearly £3,000,000 worth of goods to Portuguese East Africa, while she exported only £5,000,000 to the whole of her own East African possessions. Her exports to the Argentine were 50% more than to the whole of her East and West African possessions. The protectionist imperialist answers, of course, that the colonial markets cannot be secured for the "mother country" except by protection and that the British have not secured the markets of their African possessions because of the policy of free trade. This is not an argument which will appeal to socialists, or to the International, which has more than once declared its opposition to all protectionist measures in colonies. Such protection is against the interests of the colonies themselves

and is a menace to the peaceful economic international development of the world. And in practice such colonial protectionism has proved only partially successful. It is possible, as France has shown on the north and west coasts of Africa, to reserve a large part of a colonial market for the "mother country" by protective measures. But experience shows that the amount which protection can do to alter the course of trade is very limited. After 20 years of protectionist imperialism, from 1885 to 1905, it can be proved from statistics that in Algeria and Tunis France had succeeded in creating a market for French goods which took about 5½% of all the commodities exported by France. Of the total imports of French West Africa to-day only 44% come from France and the other French colonies.

The idea that the raw materials of colonies can be reserved for the mother country has proved to be still more illusory. The exploitation of these countries has taken place under capitalism, and the exploitation of the natural resources has nearly everywhere been left in the hands of European capitalists and planters. These people have naturally insisted, according to capitalist tenets, that they shall be allowed to sell in the dearest market. Only where production has been in native hands has there been any attempt to restrict the sale of products to the mother country, as in the case of the differential palm kernel duty in British West Africa, and even that was abandoned in 1922. The importance of the African colonies on the East and West coasts to Britain is shown by the fact that they supply her with less than 2% of her total imports, and that her imports from the Argentine are over three times larger than from her 8 African possessions.

The possession of colonies has proved of little or no importance to the workers and manufacturers of the mother country. Their demand for industrial products has been negligible compared with that of other countries, so that they have done little to increase employment or production. As sources of raw materials for industry in times of peace, they have no importance, for the capitalist company which works tin in Africa or produces rubber in Asia will sell as readily to an Englishman as to a Frenchman, to a Frenchman as to a German. The real profits of economic imperialism have gone and still go to the financier or group of financiers and to the individual planter. It is the few people who finance the opening of a successful tin mine or the planting of a rubber estate who make profits from the exploitation of Asiatic and African territories. It is true that these people tend in each case to be nationals of the imperialist power which "owns" the territory, but this is not always completely, or necessarily, the case.

The profits of the economic development of these territories under capitalism have therefore gone mainly to small groups of European or American capitalists. The system is opposed to all

socialist principles and ideals. The socialist demands that primarily the economic development shall be in the interests of the native inhabitants and that the profits shall go to the native communities. This can only be secured by those measures described elsewhere, through which the land and natural resources remain the property of the native community, and Government either directly supervises the development or encourages their economic development by the natives.

### **Improvement in the Condition of the Natives from the Material, Intellectual and Hygienic Point of view.**

#### **Question III.**

This subject covers too wide a field to be satisfactorily answered in the space available for a reply, and any attempt to go into details, even by way of illustration, would be misleading, owing to the scope and the complexity of the problems raised. The question is therefore answered in a general way so far as it affects the British Empire.

The natives living in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories belong to many races, nations and tribes and represent widely divergent stages of culture, varying from the European culture of the West Indian Islands, British Guiana etc., to the quite primitive culture of East, West and Central Africa, and their progress in intellectual development and personal and social hygiene must be considered in relation to each phase of development as well as the social environment in which they live. A common standard of measurement is impossible as conditions that might be regarded as barely tolerable in one colony might represent a real advance in others.

It is safe to say that there is no fundamental retrogression in the intellectual and hygienic standards of the natives over large areas within the British Empire ; indeed there is a steady, if slow, tendency towards improvement. But in some places, notably the Pacific and some parts of Africa, this is not the case, and there is a degeneration owing to the introduction of diseases. Moreover, nowhere, can the existing conditions be considered as completely satisfactory. The infantile death rate in some of the native tribes, and in India, is still appallingly high, and the education of the natives in every case leaves much to be desired. Education, for the most part, is in the hands of the missionary enterprises, little attempt having been made by the colonial governments to provide an official system of elementary education. It is not to criticise, or minimise, the work done by the various churches, British and American, in this matter, to hold the view that the efficient education of the native races under its control, as well as the peoples who enjoy a measure of self-government, is a responsibility of the government itself.

There is still a great amount of preventable disease in many parts of the various colonies and Protectorates, and although much has been done to bring these under the control of medical and sanitary science, the present conditions are far from being satisfactory. Yaws, syphilis, and other diseases are more and more being brought under control, and greater attention is being given to the instruction of native peoples in personal and public hygiene. Some research work is being done, especially in Kenya and Uganda.

The amount spent on these services is altogether inadequate and it is necessary to educate the authorities, Colonial and Imperial, to a realisation that it pays to spend money in hygienic safeguards and also in education. The sanitary expert, who should be the first to be called in when development is contemplated, is nearly always the last. The railway expert decides where a town should be built, as in the case of Nairobi, whereas it should, except in rare cases, be a sanitarian.

The general welfare of the natives in the British Empire is the subject of consistent study in the British Labour Party and their interests are zealously watched in Parliament and throughout the country.

The material welfare of the native races and subject peoples is being dealt with in other sections of this report, to which the reader is referred for information on that point.

### **Freedom of Immigration.**

#### **Question II (4).**

Most British colonies have laws regulating and, in some cases, restricting either emigration or immigration. For example, it is very common to prohibit emigration except to certain places prescribed by proclamation, to insist that the emigrant has fulfilled certain obligations towards the members of his family, to insist that contract emigrants or immigrants have reached a certain age, to take steps to ensure that labourers emigrating will be repatriated at the end of their contracts, etc. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands there is also a provision that no woman emigrant may emigrate under contract. Various measures are also in existence regulating the recruiting of labourers for service abroad and corresponding measures in those colonies which receive labourers, concerning the protection of immigrants.

There is little legislation in any of the British colonies restricting the immigration of persons on grounds of race. In Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia immigration is prohibited in the case of any person who is deemed by the Governor on account of standard or habits of life to be undesirable. In practice it is possible for the governments of these colonies to exclude Asiatic immigrants as a result of this provision.

In the same colonies immigration is prohibited in the case of any person who is unable, by reason of deficient education, to read and write any European language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer. This provision also restricts the immigration of Asiatics.

Indian emigration to British Colonies is regulated and, in some cases, restricted. The restrictions are imposed, however, by the Indian Government rather than by the Colonial Government. Several British colonies depend for their labour supply on immigration and their policy is to encourage such immigration by offering special protection and advantages to labourers. The Labour Codes of the F. M. S. (1923), Straits Settlements (1923) and the Unfederated Malay States (Johore) (1924), contain detailed provisions for the reception and employment of both Chinese and Indians in the Colonies under contract. These colonies also provide that Indian immigrant labourers may not emigrate except to certain specified places. The main purpose of this provision is to prevent Indian immigrants from going to places to which emigration from India is prohibited. Labourers from the Dutch East Indies are also encouraged and protected by the Netherlands-Indian Labourers Protection Enactments of the F. M. S. (1909) and the Straits Settlements (1908).

In the Unfederated Malay States of Perlis, Kedah and Kelantan, the immigration of Indians is also regulated by Indian Immigration Enactments.

The problem of Indian immigration in Kenya<sup>(1)</sup> has given rise to a considerable amount of dissatisfaction and controversy. The present policy of the British Government in connection with migration in Kenya is that racial discrimination in immigration regulations will not be countenanced and existing regulations are considered adequate to prohibit the entry of undesirable persons. The Governors of Kenya and Uganda were instructed to submit proposals for controlling immigration to the extent necessitated by the economic interests of the natives. A Draft Ordinance was duly introduced in Kenya, but it was ultimately announced by the British Government (in the House of Commons, August, 7, 1924) that this Ordinance would not be enacted. The Colonial Secretary stated on that occasion that the policy of the Government with regard to immigration in Kenya, was, that if the danger ever arose of such an influx of immigrants of whatever class, race, nationality or character, as might be likely to be prejudicial to the economic interests of the native, the Colonial Secretary would be free to take any action which might be necessary. The previous regulations which therefore remain in force are of general application and provide for the pro-

(1) p. 16 par. 2.

hibition of the immigration of persons without visible means of support or likely to become paupers or a public charge. Immigrants may also be refused entry on grounds of insanity, dangerous disease, moral or criminal obliquity, or the like.

The immigration of indentured Indian labourers into British Guiana has ceased for many years, but a labour shortage in the Colony was feared and negotiations with the Indian Government were commenced for the resumption of Indian immigration on a different basis. A colonisation scheme was agreed upon in 1926, by which the Government of British Guiana offered to any Indian immigrant an allotment of five acres of good agricultural land. There were a number of other provisions for the protection and assistance of Indian immigrants arriving in the Colony but the scheme has been dropped at the request of the British Guiana Government owing to its expense.

In Fiji, the system of importing Indian labourers to work under indenture came to an end in 1917, and immigration has not been resumed since.

The influx of Indians into Mauritius has ceased since 1909 when a Committee appointed to report on emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates recommended that this course should be adopted. In 1923, the Government of India agreed to an experimental recruiting of Indian immigrants from Mauritius for a period of one year, and a Labour Ordinance (No. 12 of 1922) was adopted in Mauritius providing that any immigrant improperly introduced into the colony should be returned to India, charging the protector of immigrants with the general welfare of the immigrants and making provision for the repatriation at the cost of the employer of any Indian immigrant who, within three months after the date of his arrival in the colony, was found to be unfit and likely to be permanently unfit for labour, or any immigrant who was unwilling or unable, for any good reason, to obtain further employment. The recruiting under the scheme, however, was unsatisfactory, and Kunwar Maharaj Singh, who investigated the situation in 1924 at the request of the Government of India, recommended that Indian immigration in Mauritius for the purpose of unskilled work should be discontinued, more especially as the economic conditions of the colony did not appear to require it.

#### **Civil and Political Status of Settlers not belonging to the Colonising Power.**

##### **Question II (4).**

In general, foreign settlers in British dependencies have the same civil status as British subjects; but, unless and until naturalised, are not granted any political rights.

In all dependencies foreign settlers are treated under the laws in the same way as British in respect of law, religion, taxation, trade facilities, succession, protection, transport and ownership of commodities. There is some difference with regard to the exploitation of certain natural resources which are regarded as essential in time of war. The most important of these is mineral oil, which may only be developed by Companies under British control. Ownership of land is open to foreigners on the same conditions as to British, except in some of the smaller Colonies, apparently in all cases on grounds of their strategic importance. Such are Bermuda, Gambia, Gibraltar, Fanning Island and Hongkong.

It is possible for administrations to differentiate in connection with trades which can only be carried on under licence or with the sale or transfer of Crown lands, but it does not appear to be usual to do so as between Europeans. On the other hand there have been complaints of disparate treatment as between Europeans and Asiatics (whether or not British subjects), notably in Kenya.

The voting lists in those Colonies and Protectorates which admit election to Legislative Assemblies or Councils, are limited to British subjects (or in some cases to British subjects and local natives, technically not British subjects) except in Cyprus, where non-British can obtain the same rights as British by residence for five years. This unusual provision is understood to be due to the fact that Cyprus possessed elective institutions before annexation in 1914. It may be noted that limitation to British subjects excludes many inhabitants of the British Empire, for example, subjects of Indian Princes or Malay Rajahs.

In general voting lists for municipalities are also limited to British subjects; but there are a few exceptions. In British Honduras residence for three years in addition to the normal qualifications admits to a vote for the Belize Town Board. In Trinidad the necessary period of residence is five years. In Fiji any ratepayer can vote.

In countries under A Mandates (Iraq and Palestine) political conditions are of a special kind.

### **Freedom of Opinion and Right of Association.**

#### **Question V.**

The liberty of public discussion, association and combination for political and industrial purposes varies in the different Colonies. Generally speaking, in those dependencies which have been described as having a European culture, that is to say, the older British Colonies, and also in those West African Colonies which are governed in accordance with the older British liberal traditions, there is complete freedom of expression and association, and the inherent power of the Government to deal with seditious or riotous assemb-



lies is not strained against the holding of political and industrial meetings.

But in East and South Africa a different tradition prevails, arising out of the servile institutions which form the basis of South African society.

In the South African Union native labour is governed mainly by the Provincial Masters and Servants' Laws and the Native Recruiting Law. The native worker is deprived of any effective means of bargaining for wages, since the right to strike is not recognised by the Masters and Servants' Laws or the Native Recruiting Law. The strike weapon is definitely forbidden. Under the Masters' and Servants' Laws if a native without lawful means absents himself from his master's premises or other place proper or appointed for the performance of his work he is liable to a fine of 40/- or a month's hard labour; or, under the Native Regulations Act if he without lawful cause absents himself, to a fine of £10 or 2 months' hard labour. When the native employees of the Johannesburg municipality struck in 1918, the maximum penalty of imprisonment was inflicted.

Natives are excluded from the benefits of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act enjoyed by white workmen.

Further, under the Native Affairs Regulation Law of 1926, which has been copied in Southern Rhodesia, and to which there is an equivalent Law in Kenya, any Assembly or gathering together of natives may be summarily prohibited or dispersed. This is used and is intended to be used for the prevention of meetings for the ventilation of grievances or for the organisation of political or industrial combination.

Under the Union Law of 1926 any person who conducts propaganda calculated to produce disaffection between natives and Europeans, that is to say, discontent with industrial conditions, is liable to be arrested and deported out of the Union.

Generally speaking, under the Laws of South Africa and of those other territories which have been more lately colonised with a view to imperialist exploitation, combination amongst natives for industrial purposes is liable to expose them to legal penalties, and no strike can be organised without similar penalties. Organisations for the ventilation of political grievances are similarly repressed.

### **Systems of Military Service, and Use of Native Troops in War.**

#### **Questions IX, and X.**

##### **(1) WEST INDIES, etc.**

Jamaica.	British Guiana.
Bahamas.	British Honduras.
Bermuda.	Falkland Islands.
Barbados.	Leeward Islands (Anti-
Trinidad and Tobago.	gua, St. Kitts-Nevis,
Windward Islands	Dominica and Mont-
(St. Lucia, Grenada and	serrat).
St. Vincent).	

One battalion of the British Army, recruited voluntarily from West Indian natives, has its headquarters at Jamaica. It is liable for service outside the Colony.

The Bahamas have no military forces.

The personnel of the local military forces in the other colonies in this group may be white, coloured or black West Indians, and by the terms of enlistment are not liable for service outside the Colony.

In Bermuda, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Windward Islands, the local military forces are voluntarily recruited.

The Defence Ordinances for British Guiana, British Honduras, the Falkland Islands and some of the Leeward Islands (Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, and Dominica) contain the principle of contingent compulsion for all British male subjects between certain ages. In practice, the various forces are maintained by volunteers; where necessary, the deficiency is made up by ballot. In the Falkland Islands, the establishment of the force has not yet been decided upon.

Throughout the West Indian group (except in Bahamas, Bermuda, Barbados and the Falkland Islands), the local police forces are armed and are liable for employment in defence of the colonies as military forces.

## (2) CYPRUS AND MALTA.

The local forces in Cyprus consist of the Police Force, which is not liable for military service.

In Malta enlistment is voluntary and confined to Maltese. One corps of artillery and a unit of infantry are liable for service outside the Colony. The militia may only be employed in home defence.

## (3) WEST AFRICA.

Gambia  
Gold Coast.

Nigeria.  
Sierra Leone.

The military forces in West Africa, excluding Imperial troops, consist of the West African Frontier Force, the police, the Volunteer Corps and the Rifle Clubs in the various colonies.

The West African Frontier Force is composed of whole time Colonial troops trained and armed like the British Regular Army. It is administered and trained under the Colonial Office. Officers and white non-commissioned officers are recruited from the Regular Army. The functions of the West African Frontier Force in each colony is to ensure internal security, to deal with inter-tribal trouble or insurrections, and to supply a small reserve, should it be required, to assist in case of trouble in any neighbouring West

African Colonies. A separate reserve for all units is constituted under separate and similar Ordinance for each respective colony. Enlistment is voluntary.

The officers of the Gold Coast Volunteers are Europeans and the men natives. They cannot be employed outside the limits of the Colony and Ashanti, nor can the Armed Police.

In Sierra Leone there is one regiment of infantry, enlisted from West African natives, whose liabilities are the same as for the British Regular Army. No military training is carried out by the Police Force of Sierra Leone.

The Armed Police forces of Gambia and Nigeria can be employed in the defence of the colony, either within or without the limits of the colony.

#### (4) EAST AFRICA.

Kenya.  
Nyasaland.  
Uganda.

Tanganyika.  
Zanzibar.  
Somaliland.

The military forces in East Africa consist of six battalions of the King's African Rifles. Their functions, like those of the West African Frontier Force, are to ensure internal security and to suppress raids into the colonies from outside. They are constituted under similar Ordinances in Kenya Colony, Uganda, Nyasaland and Tanganyika, and are administered and trained under the Colonial Office. Enlistment is voluntary. Each battalion has its own separate reserve. The troops may be called upon to serve in any part of the world.

In the separate territories there are also territorial forces or volunteer reserves, except in Zanzibar, where there are no military forces. They are all liable for service within the limit of the colony or protectorate, and are all voluntarily recruited, except in Kenya, where a territorial force has recently been established on the basis of compulsory service (ages 18 to 50) for all British male subjects of *European origin or descent*. The establishment of this force was opposed by the Labour Party.

The members of the Nyasaland Volunteer Reserve are Europeans and Indians, and of the Uganda Volunteer Reserve European British subjects. The personnel of the local military forces in Tanganyika are Tanganyika natives. The reserve of the King's African Rifles in Nyasaland and Tanganyika are all Nyasaland Africans.

The armed Constabulary in all these territories may be called upon to discharge military duties in an emergency.

#### (5) SOUTH AFRICA.

Basutoland.  
Bechuanaland.  
Northern Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia.  
Swaziland.

There are no military forces in Basutoland or Bechuanaland. The Police Forces, Basutos under British officers, may be employed

as military forces, but they are so small that, in case of war, no portion would be available beyond the borders of the protectorates.

The Northern Rhodesian Police constitutes the first line of defence for Northern Rhodesia. When on active service, they are subject to such terms and regulations as the High Commissioner may determine. Enlistment is voluntary. The rank and file are natives. The Volunteer Force of Northern Rhodesia is organised for internal defence.

..

The Volunteer Corps of Southern Rhodesia can only be called up for military service within the limits of Southern Rhodesia. But the Government can call out the British South African Police Force for active service, either within or beyond the borders of the colony. The native police is attached to districts for rural police work. They carry rifles only when on special duty.

The local forces in Swaziland consist of the Swaziland Rifle Club (British, no military training), and the Police, natives under white officers, who may be employed as a military force anywhere in South Africa.

#### (6) ASIA AND ISLANDS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

British North Borneo.  
Ceylon.  
Hong Kong.  
Mauritius.  
Seychelles.

Malay Peninsula.  
Straits Settlements.  
Federated States.  
Unfederated States.

*British North Borneo.* There are no local military forces in British North Borneo, but the British North Borneo Constabulary (natives of different races) is liable for military service in the Eastern Colonies.

*Ceylon.* The Defence Ordinance provides for obligatory enlistment in a Volunteer Corps or the Colombo Town Guard. The Defence Force is at present recruited by voluntary enlistment; other British subjects of European descent are merely registered.

The Police Force is an armed body, but is not liable for military service.

*Hong Kong.* The local forces in Hong Kong consist of a body of British volunteers. The Police Force, although armed, is not a military body.

*Malay Peninsula.* The local forces in the Malay Peninsula consist of the Military Forces (Volunteers) and Police Forces in the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States respectively.

In the Straits Settlements and Federated States a Volunteer may enrol for service in the settlement in which he resides, in any settlement in the Colony, or in any part of the Malay Peninsula. British subjects, other than European, and British protected sub-

jects, are eligible for service in the Volunteer Corps of the Straits Settlements under special conditions.

In the Malay States, persons of unmixed European parentage and Asiatics are enrolled in separate units.

There are no military forces in the Unfederated States of Kedah, Perlis and Trengganu. In the State of Johore, the military forces and volunteer infantry, all Asiatics, are under the entire control of the Sultan. The members of the Johore and Kelantan Volunteer Rifles are Europeans ; they are liable for service in any part of the Malay Peninsula or the adjacent islands.

The Police Forces in the Malay Peninsula are not liable for military service.

*Mauritius.* Members of the Volunteer Force of Mauritius, composed of Europeans and non-Europeans, are not liable for service beyond the limits of the Colony without their consent. The Police Force is not liable for military service.

*Seychelles.* There are no military forces in Seychelles. The Police Force is not liable for military service.

#### (7) PACIFIC OCEAN.

Fiji.  
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony.  
Solomon Islands Protectorate.

Military training is compulsory in Fiji for all youths who are British subjects of European descent, or one of whose parents are of European descent. The members of the Defence Force are not liable for service outside the limits of the Colony without their consent. The Police Force, mainly Fijians and Indians, is liable for military service.

*Gilbert and Ellice Islands.* Enrolment in the Fanning Island and Ocean Island Defence Forces is voluntary, but in case of sudden emergency, may be compulsory for all male British subjects (ages 18—45). Members are not liable for service outside the Islands, without their consent. The Armed Constabulary (natives) are liable for military service.

*Solomon Islands Protectorate.* The only force in the Solomon Islands Protectorate is the Armed Constabulary, which is liable for military service.

### **The Labour Movement.**

#### Question VI.

The British Guiana Labour Union and the Jewish Socialist Labour Federation of Palestine are affiliated to the International. In Trinidad there is a Working Men's Association, which combines political and industrial objects. There is also a Labour Union in Ceylon. No other Labour Movements exist within the British dependent Empire. But there are nuclei of Labour Parties in other West Indian Islands, and in Malta and Cyprus.

## B. India.

### Extent and Divisions of British India and Indian States.

India is as large as the whole of Europe less Russia, or about half the size of the United States. It has an area of 1,800,000 square miles, of which 1,100,000 or 61 per cent., is British territory, whilst the Indian States cover the rest.

British India is divided into nine Provinces, whilst there are some six or seven hundred Indian States not directly under British rule, but governed by Indian Princes.

### POPULATION.

The population of India in 1921—the last date at which a census was taken—amounted to about 320 millions, or approximately one-fifth of the population of the world. Of this, British India contains 247 millions, or 77 per cent., and the Indian States the rest.

### RELIGIONS AND NUMBERS.

The Hindus number some 217 millions, the Mohammedans about 68½ millions, the Buddhists 11½ millions, the Christians 4¼ millions, the Sikhs 3¼ millions and the Jains nearly 1¼ millions.

The Parsees number little over 100,000 or .03% of the population, but their influence in Indian life is quite disproportionate to their small numbers.

There are only about 200,000 Europeans in India, which is roughly 1 for every 2,000 Indians.

The distribution of the population from the standpoint of religion is as follows :—

Of every 100 persons, 68 are Hindus, 22 are Mohammedans, 3 are Buddhists, 1 is a Christian and 1 a Sikh, and 5 are of other religions.

### LOCATION OF RELIGIONS.

The Hindus predominate largely in the centre and the south of India, forming, for example, 89 per cent. of the population in the Madras Presidency. The Mohammedans are in a majority in the Punjab and in Bengal, and form a considerable element in the population of the United Provinces.

The Christians are to be found chiefly in the Madras Presidency. Out of 100 Christians, 93 are Indians, 4 are Europeans, and 3 are Anglo-Indians.

The Parsees are practically all to be found in Bombay.

## LANGUAGES.

It is commonly said that India is a land of many languages. The Census Report records 222 languages spoken, but the main languages are 12 in number only. The following is a list of these 12, in the order of their numerical importance :—

Hindi	is spoken by	97 millions of the people ;
Bengalee	" " "	49 " " " "
Telugu	" " "	23 " " " "
Marathi	" " "	19 " " " "
Tamil	" " "	19 " " " "
Punjabi	" " "	16 " " " "
Rajasthani	" " "	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> " " " "
Kanarese	" " "	10 " " " "
Oriya	" " "	10 " " " "
Gujarati	" " "	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> " " " "
Burmese	" " "	8 " " " "
Malayalam	" " "	7 " " " "

The only universal language in India is *English* which is the language of all higher and university education, and practically the only medium of communication between Indians from different parts of India.

## LITERACY.

According to the Census Returns of 1921 the number of literate persons in British India is just over 22 millions, amounting to 8.2 per cent. of the population. Taken according to sex, this is 13.9 amongst men, and 2.1 amongst women. Amongst Hindus, 1 out of every 13 is literate ; for men the ratio is 1 in 9, and for women 1 in 63. Amongst Mohammedans, 1 man out of every 11 is literate, and 1 woman out of every 116.

Parsees, Christians, and Buddhists have a very much higher proportion of literacy, whilst amongst the Hindus the Brahmanas (the priests) are far ahead of the other castes from this standpoint.

In the whole of India 2½ millions can read and write in English.

## EDUCATION AND COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

There is a significant connection between education and communal representation. It is noticeable that those communities which have a large literate element do not seek special representation in the Legislatures. But the Mohammedans, and the non-Brahmanas amongst the Hindus, who occupy the lowest place in the scale of education, are the most clamant for special concessions in the Legislatures. This fact would suggest that with the growth of education the demand for communal representation would lose its force.

The Communal troubles between Hindus and Moslems, which were always serious in India, have, in addition, been very much intensified by the setting up of communal electorates. Such troubles do not assume the same importance in the Indian States—where there are no such electorates—even when, as in the case of Kash-

mir, there is a Hindu Prince ruling over a people the majority of whom are Mohammedans, or, as in the case of Hyderabad, where there is a Mohammedan Prince ruling over a people the majority of whom are Hindus.

#### UNTOUCHABLES AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

In a recent debate in the Indian Legislative Assembly Mr. Lajpat Rai tabled a Resolution recommending the Governor-General in Council "to issue directions to all local governments to provide facilities for the education of untouchables and other depressed classes". An amendment was added, recommending that a crore of rupees should be set aside from the central funds for this purpose. The amendment was defeated on technical grounds, the objection made being that Education was a *transferred* subject and could not therefore be paid for from the central funds. The fact, however, was brought out that grants from the central funds are made for the education of other special classes—Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

In reply to a question put recently in the Punjab Legislative Council as to when the depressed classes might be enrolled in the Police forces, the Finance Member of the Government replied that they would be enrolled only when "there was evidence that the depressed classes were well treated on an equal footing by *all* sections of the communities". He added that that might not be till Domesday. Against this must be set the fact that a progressive and growing section of the Hindu community, amongst whom must be numbered Mr. Gandhi, have resolved and for years have been working to remove untouchability altogether.

A most important point that was brought out by the Government spokesman in the above-mentioned debate in the Legislative Assembly was that the number of the untouchable and depressed classes is estimated by the Government of India as 28.5 millions. Government spokesmen in this country are accustomed to talk of fifty or sixty millions of untouchables in India.

#### EDUCATION.

Schools, but not Universities, are a *transferred* Subject in India.

Compulsory primary education has been introduced into seven Provinces. The method adopted, however, is generally persuasive, i. e., to try and induce the parents to send their children to school. Particular interest attaches to the introduction of compulsory primary education in Bombay (where it was introduced in 1925). It is said that these schools are getting over the problem of untouchability. "No distinction whatsoever is made between the children of the 'untouchables' and those of the higher classes. They are recruited freely and admitted into the schools without demur from any quarter."



The latest Statistical Abstract for British India, presented to Parliament on 20th March 1928, gives statistics up to 1925-26. These show that whereas in 1920 there were, in educational institutions in India, 6,829,204 males and 1,377,021 females, this number in 1926 was 9,397,078 males and 1,117,243 females.

In the matter of University education it is unfortunately the case that the Universities have come to be regarded as a means to one end only, namely Government service. In consequence, they are turning out thousands of men who can find no scope for their activities. A few months ago hundreds of Indian University graduates applied for a post of ticket-collector on a railway.

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, speaking at Delhi University a year ago, suggested one method of bringing the Universities into a truer relation with Indian life. He advocated "a division of labour amongst the Indian Universities in which each could make its own contribution to the life of the whole". Bombay, for instance, should be the centre of textile research; Patna, of research in mining, engineering and geology; Calcutta, the headquarters of the Bengali people, with their ancient culture, might win renown as a centre for the study of the humanities. Such a policy, apart from the great economy to be gained from this concentration, would, as Lord Irwin stated, "have another notable result through the migration of students from Province to Province, and thus by the way of knowledge encourage a truer and stronger spirit of nationalism than exists to-day."

It is perhaps worth pointing out that Education everywhere in India is hampered for lack of funds, and especially is this the case with regard to the schools, the side which has been *transferred*.

#### INDIAN WOMEN AND EDUCATION.

An index to the state of the women's movement in India to-day is to be found in the All-India Women's Conference on Education, which met at Delhi in February 1928.

The women's movement has come late in India, with the result that it has benefited by the experience of women in other lands. It shows no signs of wishing to imitate the educational systems and pursuits of men. In fact it dislikes much of such "modern" systems of education as have already been introduced, and states that "the modern system of education seems to be something quite apart from the real and intimate life of students and particularly girls."

This Conference defined Education as training which will enable the child or individual to develop his or her latent capacities to their fullest extent for the service of humanity, and laid great stress on "the necessity of placing before students the high ideals of social service with a spiritual atmosphere as a background."

This emphasis on the spiritual and social aspect of women's education found practical expression in a Resolution urging that Universities should extend their courses to include fine arts, social science, advanced domestic science, journalism and architecture.

#### MARRIAGE AGE.

In the matter of Child Marriage, a Resolution passed by the All-India Women's Conference throws an interesting light on the policy of the Government of India and the attitude of representative women on this important subject. A Resolution was passed urging the Government and Provincial Legislatures to follow the example set by several Indian States which have raised the legal age of marriage, and demanding that the legal age of marriage should be made for girls and boys 16 and 21 respectively.

There is no minimum age limit for marriage. The contract of marriage, which entails a lifelong status, may be made by the parents when the children are infants. The present age of consent in marriage in British India is 13 for girls. A Bill recently introduced by Indians in the Legislative Assembly to raise the age of consent for unmarried girls to 16 and for married girls to 14 was opposed by the Government and postponed by the usual device of circulating it "with a view to eliciting public opinion." A similar Bill had been introduced in 1924, sent to a Select Committee, and thrown out with Government help in 1925. Another Bill to prohibit the marriage of girls below 12 and boys below 15, introduced by another Indian member of the Legislative Assembly in 1927, was sent to a Select Committee—the Government motion to "circulate the Bill for eliciting public opinion" being defeated by 56 votes to 51.

#### Limited Extent of Self-Government.

A certain amount of self-government was given to India under the Government of India Act of 1919 which was put into operation in 1921. In inaugurating the present reform system in India in 1921 the Duke of Connaught, speaking for the King-Emperor, used the words :

"This is the beginning of *Swaraj* (self-government) in My Empire."

The process of Indianisation i. e. the appointment of Indians to vacancies in the public services, has however been very slow and has been a constant subject of complaint on the part of Indians.

#### NO FINANCIAL CONTROL.

In the Central Government, as in the Provincial Governments, the Legislature has no financial control, no "power of the purse". The Viceroy and Provincial Governors possess what is known as

the Power of Certification i. e., they can certify over the heads of the Legislature any expenditure which they consider necessary or desirable.

Several important items in the Indian Budget, moreover, are outside the purview of the Legislature. Such items are Military Expenditure, Salaries and Pensions, Expenditure on the Foreign Departments, etc.

#### NO REAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The chief criticism of the present scheme is that there is no real responsibility. The Government may be defeated, but it does not resign: it simply goes on as before. Bills may be passed by the Legislative Assembly to which the Viceroy may refuse his consent. If, on the other hand, the Government brings in a Bill which is defeated by the Assembly it may be passed into law by means of the Viceroy's power of Certification.

The same is true of Government in the Provinces.

#### Government of India Act.

The Government of India Act showed both centralising and decentralising tendencies. On the one hand, it imposed Government from the top, and the political psychology of the newly created capital of New Delhi; on the other hand, it set up Provincial Councils.

#### THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

To take the centralised system of Government first. There are two Chambers, an Upper House—the Council of State—and a Lower House—the Indian Legislative Assembly. The powers of the two Houses in regard to legislation are absolutely equal, except that the Legislative Assembly alone considers the Budget and authorises expenditure. In practice, however, the Council of State, owing to its large proportion of officials and nominees and its very limited franchise, is as reactionary as any Second Chamber and in general the mere mouthpiece of the Government.

The ordinary term of the Council of State is five years, whilst that of the Legislative Assembly is limited to three.

#### COUNCIL OF STATE.

The Council of State consists of 60 members, of whom 34 are elected, 20 are officials, and 6 are non-officials nominated by the Government of India and on whose votes the Government can normally rely.

The electoral roll of the Council of State numbers only 32,126. Of the 34 seats filled by election, 3 are reserved for members

elected by the Chambers of Commerce (representative of European interests) in Bombay, Bengal and Burma, the electorates in each case being very small. In the case of Bombay, for instance, the electorate amounts to only 51. The rest of the elected seats, with the exception of 1 reserved for a "general" representative from Burma and 1 for a Sikh representative, are divided between Mohammedans and "Non-Mohammedans".

#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Legislative Assembly consists of 140 members, of whom 105 are elected, 26 are officials, and 14 are non-officials nominated by the Government. Of the last, 1 is nominated to represent Labour.

According to the Official Return of the last elections the total electorate of the Legislative Assembly is 1,122,780. When we recall that the population of British India amounts to 247 millions, we sense either an outrageous discrepancy—or the impracticability of imposing a Central Government on a country as big as a continent.

#### COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

Elections in India, whether to the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State, or to the Legislative Councils in the Provinces, do not take place on a common roll of voters. The total electorate is divided into separate electorates along lines of religion, race, vested interest, etc., and members are elected from constituencies within these communal electorates.

The 105 elected members of the Legislative Assembly are elected as follows :—

51	by special	"Non-Mohammedan"	constituencies ;
30	"	"	Mohammedan
9	"	"	European
7	"	"	Landowner
4	"	"	Trade
2	"	"	Sikh
2	"	"	General

#### PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

In the various Provincial Legislative Councils there is a wider franchise, varying from 1,821,155 in Burma to 170,924 in the Central Provinces. They are single chambers with elected majorities, 70 per cent. being the statutory minimum. 20 per cent. may be officials, and the Governor has the right, which is exercised in all the Provinces, of nominating members to represent special interests.

The total electorate for the Provincial Legislative Councils at the 1926 General Election amounted to 8,303,723.

## LABOUR REPRESENTATION BY NOMINATION.

In only 6 out of the 9 Provinces possessing Legislative Councils are any seats provided for Labour representation, and in each case these seats are filled by nomination by the Governor of the Province concerned.

The Provinces in which such Labour representation does exist and the number of nominated representatives are as follows :—

Bombay . . . . .	3
Bengal . . . . .	2
Assam . . . . .	1 (European)
Punjab . . . . .	1
Central Provinces . . . . .	1 (European)
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	1

## EMPLOYERS' REPRESENTATION.

In the same Provincial Legislative Councils the special representation of employers' interests by means of election and nomination—including representatives of European, Landowning, Industrial, Commercial and Planting interests—is as follows :—

Bombay . . . . .	25
Bengal . . . . .	12
Assam . . . . .	6
Punjab . . . . .	7
Central Provinces . . . . .	3
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	9
Madras . . . . .	13
United Provinces . . . . .	10

## COMMUNAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

As has been mentioned above, the franchise in India, so far as it exists, derives not from the individual but from the community or special interest. A communal electorate may be defined as a community or special interest which *as such* is entitled to vote.

The principal communal electorates are "Non-Mohammedan" (including Hindus, Parsees, Jains, Burmese, Christians, and other "Non-Mohammedan" communities not separately represented), Mohammedan, Landowners, Cotton-millowners, Mineowners, Tea-planters, Chambers of Commerce (which organisations, whose chief officers and influential members are European, represent not Indian but European commercial interests), various business associations, Universities, racial and religious communities.

The most serious charge against this system of election by communal electorates is that it intensifies differences existing between communities, and puts a premium on the advocacy of interests of the particular community regardless of the interests of the people as a whole.

Some of the electorates are very large and almost unworkable, both as to number and extent. Others, representing vested interests, can boast of no more than 20 voters, or even less.

## ELECTORAL ANOMALIES.

This anomaly is glaringly revealed in the Provincial Legislative Councils where the franchise given to capitalist interests as such is an obvious feature. The Madras Trades Association (a European body), with only 16 electors, returns 1 member to the Madras Legislative Council, and a similar trade association in Bombay, with just 20 electors, sends a member to the Bombay Legislative Council. Yet there is not one elected seat in any of the Provincial Legislative Councils reserved for a Labour representative, and actually in Madras there is not even a representative of Labour nominated by the Governor. In Bengal out of a total of 114 seats open for election in the Legislative Council 6 trading associations have 13 seats between them, although these 13 seats represent together only 1,038 out of a total electorate of 1,184,784. Similarly in Bombay the Bombay Chamber of Commerce (a European body representing European commercial interests) has 2 seats in the Legislative Council, whilst no less than 5 other commercial associations have 1 seat each. Altogether in Bombay these special capitalist interests have 7 out of 86 elected seats—yet as electors they number 755 out of 778,321.

## WOMEN AND THE FRANCHISE.

Women were not enfranchised by the Government of India Act, but it was left to the various Legislatures concerned to confer the vote on their own responsibility should they so desire.

At the time of the elections in 1926 women were enfranchised, both for the Central and Provincial Legislatures, in six out of the nine Provinces, and took part in the elections.

## DYARCHY.

The outstanding feature of Government in the Provinces is the system known as Dyarchy, which divides the administration into two distinct spheres—the *transferred* and *reserved* halves of the Government.

The most important of the *transferred* subjects are :—

Education, Local Self-Government, Medical Relief, Sanitation, and Agriculture (but not Irrigation).

The most important of the *reserved* subjects are :—

Law and Order, Finance, Police, Gaols, Labour, Forests.

*Transferred* subjects are in the hands of Ministers, members of and responsible to the Local Legislature.

*Reserved* subjects are in the hands of the Executive Council, the members of which are appointed by and responsible to the Crown.

Although under the Government of India Act Ministers in the Provincial Governments, responsible for *transferred* subjects, must

either be members of the Local Legislature or become so within a period of six months from assuming office, and so are apparently responsible to the Local Legislature, their responsibility is not a real one—because they have no corporate responsibility.

The advice of a Minister is only a recommendation to a Governor. The Governor may over-rule such advice. Should the Minister be over-ruled on a matter of importance or principle, he may feel compelled to resign—but his resignation does not entail the resignation of his colleagues. They are not a *Cabinet*: there is nothing in the statute to insist on the principle of the collective responsibility of Ministers.

Nor, it may be added, is there anything in that statute to ensure the joint deliberation of the two halves of the Government, the *reserved* and the *transferred*. One or two Governors may attempt to do so, but in ordinary practice the Governor acts with the Executive Council in dealing with the *reserved* subjects and with his Ministers, usually, individually, in dealing with the *transferred* subjects.

#### MUNICIPALITIES AND DISTRICT BOARDS.

There are some 767 municipalities in British India with nearly 19 million people resident within their limits. Of this total of municipalities, however, nearly 700 have a population of less than 50,000 persons. The proportion of the total population in the various provinces living in municipal areas varies widely from province to province. In Bombay the proportion is greatest—20 per cent—whilst in Assam it is the smallest, being only 8 per cent.

Of the total membership of these 767 municipalities, about half are elected, 27 per cent nominated, and 8 per cent ex-officio members. The tendency during the last seven years has been for the elected element to increase, and on most of these bodies the elected members have a majority.

The chief functions relate to public safety, health and convenience, and instruction. The funds for meeting these expenses are derived principally from taxation, just over a third coming from municipal property, contributions from provincial revenues and miscellaneous sources. Generally speaking the income of municipalities in India is very small, the four cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon, accounting for 40 per cent of the total municipal income.

The duties and functions assigned to municipalities in urban areas are in rural areas entrusted to District Boards. As only 10 per cent. of the population of British India is town dwelling, greater importance and interest attaches to these bodies. Nearly every district in India possesses such a Board, with usually two or more sub-district Boards subordinate to it. In 1925-26 the number of

District Boards and subsidiary bodies was 1,269, with a total membership of 21,000, 73 per cent of whom were elected members and 27 per cent officials (ex-officio and nominated).

The most important item of revenue is provincial rates. The principal objects of expenditure are education, which has come remarkably to the front since 1921, civil works, such as roads, and bridges.

Both Municipalities and District Boards have been handicapped considerably by financial stringency during the early years of the Reforms. In addition to the shortness of funds and the generally high level of prices, they were called upon, with the withdrawal of official control, to meet extra expenditure on services which used formerly to be rendered gratis by the Government servants belonging to other spheres. They naturally endeavoured to economise, but their efforts only led to a lowering of efficiency, and, having undertaken important schemes of education and medical relief, they found themselves in difficulties and were obliged to apply to the Government for financial assistance, which was not forthcoming. Consequently many local bodies have fallen into debt, which has necessitated a rigorous curtailment of their activities.

#### Labour and Trade Unions.

From the political point of view Labour is a *reserved* subject, although Industries are *transferred*.

There is a Labour movement, but this is still in its infancy, and the Trade Unions are rather more in the nature of Strike Committees than of real Trade Unions. The total Trade Union membership is estimated at 196,000. 50,000 of these are in organisations of Government employees. It is estimated (November 1927) that 125,000 Trade Unionists are in the All-India Trade Union Congress. The total number of *possible* Trade Unionists is estimated at about 5,000,000.

The Government of India has shown itself generally sympathetic towards Labour legislation, and has ratified many of the International Labour Conventions. The carrying-out of these Conventions, however, as is the case with Labour legislation in general, is far from ensured owing to the utterly inadequate number of Factory Inspectors on the one hand and the ignorance and intimidation of the Indian worker on the other. For instance, in 1924 only 83% of the factories were inspected, leaving 17% (1057 factories in all) without any inspection whatever. Such inspection as exists is a farce, inspectors rarely visiting a factory more than once in a year and then winking at irregularities. As an example : it was reported that in Calcutta several jute factories were violating the provisions regarding hours of work, but that this fact was being ignored by the Chief Inspector of Factories, although brought to his notice by the Secretary of the Trade Unions.



The number of factories rose in 1926 from 6,926 to 7,251. The factory population rose to 1,518,391. The number of women employed in factories increased by about 2,000 to 249,669 representing about 16 per cent. of the factory population. The number of children employed fell from 68,725 to 60,094.

The number of reported accidents in factories has steadily increased for some years and in 1926 showed a further large increase from 12,645 to 14,866. The Chief Inspector reports that the most lamentable feature of the year 1926 was "a series of catastrophes due to technical incompetence."

So far as intimidation is concerned, it is unfortunately encouraged by the legislation as it at present stands. In this connection, Workmen's Compensation may be cited. A worker has to apply to his employer for compensation in the first instance and, should he fail to obtain satisfaction, to the Commissioner under Workmen's Compensation. From this it is found that men will not press their claims for fear of losing their jobs. That they are very often ignorant of the very existence of a Workmen's Compensation Act is proved by the fact that the writer of this Memorandum found in addressing the Port Trust employees in Madras that they had no knowledge of the existence of the Act even after it had been in operation for nearly two years. Yet Madras is amongst the most progressive towns, from the point of view of organised Labour, and it was there that Trade Unionism in India first started.

It is worth emphasising that the Reforms Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Government of India in 1924, unanimously recommended increased representation for Labour and the substitution of the principle of election for that of nomination. No action has been taken on this recommendation.

#### INDIA AND THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

The advent of the International Labour Office, coinciding as it did with the beginning of the Reformed Constitution in India, has had a considerable influence in India. Almost the first business to be discussed by the reformed Indian Parliament were the Washington Conventions,

#### FACTORIES ACT, 1922.

The outcome was the Indian Factories Act of 1922, which limited the hours of adults employed in factories to 60 a week and to 11 a day, whilst children between the ages of 9 and 12, hitherto permitted to work 6 or 7 hours a day, were completely excluded from factory work until the age of 12. 12 formerly had been the age at which they were considered adult and compelled to work full-time, but children from 12 to 15 are now considered half-timers—a classification formerly given to children between the ages of 9 and 12.

#### **MINES ACT AMENDMENT, 1923.**

The amendment of the Indian Mines Act, 1923, though it still leaves much to be desired, was also undertaken as the result of the Washington Conference. Last year (1927) the Government of India introduced and circulated for eliciting public opinion a Bill to amend the Indian Mines Act, the chief object of which is to impose a limitation on the daily hours of work in the mines, to introduce a system of shifts, and to regularise that system where it already exists. The maximum limit proposed is a 12-hour day. There is at present a weekly limit of 54 hours underground and 60 hours above ground, but no daily limit for either men or women.

The average daily number of persons employed in and about the mines in India in 1926 was 260,113, of whom 181,616 were men and 78,497 were women. The number of adult women working underground in the mines in India in 1926 was given in the British House of Commons on 15th November, 1927, as 28,605. Of these women 18,910 were employed underground in the coal mines in Bihar and Orissa, 8,010 in the coal mines in Bengal and 1,472 in the coal mines in the Central Provinces, whilst 223 women were employed in the salt mines of the Punjab.

According to the latest Report of the All-India Trades Union Congress, which met in November 1927, the Government have not yet made rules prohibiting the employment of women underground in the mines.

#### **WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT, 1923.**

The system of payment of wages leaves much to be desired. In Bombay, for instance, wages are normally paid on the 15th of each month for the work done for the previous month. By this means, a man is kept waiting six weeks before he receives payment of the wages earned by him.

A Bill was introduced into the Central Legislature about two years ago with the object of ending this practice. The Government of India promised to enquire then. That enquiry is still continuing.

Other measures, for which credit is claimed by the Indian delegation to the International Labour Office, are the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 and the Trade Unions Act of 1926. Indirect fruits also claimed are that the enquiry into working conditions for women, originated at Washington, have revealed the necessity for women factory inspectors, whilst discussion of the Unemployment Convention has brought the project of Labour Exchanges, although they have been, so far, turned down by the Government of India, appreciably nearer.

#### **TRADE UNION ACT, 1926.**

On 1st June 1927 the first Indian Trade Unions Act came into operation. Information is not yet available as to which of the

Unions affiliated to the All-India Trades Union Congress have registered themselves under the Act.

#### ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

A draft Arbitration and Conciliation Bill was published by the Government of India about four years ago. This Bill, however, has not yet been introduced.

#### FINING THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

Nor has legislation yet been introduced to deal with the evil of inflicting fines on industrial workers, although the Bombay Labour Office has completed an elaborate enquiry into the matter, and the Government of India itself sent out a questionnaire in July 1926. The system is universal in all textile mills in Bombay Presidency. No definite limits as to the extent of the fines are laid down in any of the mills. Fines are inflicted even in Government establishments.

#### INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

But probably the most important gain to India from the advent of the International Labour Office is connected with the principle already indicated in dealing with Trade Unions in India—namely the fact that the East is waking up to its responsibilities as the sweat-shop of the world, and is determined to put an end to this unenviable and menacing position. The International Labour Office is conducting a documentary enquiry into industrial conditions in the East, and the results of this enquiry should be of immense use both for securing the amelioration of the lot of Indian workers, and for adjusting the conditions between East and West.

#### INDIAN INDUSTRIES.

Industry in India supports 10 per cent. of the population, but a very large part of this percentage is engaged in village industries. Organised industry occupies only 1 per cent. of the population.

Many of the textile mills, coal mines, iron and steel works, are in the hands of Indians and financed by Indian capital.

#### AGRICULTURE.

The Indian industrialists and middle classes wish to move quickly towards an increasing industrialisation. About 70% of the population is engaged in agriculture, which is mostly dependent upon a variable monsoon though irrigation works have been constructed in several Provinces. The periodic nature of the monsoons necessarily keeps a good part of the agricultural portion of the population without enough work, but cottage industries, which formerly eked out life in the villages, are suffering from the competition of large scale factory productions.

In case of a wide-spread failure of the monsoon the country is subject to famine, in which both people and cattle suffer very severely.

One of the chief consequences to India of the impact of British capitalism, owing to the resulting dumping of cheap manufactured goods from Lancashire, Bradford and later Birmingham, has been the destruction of village industries and the decay of the small towns previously engaged in indigenous trades. This has resulted in an increase in numbers of those wholly and directly dependent on agriculture. Thus the agriculturist, deprived of subsidiary sources of employment, is more than ever dependent on the chances of the weather and other forces of nature over which man has little or no control.

There are very many wealthy landlords, many of them absentees, and a very vicious system of land tenure.

#### POVERTY.

The people generally are very poor. The average income of an Indian is estimated at something like £3 a year.

The standard of life is very low compared with European standards, and the vitality of the people in consequence too poor to resist the onslaughts of famine or pestilence.

#### LIFE PERIOD AND INFANT MORTALITY.

The average life-period of a man in India is 23.5 years compared with about 50 years in England. This is due to the enormous death-rate of infants during the first year. In Bombay, in the parts where factory workers live, the death-rate for infants has at times exceeded 800 per 1,000, as compared with 75 in England and Wales. For All-India the infantile death rate for 1924 was 188.6 and for 1925 174 per thousand.

#### CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

A Co-operative Act was passed in 1912 which made it possible for societies of every kind and with every object to be started in India. Under the Reforms Co-operation became a *transferred* subject. But all Provinces, except Bombay where a new and improved Co-operative Act has been introduced, are still working under the 1912 Act.

Since the Reforms Co-operation, as a *transferred* subject, has been dealt with in each Province by the Provincial Legislative Council. Its administrative side is guided by a Minister responsible to the Council and funds required from the public purse for co-operative purposes are voted by the Provincial Councils out of what remains in the Budget for votable *transferred* subjects.

The co-operative movement in India began with simple credit societies and until 1920 may be said to have consisted solely of societies connected with agriculture. To feed these societies, however, and partly to guide and supervise them, there was later instituted a system of Co-operative District and finally Provincial Central Banks. The institution of urban credit societies was started in Bombay in 1920 and the example set by Bombay has been followed with considerable success in Madras, Burma and Bengal.

The number of societies in India grew in the ten years 1916 to 1926 from 21,737 to 69,894, and, during the same period, loans issued by these societies increased from Rs. 67,057,417 to Rs. 343,739,792.

In 1925-26 there were over 3 million members of primary societies in British India, the highest proportion of members per 1,000 of the inhabitants being found in Bombay where it was 22.7 or more than one-tenth of the house-holders of the Province. The next highest proportion was found in the Punjab with 19.3 per thousand inhabitants, followed by Madras with 17.6, Burma with 11.6 and Bengal with 9.6.

The working capital within the movement amounted in 1925-26 to £ 42,750,000, much the largest share of this total being held by movements in the Punjab and Bombay where the amount of working capital held worked out at 6s. 9d. and 6s. 10d. respectively per head of the population.

The State aid works out at about 1 per cent. of the working capital.

### **The Army in India.**

India is the chief training ground for the European British Army. We have there some 30 or 40 battalions of Infantry, besides Cavalry, Artillery and Air Forces. All of these are kept perpetually on a war footing.

The Indian Army consists of about one-third European and two-thirds Indian. In the latter practically all the King's commissioned officers are at present Europeans. Some, but very few, King's Commissions in the Infantry and Cavalry have been given, since about six years ago, to Indians, but so far Indian officers are in the junior ranks only.

Enlistment in the Indian Army is voluntary, and is usually confined to a few so-called martial races.

Indian troops can be used abroad, though in these cases the cost is as a rule paid by the British Exchequer. In the Great War Indian troops were brought to fight in France, East Africa, Mesopotamia, etc. They were the first troops to be sent to China in the recent crisis there, against the wishes of Indians and in spite of protest meetings held in every principal Indian town.

## INDIANISATION.

The process of Indianisation, especially in the Army, is very slow. Even to-day no Indian yet holds commissioned rank in the Artillery, Engineers, Air Force, or in any of the special branches of the Army—although, following on the Indian Sandhurst Committee Report, the Government intimated in March 1928 that they intended to throw open a certain number of these to Indians.

The fact that they must necessarily rely on the British Army for their defence is one of the chief arguments against any early grant of real self-government to Indians.

## NO INDIAN CONTROL OVER ARMY, NAVY, OR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Naval, military and foreign affairs are kept entirely in the hands of the British Government officials, and no questions on this matter are allowed to be put in the Indian Legislature.

A question which was put down in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the sending of troops to China was disallowed by the Viceroy.

## Fiscal Policy.

The present fiscal policy of the Government of India may be characterised as discriminating protection.

There is a revenue tariff up to thirty per cent. on many of the imports, though some kinds of imports are admitted free. There is no preference given to British goods except in certain specified iron and steel imports.

The average percentage of the duties imposed of the value of the manufactured goods imported is 16 as compared with 23 for Canada and 27 for Australia (League of Nations Memo. on Tariff Level Indices).

## GOVERNMENT MONOPOLIES.

Opium and salt are Government monopolies. Drink Licences are sold by the Government to the highest bidder.

## SUPERIOR SERVICES.

The Superior Services (the chief of which is the Indian Civil Service) are under the personal direction of the Governors, subject to the control of the Secretary of State for India.

## Indian States.

Indian States may be divided roughly into :—

- (1) States which enjoy in internal affairs full sovereign rights ;
- (2) States which, whilst enjoying full sovereign rights within their territories, are subject to the advisory jurisdiction of the Government of India.

- (3) The small States, many of whom owe their existence to grants from the British Government and enjoy civil and criminal jurisdiction within prescribed limits, the Government of India or their agents having considerable powers of interference.

In actual practice, however, the Government of India have arrogated to themselves considerable powers of interference in all States.

It is the contention of the big States that they should be treated differently from the small ones. Their contention is based on their historical antecedents, treaties and engagements.

#### LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIAN STATES.

The sovereignty of the Indian States presents a very complex problem. They are not sovereign in the strict sense of the word, and yet in point of fact it is true to say, at least of the bigger States, that in matters of internal administration they can pass any laws, they can establish any form of administration, maintain their own police, their own army and their own Courts of Law. Both in England and in India British Courts have recognised their sovereign position.

It is sometimes argued that the Indian States have gained a new access of sovereignty to their status by being allowed to send one of their number to the Imperial Conference and to the League of Nations. But, with regard to the League of Nations, it is on the other hand argued that by so doing they gave up part of their sovereignty. For no other State was represented by anyone of more exalted status than a Minister.

Except in two or three of the southern Indian States the form of Government is absolutely autocratic. Popular control of the machinery of their Governments or of public finances exists nowhere. Indeed, a good many of the Indian Princes look upon the revenue of their States as their private incomes.

The Governor-General of British India, as such, has no status whatever with regard to the Indian Princes. His relationship with them is that of the King's Viceroy. The Governor-General is merely head of the Government of *British* India.

#### NO CONTROL OVER INDIAN STATES.

Neither the Central nor the Provincial Legislatures have any control over the Indian States, nor are questions regarding these States allowed to be put in any British Indian Legislature.

#### EDUCATION IN INDIAN STATES.

As a rule, there is even less education to be found in Indian States than there is in British India. As exceptions, however, may

be mentioned Baroda, Travancore, and Mysore. In Baroda, where education is free and to a great extent compulsory, all boys go to school. In Travancore 81 per cent. of the boys and 33 per cent. of the girls are at school. In Mysore 46 per cent. of the boys, but only 10 per cent. of the girls are at school.

#### CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

At the time of the introduction of the present scheme of Reforms a Chamber of Princes was established with power to appoint a Standing Committee.

This Chamber has no statutory existence, but was brought into being by the Government of India with the concurrence of the then majority of Indian Princes.

It is only a Deliberative Body. It meets once a year at Delhi and is presided over by the Viceroy. The Political Secretary of the Government of India acts as its Secretary.

The internal affairs of individual States are excluded from its purview. It only discusses questions of common interest affecting the Princes *inter se*, or questions of an imperial character, such as self-defence, in which the Indian States and the Government of India are interested.

Its recommendations are not binding on the Government of India.

It should be noted that some of the largest Indian States have declined to take part in the Chamber of Princes. Such, amongst others, are Hyderabad, Mysore, and Indore.

#### The Present Political Position.

It is impossible to understand or appreciate the present position in India without realising the various steps that have led up to the decision for a general boycott of the present Royal Commission throughout the length and breadth of British India—with the exception, chiefly, of those who wish to perpetuate and extend the present system of communal representation.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919.

The Government of India Act, 1919, provided that at the expiry of ten years after the passing of the Act a Commission should be appointed "for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India." The duty of the Commission is to report "as to whether, and to what extent, it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein."



The Preamble to the Act provided that "the time and manner of each advance (in self-government) can be determined only by (the British) Parliament upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." Indians of all shades of opinion have always expressed the view that that Clause is in the nature of an insult to them.

#### INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION, 1921.

As long ago as September 1921 it was urged in the Indian Legislative Assembly that, with a view to removing certain fundamental defects of the 1919 Act, it was imperative that an immediate examination of the Reformed Constitution should be instituted. The spokesman of the Government of India expressed his personal opinion that the Constitution would have to be revised at an earlier date than the proposed ten years. A Resolution, embodying a formula actually suggested by the Home Member of the Government of India (Sir William Vincent) was adopted by the Assembly in the following terms without a division :—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he should convey to the Secretary of State for India the view of this Assembly, that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warrants a re-examination and revision of the Constitution at an earlier date than 1929."

No steps, however, were taken by the British Government to give effect to this expressed wish of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

#### ROYAL COMMISSION SUPERIOR SERVICES, 1923.

A Royal Commission was appointed in June 1923 under the presidency of Lord Lee to consider the position of the "Superior Services" in India. Although they had been bitterly opposed to the setting up of that Commission and in the Legislative Assembly not only voted against it but refused to vote supplies for its functioning, Indians co-operated and sat on the Commission. The Viceroy had the money granted over the head and in spite of the Legislative Assembly protests. That Commission arrived at a unanimous compromise report the recommendations of which have since been modified by the Government in favour of British interests.

#### INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION, 1924.

In February 1924 the Indian Legislative Assembly passed a Resolution urging the summoning at an early date of a Round Table Conference to draw up a scheme for a new Constitution more in accord with Indian aspirations.

#### INDIAN DEPARTMENTAL ENQUIRY, 1924.

Soon after taking office in 1924 the Labour Government instituted an Indian Departmental Enquiry preliminary to the setting up of a public enquiry into the Reformed Constitution.

#### PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT, APRIL, 1924.

In April 1924 the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking as Prime Minister, said to India :—

"We know of the serious condition of affairs in India and we want to improve it.

"Keep your faith in a British Government.

"An enquiry is being held by the Government which means that enquiry to be a serious one.

"We mean that the enquiry shall produce results which will be a basis for consideration of the Indian Constitution . . . which we hope will help Indians to co-operate on the way towards the creation of a system which will be self-government."

#### REFORMS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE, MAY, 1924.

In May 1924 the Labour Government followed this up by appointing the Reforms Enquiry Committee, presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member of the Government of India and the Leader of the Legislative Assembly. Before the Reforms Enquiry Committee had reported, the Labour Government had been replaced by the present Conservative Government. After the taking of evidence had been closed, and when the members of the Committee were called together to consider their draft report, some further reactionary witnesses were brought before them who *in camera* gave evidence in flat contradiction of their published written evidence.

Two Reports followed, a Majority and a Minority Report. The majority consisted of five members, three of whom were officials, one an ex-official, and the other a European capitalist. The minority consisted of four, three of whom were ex-officials, and one the leader of the Independent Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly. It is a mistake however to refer to the two Reports as those of the Majority and of the Minority because, a few weeks after their publication, one of the members of the Majority (Sir Muhammad Shafi) publicly supported the recommendations of the Minority, as soon as he was free from the responsibilities of office in the Viceroy's Executive Council. This converted the Minority into a Majority.

The most significant thing about the so-called Minority Report is that it is based entirely upon conclusions reached by Ministers and Indian Members of the Executive Councils in all the Provinces, by some of the Provincial Governments, and, in some matters, even by the Government of India.

The view expressed by the Minority was that :—

"The Constitution should now be put on a permanent basis, with provisions for future automatic progress, so as to secure stability in the Government and willing co-operation of the people."

The only cure for Dyarchy according to the Minority Report is in their words, "in the replacement of the Dyarchical system by a unitary and responsible Provincial Government." And, with the Provisional Governments fully responsible to the Legislative Councils, they recognised that the Central Government could not remain irresponsible to the Legislature. The Central Executive, therefore, dealing with civil administration, would have simultaneously to be made responsible to the Legislature.

#### INDIA'S NATIONAL DEMAND, 1925.

In August 1925 the findings of the Reforms Enquiry Committee were considered in the Indian Legislative Assembly. An important amendment embodying India's National Demand was passed, receiving the support of members of all the Indian parties. This amendment asked for responsible Government with the Executive responsible to the Legislature, except in matters such as the expenditure on military service up to a fixed limit, expenditure classed as political and foreign, and payment of debts and liabilities, etc.

Again no action was taken by the Government, either on the Reports of the Reforms Enquiry Committee or on the Demand of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

#### INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE, 1925.

Then there was appointed the Indian Sandhurst Committee in June 1925, on which Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the Leader of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly, and other Indians co-operated as members. It was presided over by no less a person than Lieut-General, Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the Indian General Staff. This Committee took evidence not only in India but in Europe and America and, as in the case of the Lee Commission, by a series of compromises presented on 14th November 1926 a unanimous report.

This Report was held up from publication for some considerable time for Government consideration. It was ultimately published—but *without* the report of the Sub-Committee which visited Europe and America, although Sir Andrew Skeen and the other members of the Committee unanimously recommended that it should be published.

After a very long delay, the Government announced in March 1928 that it did not intend to carry out the recommendations of this Committee. What the Government has agreed to do is simply to carry out the proposals put before the Committee on behalf of the British Government—proposals that were turned down by the Committee in order to get a unanimous report, and after the Indian members of the Committee had, with the same object, abandoned their proposals.

## INDIAN NAVY BILL, 1927.

Then again, during the 1927 Session of Parliament, there was introduced and passed through both Houses of Parliament a Bill called the Indian Navy Bill. In the criticism of this measure in the House of Commons it was pointed out that the Indian Legislature had no control over the "Indian" Navy, and that it was in reality a very thinly camouflaged addition to the British Navy. Indians believe that it merely hinges up with the Singapore Naval Base and the Far Eastern policy of which it is a part. The Indian Legislative Assembly refused to pass that Bill when it was presented to them in March 1928.

## INDIANS' PRESENT ATTITUDE.

Leaders of political India in the central Legislature feel that they have gained nothing by all their co-operation with the British Government, and that they can fare no worse, and may fare better, by now adopting a policy of non-co-operation until the justice of their demands is acknowledged by the British Government.

## The Statutory Commission, 1927.

The fact that the Statutory Commission was appointed in November 1927—at a time when there was no considerable demand for it—caused considerable suspicion in Indian minds. The Prime Minister's first statement, in announcing the appointment of the Royal Commission, was such as, in their view, to leave no opening whatever for any self-respecting Indian to co-operate.

That statement, however, was considerably modified later on through the efforts of a sub-committee, appointed by the Parliamentary Labour Party, which had meeting after meeting with Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India. The points agreed to on the representations of the Labour sub-committee were never clearly stated, either by the Prime Minister or by the Secretary of State for India, and it was impossible to get Indians to believe that there had been any modification of the Prime Minister's original proposals.

The Simon Commission was met in India on 3rd February 1928 with boycott and *hartal* (strike). There is no outstanding leader—no leader with any considerable following in India—who has not declared himself in favour of the boycott.

It was proposed that the Government should ask the various Indian Legislatures to set up Committees to co-operate with the Simon Commission. Realising, however, that such a proposal would, in the present state of feeling in India, be defeated in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Government postponed the request for the appointment of such committees until the Commission should

return to India in September. In consequence, a motion was brought forward in the Assembly by the Leader of the Nationalist Party proposing a boycott of the Commission by the Assembly. This motion was carried by 68 votes to 62. But these 62 votes against the boycott show on analysis that only 12 elected Indians voted against the policy of boycott—the remainder of the 62 votes being cast by officials, Europeans and nominated members. In the Council of State 34 voted for Co-operation with the Commission and 13 against. In analysing these votes, however, we find that the majority was made up of 16 officials, 7 nominated members, 3 elected Europeans and only 8 elected Indians. The minority of 13 was composed of 12 elected and 1 nominated Indians.

#### BRITISH LABOUR PARTY POLICY.

The present policy of the Labour Party with regard to India was laid down in the Resolution adopted at the Annual Conference at Liverpool in 1925.

#### LIVERPOOL RESOLUTION, 1925.

That Conference in terms recognised the right of the Indian peoples to full self-government and self-determination.

It welcomed the declarations of representative Indian leaders in favour of free and equal partnership with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and expressed the view that the policy of the British Government should be one of co-operation with the Indian people with this object.

It expressed the conviction of the Labour Party that the political situation in India made it imperative that immediate steps should be taken to place the Indian constitution on a permanent basis, and, with a view to a new atmosphere of friendly discussion, urged that all coercive measures should be withdrawn.

It declared its agreement with the conclusions of the Minority Report of the Indian Reforms Enquiry Committee that "the difficulties inherent in the Government of India Act 1919 cannot be remedied satisfactorily by an amendment of the Government of India Act or of the rules thereunder".

It noted the declaration of Lord Birkenhead, as Secretary of State for India, that the British Government would most carefully examine any constitution framed by Indians and carrying with it a fair measure of general agreement amongst the peoples of India, but regretted that the invitation had been in effect delayed until 1929.

It invited the Secretary of State for India to examine the Commonwealth of India Bill, and any other proposals that might be submitted, and it concluded by requesting him to call a Conference

of representatives of the various Indian parties, with a view to the immediate application of a Constitution in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people.

#### BLACKPOOL RESOLUTION, 1927.

The Labour Party at the Annual Conference at Blackpool in 1927 unanimously passed the following Resolution :—

"The Conference reaffirms the right of the Indian peoples to full self-government and self-determination, and therefore is of opinion that the policy of the British Government should be one of continuous co-operation with the Indian people, with the object of establishing India, at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Conference declares that the Royal Commission to be appointed under the Government of India Act should be so constituted, and its method of doing its work so arranged, that it will enjoy the confidence and co-operation of the Indian people.

The Conference reaffirms its declaration that, with a view to a new atmosphere for friendly discussion of the constitutional status of India, all coercive measures and repressive legislation should be withdrawn; it recognises that some steps have already been taken in the release of political prisoners, especially in Bengal, and that the results have admittedly justified action; the Conference, however, urges the Government to use its authority in favour of the immediate release or trial of all those persons now in prison, or detained without trial, who were convicted by Martial Law or Special Tribunals."

#### PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY RESOLUTION, 1927.

The British Parliamentary Labour Party on 9th November 1927 passed the following Resolution :—

"The Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, while welcoming the proposed inquiry into the working and amendment of the Indian Constitution, regrets that, in some respects, the procedure announced by the British Government falls short of affording the fullest opportunity to the representatives of Indian opinion to express their views.

"The Party intends, during the discussion of the proposals in Parliament, to get them so amended and extended as to remove the present defects and doubts, so as to give a more direct and co-operative voice in the deliberations to the joint Select Committees to be set up by the Central Indian and Provincial Legislatures.

"The Labour Party will endeavour to secure such an improvement in the procedure as will make it possible for a self-respecting people to co-operate heartily in making the inquiry a great contribution to the welfare and democratic advance of the Indian people.

The British Labour Party would suggest that Indian opinion should await the results of the debate in Parliament before finally deciding its attitude to the Commission."

They passed a further resolution on the 24th November, as follows :—

"The Labour Party regrets that the Government before making their original proposals in connection with the Indian Commission did not secure the co-operation of the representatives of the Indian people. In

the opinion of the Labour Party the Commission appointed to proceed to India should make it its primary duty from time to time to consult, on equal terms, with a Commission appointed by the Indian Legislature; that there should be joint meetings of the two Commissions for the taking of evidence (though not to the exclusion of their body taking other evidence by itself); that after all the evidence has been heard and the enquiries made, further consultations between the two Commissions should be held; and that the Reports of both Commissions should in due course be presented to the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament.

The Labour Party has every confidence that its representatives on the Commission will act in the spirit of this declaration."

#### INDIAN EXPECTATIONS.

The Secretary of State for India, speaking in June 1927, said in reference to the proposed Statutory Commission that it would be composed of "the best brains of the British Empire". From that Indians have been led to expect that the Commission would be composed of British statesmen of Cabinet rank, leading Dominion statesmen, along with Indians who had held high Government office.

When the announcement of the appointment of the Commission was made by the Prime Minister even the *Times* described the personnel, with the exception of Sir John Simon, the Chairman, as men "in the second flight". No Indians were included in the Commission, for the first time in recent years, although many eminent Indians had taken a leading part in previous Royal Commissions and in important Government Committees and Enquiries. This was regarded by Indians as a distinct blow at their *amour propre*.

#### EXCLUSION OF INDIANS.

The chief reason advanced for the exclusion of Indians was that they were already committed to a policy of Indianisation and so would be unable to approach the matter with an open mind. In view of their participation in previous Royal Commissions and important Government Committees, Indians regarded this as a quite unwarranted reflection on their impartiality. No preparations were made to disillusion the minds of Indians as to the proposed personnel of the Royal Commission until only a week before the public announcement was made, when the Viceroy had interviews with the leaders of the various Indian political parties.

#### COMPOSITION OF COMMISSION AND PROPOSED METHODS OF WORK.

The Statutory Commission is composed of seven members of the British Parliament, four of whom are Conservatives, none of these four is of Cabinet rank. In announcing the appointment of the Commission in the House of Lords the Secretary of State for India remarked that they would go to India as a "jury". The Prime Minister, in a subsequent speech, announced that the Commission would sit in Delhi with a Committee of the Central Legislature, and

in the Provinces with Committees of the Provincial Legislatures. He intimated that the Indians would be approached "as friends and as equals", but Indians can see no equality of status in their appearing before a "jury" practically, in their view, to state their case as petitioners.

#### MODIFICATION OF ORIGINAL PROPOSALS.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., and Mr. George Lansbury, M. P. both members of the Parliamentary Labour sub-committee which met the Secretary of State for India, arranged with him certain modifications of the original proposal. They both stated in the Press that the Indian Committee would have equal status with the members of the Simon Commission and that the Indian Committees would be chosen from the elected members only. Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Commission, after his arrival in Delhi issued a letter to the members of the Indian Legislature, through the Viceroy, in which he stated his proposed terms of co-operation of the Commission with the Indian Committees.

#### Refusal of Indians to Co-operate.

These terms were almost immediately refused by the leaders of the various Indian parties in the Central Legislature, principally on the following grounds :—

#### GROUND OF REFUSAL.

- (1) Government officials and the members of the Legislature nominated by the Government were to be allowed to take part along with the elected members in the election of the Indian Committee ;
- (2) No provision was made for the election to the Indian Committees of persons who were not already members of the Indian Legislatures, although this point had been specially conceded in the Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons ;
- (3) The Committee of the Central Indian Legislature was restricted to the consideration of Central subjects only and relegated to the status of a mere additional element during the enquiry in the various Provinces ;
- (4) All Indian members might be excluded entirely from hearing evidence that might be given *in camera*. This is regarded by Indians as a fatal stumbling-block to co-operation, especially in view of their experience of *in camera* evidence at the time of the Muddiman Enquiry (as mentioned on page 64);



- (5) There is no provision for the co-operation of the Indian Committees in the institution and conduct of subsidiary enquiries;
- (6) Indian leaders felt very strongly that the aim of the Commission should be, along with the Indian Committees, to endeavour to arrive at an *agreed* Report. This did not seem to be thought of in Sir John Simon's letter.

### **Independence Movement.**

Until quite recently there has been no movement for complete national independence. Indeed until 1916, it was considered "seditious" even to advocate Home Rule for India within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

There is now a small, but very vocal, part of the population which advocates complete independence. But it is rather a cry of despair and an expression of disappointment at the slow rate of progress towards self-government. It first found voice at the Indian National Congress in December 1927. The terms of the Resolution as unanimously passed were that

"This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence."

In spite of the fact that the mover of the Resolution meant by it complete severance from Great Britain, many of those who voted for it meant no more than Dominion Status with India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

### III. Annex relative to the British Empire.

#### Subject Peoples.

*Answers to Questionnaire circulated by the British Labour Party in view of the British Commonwealth Labour Conference in London, July 1928.*

In preparation for the British Commonwealth Labour Conference, which was held in London on July 2nd, 1928, and following days, the British Labour Party circulated to the labour organisations in the Dominions and States of the British Commonwealth invited to attend the Conference, a Questionnaire covering the items on the Conference Agenda.

The answers sent in concerning the first of these items namely "Subject Peoples", by the various colonial labour and trade union organisations are subjoined hereunder :

#### **British Trades Union Congress and British Labour Party.**

##### JOINT REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE.

#### 1. *Should these peoples be granted self-government immediately?*

It is necessary to consider different classes of peoples separately.

(a) MANDATED TERRITORY IN ASIA. This consists of (1) Iraq, which should be given self-government immediately; (2) Palestine, which should be given self-government, having regard to the terms of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration.

(b) CROWN COLONIES, ETC., excluding those in Africa. The measure of self-government demanded by the inhabitants of these territories as a whole (e. g., Ceylon) should be granted immediately.

(c) AFRICAN TERRITORIES. Here the African inhabitants are not yet in a position to govern themselves. In many places (e. g., Kenya) the grant of self-government in the full sense would merely mean that the inhabitants would fall into the power of the white settlers, who would usurp all political power. The immediate grant of self-government in the full sense would be disastrous.

#### 2. *If not, how should the principle of political self-determination be applied to these peoples?*

This question applies to (c) above. The principle of political self-determination cannot be applied to these peoples immediately. The reason is twofold. Firstly, in most places, if the British Government abandoned these African territories, political power would either fall into the hands of a few thousand white settlers or would be seized by white adventurers or other European Governments, and the political power would be used in order to exploit the natives. Secondly, during our administration of these territories, we have in many places destroyed native institutions and native organs of government, without educating the native to deal with the new

conditions we have introduced. A sudden abandonment of the African would lead to complete anarchy. The only immediate policy is to do everything possible to prepare the peoples for self-government. This can only be done by :—

(a) Preventing political power falling into the hands of minorities who will use it for their own political and economic interests. It follows that the central legislative and executive power must remain completely in the hands of the Imperial Government (i. e., the Colonial Office), which is responsible to the two Houses of Parliament. This responsibility should be carefully guarded and vigilantly applied. No measure of "responsible government" can be granted until it is certain that the Government will be responsible to and controlled by the African inhabitants ;

(b) Education of the native inhabitants. This must be undertaken in two ways :—

(1) General education. This must aim at making the inhabitants capable of understanding and dealing with the political, economic, and social conditions of the modern world which are the result of the penetration of Africa by European civilisation. For details see comments on Question 6 below.

(2) Political education. This can only be achieved by training the inhabitants in local self-government wherever this is possible. Wherever there are self-governing local organs, these should be encouraged and developed by the central government ; where such do not exist they should be created. The aim should be gradually to extend the area and powers of these local self-governing organs.

**3. *How to prevent their economic exploitation, including the safeguards necessary to protect natives in the ownership and use of their land and the measures to be adopted to prevent slave labour or forced and indentured labour ?***

When the question refers to "preventing the economic exploitation" of the subject peoples of the British Empire, this might suggest that it is merely a question of preventing such exploitation from taking place in the future. In point of fact, it is taking place on a vast scale now, and the question is how we can stop it, or even slightly diminish it. The following brief suggestions are intended as no more than an outline.

"Forced" labour is understood to mean any labour which is performed in consequence of pressure being brought to bear in connection with land, taxation, legislation or administrative action. "Slave" labour, in the old sense of the word, should be made illegal.

A code of native rights for all the tropical Dependencies of the British Empire should be worked out, adopted, and publicly proclaimed.

It should deal mainly with :—

(a) LAND. The model to follow is that of the British possessions on the West Coast of Africa, where the Government has treated the land as in fact the property of the native communities, has refused to alienate land to Europeans, and has encouraged the African to make the most economic use possible of his own land. Native

rights should receive legal sanction. Every native family to be assured sufficient land for its support. Leases to Europeans should only be granted for short periods, with the consent of the native communities.

(b) **LABOUR.** Legal compulsory labour should be prohibited except for native tribal purposes of a local character. Colonial Governments should publicly declare that they take up an entirely indifferent and impartial attitude as to whether the native works for the white man or for himself, and that no official pressure will be exercised. Native production should be encouraged as providing an alternative to wage labour. There is an increasing danger that tropical Dependencies will be industrialised ; this means that native workers and white workers will be engaged in producing the same article—sometimes (as in South Africa) in the same territory. Where mines or industries are started, the Government itself should be the controlling body. All capital investments in tropical Dependencies should be under an effective and well-defined degree of Government control.

(c) **TAXATION.** Taxation should not be imposed in order to compel the native to work for wages. It should be raised for revenue purposes. The white population should bear their fair share of it. The revenue should be used for the community generally and the revenue raised from the taxation of the natives at least should be spent on services directly beneficial to them, such as agriculture and veterinary help, medical service and education.

Two further points should be noted.

(1) It is highly desirable that the Mandate system under the League of Nations should in time be extended to all those parts of the British Empire (as of other Empires) which are inhabited by weaker races. This would not only emphasise our responsibility as trustees, but would enable what is good in the British or other systems to have its effect upon the practice in all Empires.

(2) No new territories, where whites are in a minority, should be granted what is called "responsible" government, until the natives, through their representatives, exercise effective and substantial influence corresponding to their numbers. Till then, government by the Colonial Office or by Dominion Governments is more trustworthy.

#### ***4. How to secure their surplus products for the consumption and use of other nations and maintain a satisfactory exchange of goods between them and the rest of the world ?***

In discussing the exchange of goods by subject peoples, it is necessary to distinguish two types of industry.

Firstly, peoples who have been for long in contact with and influenced by the capitalist system. Such are Ceylon, Hongkong, the West Indies, all of which show some approach to the modern State in political development and industrially are on a plane not differing

widely from that of Europe. In such cases questions of exchange do not differ substantially from those that arise between self-governing peoples and require solution on the same lines.

Secondly, and at present more urgent, the primitive peoples whose ancient industrial methods have only recently, or in some cases not as yet, suffered the 'shock of contact with Capitalism and who politically have advanced little, if at all, beyond the tribal group. Such are the aboriginal peoples of Africa, the Pacific and the less explored regions of South America.

These peoples have until recently lived in small self-sufficing groups, in a few cases nomad, but mostly practising an extensive form of cultivation over land communally owned, with simple manufactures carried on by individual craftsmen. Necessary changes have been effected by barter, assisted in the case of more highly organised tribes by a rude currency such as salt, brass rods, or shell-bangles. The political organisation varies from the isolated village, as in New Guinea, through tribes recognising chiefly leadership over considerable areas, to semi-feudal monarchies such as those of Nigeria, Uganda and Tonga.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the chief economic interest of Europeans and Asiatics in Africa was the slave trade, continued by the latter into recent years. There is no need to recapitulate here the consequent depopulation of great tracts of country, assisted by a rapid spread of disease and by devastating Zulu hordes and Hamitic armies. Similarly, the Pacific was raided by slavers and "blackbirders". But in due course normal methods of capitalist exploitation supervened, and, in most places where occupation was effective, as in South Africa and Zanzibar, plantations worked by labour under various means of compulsion became numerous, while the native political systems began to be broken up.

For some years there has been a distinct trend, especially in territories with an evil climate, to adopt as more profitable the policy of encouraging the native to produce on his own land, and as more economical the maintenance and support of native political institutions. These notions are, however, held to be unsound by non-native settlers in healthy districts, as in the highlands of East Africa. It has, moreover, been realised that a dead African or Melanesian is not a source of surplus value; and, concurrently with a beginning of governmental medical and sanitary work, international agreement has restricted the importation of alcohol, firearms and infectious diseases. The suppression of internecine warfare and military organisation has released energy applicable to the satisfaction of new wants, while the demand of manufacturing countries for food and raw materials which primitive peoples are able to cultivate offers to them a prospect of obtaining manufactures in return for the results of that labour.

Given, however, the possibility of effecting exchange, the practical problem is how to protect the native worker from exploitation and to short circuit the process of social development so as to avoid

the evils of the capitalist régime while learning its lessons of organisation and discipline.

It is possible to mitigate the impact of Capitalism on the primitive or feudal cultures if, in the first place, the native is assured the ownership of his lands. In general, primitive tribes have no conception of the individual ownership of land. The nomads range over wide areas, recognising more or less definite boundaries to grazing rights ; among cultivating peoples the ownership of land fit for gardens commonly resides in the village community, which also regards certain areas as its own for the purpose of collecting wood and other wild produce ; an overruling right over unused land may appertain to tribal chieftaincies ; among peoples affected by Moslem influence and the Polynesians of the Pacific some approach to feudal ideas is found and occupation tends towards conditional ownership. The conflict of these conceptions with rigid systems of European law has often resulted in a complete denial of native rights in their lands ; and even when ownership has been vested in the Crown, ostensibly as trustee for the inhabitants, the result has been, as in Kenya, practical confiscation of large areas owing to the absence of any legal rights on the part of the former owners and to the neglect by the Crown of its duty towards its wards.

In the majority of cases—that is, in the greater part of the Sudan, Uganda and Tanganyika, in almost the whole of British West Africa, in Basutoland and Fiji—native rights appear to have been substantially maintained up to the present, and alienation has, so far as is known, been confined to portions of land with which the native population can dispense. It is necessary to secure these rights against further encroachment, and to give them full legal validity where they are not yet protected. When the natives have been deprived of them, whether by confiscation, legal trickery or derisory bargains, steps should be taken to restore them, at least to such an extent as to provide the former owners and their descendants with ample land for sustenance and development. Otherwise they become actual or potential victims of exploitation by capitalists from abroad, against whom they have no means of defence.

This policy need not preclude settlement or planting of unused and unclaimed land. There are parts of Africa which, owing to depopulation by slaving or war, to lack of surface water or for other reasons, are almost uninhabited. The ownership of such areas should be assured by the Government, and there is no reason why, subject to proper safeguards, parts should not be leased to non-natives.

For, if the native is secured in his land, he cannot be induced to labour on estates appropriated by or leased to capitalist except on terms which he regards as advantageous. The capitalist therefore presses for some mode of compulsion on the plea that his business is essential for the development of a "new" country or for the provision of raw material for his home factories. The most usual form of compulsion is by a poll-tax or hut-tax, which forces those who have no market for their produce—or, in some cases, men of military

age precluded by tribal custom from field labour—to travel in search of employment by which to earn the taxes on themselves and their relatives ; or pressure may be brought on the chiefs or inducements offered to them to use their authority to make a proportion of their people labour on plantations.

Although the use of communal labour on public work of benefit to the tribe, such as local roads or sanitation, may be necessary in the present stage of social organisation of a backward people, any system of driving men, whether by direct or indirect means, to work for capitalist should be abolished. Planter or mineowner should so house and feed his labourers and pay such wages as will offer substantial advantage to the native over the results obtainable by work on the latter's own land ; and should be subject to inspection to secure that his contracts are carried out and proper sanitary conditions provided.

At present in some of the Pacific Islands and in the East and South African highlands, the difference between the world price of staple commodities and the cost of production at conventional rates of wages is so large that the profits of a planter may be limited by little but the amount of labour that he can get. In consequence, the greatest pressure is brought on Government to increase the supply of labourers and at the same time to limit native production, or even to prohibit native cultivation of certain crops, such as coffee. It does not appear that where this pressure has been successful the resultant production is any larger than where native industry has been encouraged ; indeed, a comparison of statistics suggests the reverse.

But while the inhabitants of tropical territories are usually anxious to obtain manufactured goods, are frequently ready to make sacrifices to secure education and medical assistance, and are able to produce commodities for exchange, a majority of them are unable to effect exchange for lack of transport. Certain expensive products, such as rubber or gold, may indeed be carried by head-porterage for hundreds of miles ; but maize, oilseeds, fibres, hides and the other staples of African agriculture are unsaleable except within reach of a railway or navigable river. Without such exchange it is impossible for a Government, dependent on a money-economy, to obtain means for the medical, educational and administrative assistance needed at the present stage. At the same time, the goods produced are largely those for which there is an increasing demand in industrialised countries. Without, therefore, considering the question whether the subject peoples might not well have been left alone to work out their own problems, it is clear that the responsibilities assumed by the controlling Power can only be discharged if the inhabitants are enabled both to exchange goods for their own use and also to provide revenue to pay for technicians and for developmental works. Thus the extension of railways, roads and harbours is a desirable step towards securing a satisfactory course of exchanges.

These communications, being for the benefit of the people through whose country they run and by whose labour they are built, should in every case be owned and managed by the local Government and worked as far as possible on a cost and upkeep price basis. In order to keep the interest to be taken out of the country as low as possible, the controlling Power should place its credit at the disposal of the local Government for the purpose of the funds for construction.

Though the provision of communications to enable exchange is important, care is necessary to avoid abuses during construction, such as have not infrequently arisen owing to failure on the part of the Governments or contractors to obtain labourers at wage-rates regarded as "normal" and to their reluctance, under pressure from other Europeans, to pay enough to attract the large numbers required. Even when no form of compulsion is used and sufficiently attractive conditions are offered, there may be real danger that removal of too many able-bodied men from tribal work may lead to under-cultivation, perhaps to famine. In all cases it is the duty of the Government to ensure that no village is induced to furnish wage-workers beyond a safe limit, even if development work is thereby delayed.

Satisfactory exchange is, however, by no means assured when a primitive tribe is protected from any form of compulsion and has access to a market for surplus produce. It is still liable to exploitation by foreign traders. As a rule the purchaser of native produce is at the same time the seller of imported goods, the complete process differing little from barter; and, owing to native ignorance of commercial matters, is able to pay at an artificially low price, while selling goods, often of inferior quality, at a high price. The traders are careful not to interfere with each other's prices, so that competition is ineffective. These small men are often in the grip of the big buyers, who themselves pay toll to merchants and shipowners. It is, therefore, important to encourage the formation of tribal Co-operative Associations. The European co-operatives should take an active part in helping this movement, which will, however, meet with strong opposition from trading interests.

Examples of successful co-operation are available. In the mandated island of Nauru, the natives own a co-operative store which supplies them with goods at cost price, and also buys their copra. There seems to be no reason, other perhaps than capitalist opposition, why Governments other than that of Australia should not foster co-operative stores among subject peoples. A beginning has been made by Native Welfare Associations or Councils, such as the Kavirondo Association described in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Report on East Africa, and it is desirable that the trading side of such organisations should be encouraged.

Where raw products have to be worked up to some extent on the spot, of which cotton and sugar are examples, the Government, if it does not assist a co-operative body or run the factory itself



(as it now does in some cases, either directly or through a company under Government influence), should exercise a control over profits to prevent squeezing the native seller.

It must, however, be recognised that measures to protect the primitive tribesman from exploitation and to enable him to exchange his products with those of industrialised countries can only be of permanent value if they tend towards training him in the knowledge, self-reliance, coherence and social feeling which will enable him to hold his own without external aid, to repel exploitation by his own wit, and in time to take his place as a free participant in an International Commonwealth. The obstacles of multitudinous illiterate languages, of complete ignorance of commercial and industrial technique, and of lack of contact with any form or even conception of free organisation are formidable. To overcome them education in the widest sense is essential.

In addition to elementary literary and social training, first in the vernacular and then in some tongue giving access to a literature and to modern thought, there must be :—

- (a) Agricultural Education, notably in continuous instead of extensive cultivation ;
- (b) Industrial Education, especially in connection with building and transport trades, leading up to training first artisans and craftsmen, then technicians ;
- (c) Medical and Sanitary Training, generally and also to train dispensers and nurses, leading up to medical practitioners ;
- (d) Commercial Education, enabling the tribesman to manage his own Co-operative and Trading Associations ;
- (e) Especially for adults, encouragement of Free Association and participation in Local Government.

A special problem is the treatment of hitherto undeveloped natural resources, such as minerals, hardwood forests or water powers, which the native has never used and is not yet in a position to develop except under direction. The usual practice in the past has been to hand these over to European capitalists without any payment to the inhabitants of the country, except perhaps a farcical price based on their ignorance. In some cases rentals may be paid to tribes or chiefs recognised as owners ; in others the Government may obtain some revenue from them.

The only effective method of controlling such resources in the interests of the natives and of the world generally, is for the Government to undertake management themselves ; and this policy, by which full responsibility for fair treatment of employees as yet in no position to protect themselves, and for proper disposal of profits, is placed on the Government, should be kept constantly in view. But it must be admitted that in present circumstances some form of foreign exploitation can sometimes hardly be avoided. The following conditions should, however, be insisted on :—

- (a) The resources should only be leased for a term of years, full rental value going to the Government of the territory and to the tribal representatives, if any, in equitable shares. Conditions of exploitation should also be imposed.

(b) Adequate wages.

(c) Safeguards for life and health. The workers ought not to be separated from their families.

(d) Inspectors to act as spokesmen for the workers, assisted by representative bodies of the employees, ultimately to be developed into Trade Unions. The Trade Unions of the controlling Power should be associated with these posts in an advisory capacity and in the selection of candidates.

In present circumstances, the products must usually be sold in the ordinary course of trade. But it is worth noting that under the Nauru Island Agreement Act the phosphate mines in the island have been acquired jointly by the Governments of this country, Australia, and New Zealand, to be worked on a basis of production for use in agriculture and not for profit, the mineral being distributed at cost price. Under this system a large extension of production has taken place, and it is alleged that the position of the natives, who are regarded as owners of the mineral, has been improved.

This method may not be capable of wide application in present circumstances, but might be useful in the case of timber and other forest products and possibly in disposing of the output of Government coal-mines.

5. *Where different races inhabit the same country, how can all sections be secured in peaceful existence and on terms of equality, and how can the Labour Movement assist to that end ?*

This is a very general question, and it is virtually impossible to isolate it from the other parts of the Questionnaire. For example, unless the principle of political self-determination is applied with a view primarily to the interests and well-being of the indigenous population (Questions 1 and 2) ; unless native communities are secured in their rights to the land, the freedom of their labour, and adequate facilities for the marketing of its product (Questions 3 and 4) ; and unless the fullest opportunities, free from artificial restrictions, for their social emancipation and intellectual progress are provided (Question 6), they can have no peaceful existence or racial equality such as are contemplated in this question.

There are, however, certain matters that may here be more specifically emphasised. It has been remarked that what is called "responsible" government should not be granted in territories where settlers are in a minority, until the natives, through their representatives, exercise effective and substantial influence corresponding to their numbers ; and it has been equally stated that the central legislative and executive power must remain completely, and with full responsibility to Parliament, in the hands of the Supreme Government.

This may imply no legislature at all, Ordinances operating at law being promulgated upon the authority of the Governor or Administrator, either with or without an Executive Council. Or, on the other hand, the legislative function may be exercised by the Governor acting with a Legislative Council.

In some cases it may be desirable, at the beginning, to restrict the legislative power to the Governor and his Executive Council. In no case should power be reserved to the Governor alone. The Executive Council should always, in addition to officials (it is entirely undesirable that the Attorney-General or principal law officer should be a member), include non-officials properly representative of the various principal races, so that no race shall have a preponderant representation among the unofficial members. It is desirable, whenever possible, that the Governor should select his non-official colleagues from a panel of names to be submitted by responsible bodies representative of the different races.

It is, however, always preferable that the legislation function should be exercised by the Governor acting with his Legislative Council, as in this way the general population is safeguarded from the dangers of policy prepared in secrecy and imposed suddenly by fiat. Since we stand upon the fundamental ground that there is to be, for the time being, no grant of "responsible" government, it follows that the legislature must at present include an official majority large enough to ensure, in an emergency, that the Supreme Government should be able effectively to exercise its full responsibility to Parliament.

Since the non-official members of the Legislative Council will, for all practical purposes, be nothing more than an advisory body exercising certain legislative functions, it is, especially in territories with populations of various races, often at different social and economic levels, which tend to preclude close personal association of races on terms of equality, desirable that the principle of nomination from a panel of names, submitted as above explained, should be substituted. This method, had it been adopted in time, would have prevented many of the lamentable results that have culminated in fierce controversies in Kenya, and that may break out at any time in Fiji.

When, however, the elective principle is adopted, it is of paramount importance that the franchise should be exercised in general mixed electorates and upon a common electoral roll, to the entire exclusion of communal or community franchises, whether similar or different. The latter, whilst tending to preserve racial privilege, arrogance, and domination, have always had the effect of separating still further the different races and communities comprising the population. Where, however, there is a mixed electorate, and the administration is independent and powerful, there is always the prospect that the different communities will be brought closer together, since they have to depend upon each other for candidates, votes and policies. The same principles ought to apply still more strongly to municipal councils and other public bodies where subjects arousing racial division and communal separateness are less likely, on the whole, to be dealt with.

On the industrial side, the establishment of a Trade Union Movement on a non-racial basis should everywhere be encouraged.

Membership should be open to all, irrespective of race, and subject only to acceptance of reasonable industrial standards laid down by the Trade Unions concerned.

Whether in the political, administrative, economic or industrial field, it is essential that there should be no place, office, occupation, or activity from which a man may be excluded by virtue of his race or colour alone. It is equally necessary that, in the domain of legislation and administration of the law there should be a real and not merely a nominal racial equality. Cases may easily be cited of a law having nominally equal application, but either intended for the benefit and advantage of a privileged class, community, or race, or so applied by administrative action as to result in such special benefit or advantage.

It should be noted that these remarks apply only to non-self-governing territories (i. e., to Crown Colonies, and protectorates where different races inhabit the country, as in Kenya).

Generally, the setting up of Committees of an advisory character, composed in the main of non-officials adequately representative of the various communities or races and having specific functions, whether as to local matters or special subjects, and associated, either through an official chairman or otherwise, with Government, should be encouraged, for the purposes of promoting closer racial relationships, educating the various communities and races to a fuller appreciation of each other's views and needs, and developing a spirit of common citizenship.

The Labour Parties can give effect to the policy desired by :—

(a) The holding of Commonwealth Labour Conferences at proper intervals and the interchange thereat, and through the Headquarters Secretariat in between such Conferences, of the views of the component members as to the methods of application of the Labour policy and the difficulties revealed ;

(b) The setting up of Imperial Committees (or other similar bodies) within the Parliamentary Labour Parties ;

(c) The special study of the methods applied by foreign Governments and consultation with foreign Labour Parties, either through the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Labour and Socialist International, the International Labour Office, or otherwise ;

(d) A careful study of the literature published by the International Labour Office and the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations ;

(e) The issue of simple leaflets and pamphlets to local Labour Parties and Trade Unions, and the encouragement of lectures on one or other branch of policy ;

(f) Recommending Parliamentary Candidates to become practically conversant with the main outline of the policy, and to include a reference to it in their electoral addresses and campaigns ;

(g) Publishing, as early as possible, the main features of the policy as an integral part of the effective Programme of the Parliamentary Labour Parties ;

(h) Contributions from qualified writers to the Party Press and periodicals and to the general Press and magazines ;

(i) Frequent visits to the countries to which the policy is to be applied and reports by such visitors.

## 6. *How can the education of these peoples best be promoted ?*

A Labour policy on the kind of education to be given to subject peoples in the British Empire need not be essentially different from that described in the Memorandum on "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa" submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, in March, 1925 (Cmd. 2374), which states that—

"Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life ; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race . . . As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people, every department of Government concerned with their welfare or vocational teaching—including especially the Departments of Health, Public Works, Railways, Agriculture—must co-operate closely in the educational policy", and "as resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa, must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education . . . The Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications and in character, and should include women."

The essentials of a sound educational policy should include :—

- (a) The development of self-reliant character ;
- (b) Knowledge of personal health and social hygiene ;
- (c) A recognition of the importance of scientific agriculture, including the breeding and care of live stock, and industrial skill ;
- (d) The improvement of family life through the proper nurture and care of children, knowledge of food values, general home conditions, sanitation and the nature of disease ;
- (e) A knowledge of the effect of alcohol and drugs, etc., upon the body ; and
- (f) Healthy recreation. Great attention should be paid to possible development of African music, dancing, etc., as aids to educational development.

In considering the question of education, British people, regarding it from their own experience, may feel that education on the lines above suggested would be of too paternal a character, and might prevent the development of personality which should be the first consideration in educational practice. In this connection it should be remembered, however, that they have other educational facilities such as the home, the church, the Press, and hundreds of other opportunities for the training and development of their power. For some time to come, at any rate, the school would be the chief, perhaps the only, cultural opportunity at the native's disposal. We

should, nevertheless, guard against rigidity of education such as we are acquainted with in our European or American systems, and it is altogether questionable whether we should agree to the native being taught particular conceptions of religion at the public expense.

The Government should make itself ultimately responsible for seeing that elementary education is available for all native children, and that the needs for higher and technical education are met.

Above all, our aim should be to create in subject peoples a consciousness of community life and a conception of the community in which they live as a corporate personality which they should aim to strengthen and enrich through the development and disposal of their own powers.

### **South African Trades Union Congress.**

#### **REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE.**

**1. *Should these peoples be granted self-government immediately?***

The word "immediately" presents the greatest difficulty in this connection, for there is hardly any difference of opinion among thinking men as to the ultimate right to self-government of all peoples.

The following remarks apply particularly to the situation in the Union of South Africa as affecting the non-European population, which was estimated in 1924 to be as follows: Bantu (Native), 4,953,000; Indian and other Asiatics, 170,000; coloured, 558,000.

There are three Bills now before the Union Parliament which indicate the official attitude to these peoples at the present moment. They are:—

- (a) The Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill (1927);
- (b) The Coloured Person's Rights Bill (1927);
- (c) The Natives Land Act (1913) Amendment Bill.

These Bills are condemned by the native people, and are not welcomed by the coloured and Asiatic section of the population. Further, many Europeans condemn them, as, for instance, the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, which body has issued a Memorandum on the last-mentioned Bill.

Further legislation affecting the non-Europeans in the Union of South Africa are:—

(d) The Native Administration Act (1926), which has been passed in spite of the opposition of the Trades Union Congress as well as of all sections and organisations of the non-European population; and

(e) The Mines and Works Act (1911) Amendment Bill, commonly known as the Colour Bar Bill, which has become law and provides that certain classes of work shall be reserved for Europeans or coloured persons by means of the issue of certificates of competency which will on no account be issued to natives or Asiatics.

(f) The Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, generally called the Asiatic Bill, was brought in. It sought to restrict within certain specified areas, the rights of Indians to trade, and to prohibit the holding of immovable property outside such specified areas, subject to certain exceptions at the discretion of the Governor-General. This Bill was not passed owing to strong representations of the South African Indians and the Indian Government, a compromise having been arranged by a joint meeting between representatives of the two Governments.

The attitude of the Trades Union Congress has never been specifically stated on any of these measures, except in the case of the Native Administration Bill, to which exception was taken on the ground that Section 26, which embodied what were known as the Sedition Clauses, was held to make legitimate Trade Union organisation and the right of public meeting and free speech almost impossible.

The air of aloofness and reluctance to express an opinion on these important but highly controversial questions on the part of the Trades Union Congress is accounted for by the composition of the Congress, which contains within its ranks persons holding widely divergent views, particularly on matters relating to the status of the non-Europeans in South Africa.

On a referendum it is fairly certain that the proposals contained in the Bills mentioned above would, so far as they restrict the liberty of non-Europeans, be generally approved by the white Trade Unionists who, in fact, specifically advocated and demanded the Colour Bar Bill. It is also probably true, although no specific pronouncement has been made, that the proposal to disenfranchise the natives in the Cape Colony would not be supported by the Unions, although it is unlikely that they would take any steps to prevent it, having in view the fact that the South African Labour Party supports the proposal.

In regard to the extension of the franchise to natives and other non-Europeans, there is little support for it on the part of the white workers, and in any case the feeling is that if adopted as a principle it should be very gradually carried out. On the other hand, the principle underlying all the native legislation introduced by the present South African Government and to a large extent all previous Governments is, in our view, unwise, unworkable, and certain to lead to disastrous consequences to all concerned. Its leading motive appears to be to attempt to perpetuate and stereotype in the South African nation a caste system with the object of permanently segregating the European from the non-European not only socially—which may be inevitable for a considerable time—but also politically and industrially.<sup>(4)</sup>

Modern methods of production, however, will inevitably overleap all such artificial obstructions placed in the way of industrial

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(4) In the building, leather, printing, furniture and a few other minor industries there is a number of coloured workers who work alongside European workers and receive the same wages for similar work.

freedom, and will demand that all persons who can perform useful and necessary service shall be free to do so. If it is found, as it probably will be, that industrial segregation is impossible, then it follows inevitably that attempts at political segregation will also fail. The experience in other countries in this latter direction have not been encouraging, even where all the population was white (e. g., the proposal to segregate State railway employees in Australia into constituencies not based on geographical area, but on the fact that railway workers are the employees of the State and not ordinary citizens, was quickly abandoned, we believe ; and the old German system of grading electors into social and economic classes has been swept away by a growing democratic ideal). There is a growing body of opinion that the only permanent solution of the question in South Africa is to incorporate gradually into the ordinary political life of the country all persons who can reasonably be held to be capable of exercising their choice in the selection of the members of the various governing bodies in the State.

The test may be educational, or possessive, or both, but to make the test dependent on the shade of the person's skin is certainly indefensible and in the long run we believe impossible.

*2. If not, how should the principle of political self-determination be applied to these peoples ?*

The answer to this question is given in the reply to Question 1. The alternative proposal is to create separate constituencies for natives who shall only have the right to vote for persons of their own colour to represent them in Assemblies or Councils having but limited power of legislation and administration, and which shall be entirely subservient to the European Parliament and other Legislative and Administrative bodies. This appears attractive to the European and is the policy of the South African Labour Bodies, but many are convinced that it does not constitute a permanent solution.<sup>(1)</sup>

*3. How to prevent their economic exploitation, including the safeguards necessary to protect natives in the ownership and use of their land and the measures to be adopted to prevent slave labour or forced and indentured labour ?*

There is no way of preventing the exploitation of the native, as he is a victim, in common with European and other workers, of the present system which is based on exploitation for private gain.

With regard to the latter part of the question, the answer would appear to be that slave labour or enforced indentured labour will disappear when modern methods of production become predominant in industry following the example of the United States and most countries in Europe.

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<sup>(1)</sup> "Natives" in this paragraph does not include Indians, Malays, or those usually described as Cape Coloured people, i. e., half-castes.



In order to hasten this process it may be necessary to enact laws to make such methods of exploitation illegal, but this will only be done when slave and indentured labour is found by the most important industrial enterprises to be uneconomical as compared with the modern method of wage labour. The reactionary feudal elements will, of course, resist, but the change is inevitable.

Natives in the Union of South Africa have been restricted to comparatively small areas of land which are inadequate for their support, for two reasons. Firstly, the land hunger of the Europeans constantly increased with the increase of population, and there was a tendency for the already large landowners to increase their holdings, thus creating a demand for the curtailment of native areas. Secondly, to obtain sufficient cheap labour to work this land and also to carry on other enterprises—railways, mines, factories, etc.—the native is heavily taxed in order that he may be compelled to leave his land for considerable periods and take service with the farmer and other employers of labour. There appears to be no solution of the problem until the native is organised, industrially and politically, in sufficient strength to prevent unjust infringement on his rights as a citizen. Any attempt that he makes to do this is bitterly opposed not only by the farmers and other employers, but by the majority of the white Trade Unionists, who hold it to be the unpardonable sin for any of their officials or members to assist the native workers to organise for the purpose of resisting further encroachment on their rights, or to obtain some small improvement in their wages, hours, or living conditions.<sup>(1)</sup>

4. *How to secure their surplus products for the consumption and use of other nations and maintain a satisfactory exchange of goods between them and the rest of the world?*

For the purpose of export the native has no surplus product to speak of, and therefore it is necessary to teach him to improve his agricultural methods and the breed of his stock, which at present is very poor, in order that he may produce a surplus which will be available for the world market.

He should be encouraged to work co-operatively and to market in the same way. Native areas should be provided with railways and roads, dams and irrigation works; in short, the native reserves and territories require the same reforms as all other peasant communities.

5. *Where different races inhabit the same country, how can all sections be secured in peaceful existence and on terms of equality, and how can the Labour Movement assist to that end?*

The difficulty scarcely exists in South Africa, owing to the fact that for a long period there has been constant contact in industrial

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(1) A Government Commission is at present investigating the possibilities of increasing the native areas by purchase or otherwise.

areas and large towns between natives of different tribes. The tribal language and distinctions still exist, but tend to become less sharp, and actual collisions on tribal grounds have largely disappeared.

The Labour Movement can assist by promoting the organisation of natives industrially and politically, the introduction of self-government, facilities for education, travel, business, and social-intercourse.

*6. How can the education of these peoples best be promoted ?*

Education should be made available out of revenue raised in the territories, plus a grant from the Central Government. The figures for native education given in the Official Year Book for 1923 are as follows :—Number of non-European scholars in State and State-aided schools 251,872, costing the State £552,000 per annum, or £2 3s. 10d. per scholar per annum, as compared with 322,000 European scholars costing £6,035,548, or £ 18 4s. 7d. per scholar per annum.

Reference to the figures given of the number of Europeans as compared with non-Europeans will at once indicate not only that the expenditure per non-European scholar for education is very low, but that the great mass of native children are receiving no education at all.

As the native worker is the main factor in nearly all productive processes in the State, he pays indirectly much more in taxes than the amount directly extorted from him for hut tax, pass fees, and other direct taxes, and he has a right to share in the general revenue of the country. There is no reason why his education should be on different lines and inferior to that of Europeans, excepting that the ruling caste in all ages and countries has imposed a slave education on the workers, and reserved for their own children those educational establishments and facilities which are designed to produce and cultivate the psychology of the ruling and dominant class.

**Independent Labour Party of Manitoba, Canada.**

**REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE.**

*1. Should these peoples be granted self-government separately ?*

Yes, since any other government is only maintained for purposes of exploitation.

*2. If not, how should the principle of political self-determination be applied to these peoples ?*

This question is practically answered in the reply to question 6, and it is only necessary to point out that if these peoples are not granted self-government it is impossible for them to enjoy self-determination.

3. *How to prevent their economic exploitation, including the safeguards necessary to protect natives in the ownership and use of their land and the measures to be adopted to prevent slave labour or forced and indentured labour ?*

Present exploitation can best be removed and future exploitation prevented by giving these peoples freedom to manage their own affairs and work out their own salvation, which is precisely the problem of the workers the world over.

4. *How to secure their surplus products for the consumption and use of other nations and maintain a satisfactory exchange of goods between them and the rest of the world ?*

We consider that this is not a question which especially relates to subject peoples, and is one that can only be dealt with in the same way as the exchange of commodities between any of the countries of the world.

5. *Where different races inhabit the same country, how can all sections be secured in peaceful existence and on terms of equality, and how can the Labour Movement assist to that end ?*

By granting such peoples full right of citizenship, the Labour Movement can assist by working for the abolition of all forms of forced or indentured labour, for universal suffrage, and by encouraging and assisting them to organise together as a unit in the Labour Movement.

6. *How can the education of these peoples best be promoted ?*

By giving them all the assistance possible in securing the establishment and development of a complete system of education, for all races in any State within the Commonwealth.

### **South African Labour Party.**

#### **REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE.**

1. *Should these peoples be granted self-government immediately ?*

Self-government can only be applied gradually and must depend on the fitness of the native races for such self-government. The form thereof must be such as is best suited to their needs and their degree of development.

2. *If not, how should the principle of political self-determination be applied to these peoples ?*

Self-government of subject peoples can only be developed by degree. So far as South African experience enables us to express an opinion on the form of self-government, Native Councils, with limited power, as in existence in the form of the Pitso in Basutoland and the Bunga in the Transkei, would appear to be the form which should be developed, the powers of such Councils being extended as the capacity for self-government develops.

In so far as the natives of the Union are concerned, provision for some sort of self-government is being made in the Native Councils Bill at present before the Union Parliament. There is a conflict of opinion as to whether the native population should participate with the European population in the same electoral rolls and subject to the same franchise, as is the case at present in the Cape, or whether the natives should be provided with a different form of representation.

The Labour Party, having regard to the differences in outlook and the wide gulf in civilisation between the native and European races, is of opinion that an attempt to extend the Cape system to the rest of the Union would not suit the needs of either of the races. The franchise in itself does not prove any protection against economic exploitation, and results in the political exploitation of the native voters by the various political parties.

In the development of such a system a probable consequence would be that the native vote would become a dead letter as a result of intimidation by Europeans, as has been largely the case in the history of the Southern States of the United States of America.

The Labour Party, therefore, favours the development of the self-government of the natives through the methods of Native Councils, whose powers could be developed gradually from being merely Advisory Councils to securing legislative powers subject to veto by the Union Parliament, and that the native races should be formed into one electoral area, which could return a specified number of members to represent their interests in the Union Parliament by having seats either in the House of Assembly or in the Senate. Such representatives should have the right to speak and vote on all native questions which come before Parliament.

*3. How to prevent their economic exploitation, including the safeguards necessary to protect natives in the ownership and use of their land and the measures to be adopted to prevent slave labour or forced and indentured labour ?*

The reply to this question will be more easy when we have discovered a means of preventing economic exploitation among ourselves. That certain areas should be reserved, as is done in the Union, for the exclusive tenure of the more primitive race is certainly essential. In this respect in the Transkei and other native areas, there is a fixed colour bar against the White Man, who cannot own land therein. It is to be noted, however, that the primitive races make less fruitful use of land than the more advanced races. For the rest, it is probable that any legislation is conducive to the exploitation of the subject races, which compels, under criminal penalties, the specific performance of a contract of labour.

Such a system of indenture, applied to adults, and made the basis of the labour system, necessarily removes many effective checks to the undue exploitation which obtains in the more civilised countries.

The Labour Party favours the repeal of legislation which renders the breach of contract by a native a criminal offence, and the passing of a legislation for the abolition of the indenture labour system and recruiting.

*4. How to secure their surplus products for the consumption and use of other nations and maintain a satisfactory exchange of goods between them and the rest of the world ?*

Until such time as the native works his land more systematically and efficiently than he does to-day, the problem of his surplus product does not present itself. At present he does not produce on the land sufficient for his needs, and he supplements his income by working in industrial areas in competition with the European, whom he undercuts owing to his fewer requirements and lower standard of living. When, under expert European guidance, he is able to produce more than he needs, such surplus should be marketed either through the co-operative societies or by means of State marketing.

*5. Where different races inhabit the same country, how can all sections be secured in peaceful existence and on terms of equality, and how can the Labour Movement assist to that end ?*

Where, as in South Africa, there are races at different levels of economic and social progress, the first essential is to maintain the highest level, and not to allow it to be dragged to the lower ones. The only possible thing is to raise the lower levels up by education, by minimum wage legislation, etc. Where clashes come is on the economic plane, and such clashes can be avoided only by securing the highest standards and preventing the undercutting and low-paid competition. All wage board legislation is based on this principle, and it is on these lines that we in South Africa are working.

In a general labour market in which are workers separated by so wide a gulf of civilisation as that which separates the European workers from the Bantu, the general aim must be to adjust wages and conditions of labour to those upon which the European can maintain his standard of civilisation. The contrary adjustments to the needs of the less civilised elements inevitably results in the elimination of the European wage-earners.

*6. How can the education of these peoples best be promoted ?*

The Labour Party is of opinion that the education of subject peoples can best be promoted through native schools in which vocational training shall play an important part. It is especially necessary to train natives, who at present wastefully use the land at their disposal, to be more efficient agriculturists.

**Trinidad Workingmen's Association inc.**

**REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE.**

**1. *Should these peoples be granted self-government immediately ?***

No. Each particular section must be dealt with according to the stage of political development which the people of that section has reached.

**2. *If not, how should the principle of political self-determination be applied to these peoples ?***

The idea in this Colony, and perhaps of the British West Indies generally, is gradually to get even votes in the Legislature as between the people and the Government, and afterwards to place the majority of votes in the hands of the people. So far as Trinidad and Tobago are concerned, this latter phase ought to be reached within 10 or 15 years, or perhaps sooner, as political education here is making rapid progress.

**3. *How to prevent their economic exploitation, including the safeguards necessary to protect natives in the ownership and use of their land and the measures to be adopted to prevent slave labour or forced and indentured labour ?***

This question does not arise in this Colony. In other parts of the Empire, where the question is of grave importance, this organisation suggests that efforts should be made to spread education by means of native teachers, upon whom it should be impressed that the whole object of their education is to disseminate it among their fellows.

**4. *How to secure their surplus products for the consumption and use of other nations, and maintain a satisfactory exchange of goods between them and the rest of the world ?***

While efforts are being made as suggested in (3), as a consequence of those efforts associations would be formed corresponding in a minor way to the Chambers of Commerce. For instance, there is here a Cane Farmers' Association which this organisation is endeavouring to assist. That association has done good work, but requires more enthusiasm in its labours. This example is quoted as an indication of what might be done.

**5. *Where different races inhabit the same country, how can all sections be secured in peaceful existence and on terms of equality, and how can the Labour Movement assist to that end ?***

This also is a question of education by native teachers. Here, different races live in harmony, but this organisation is endeavour-

ing to spread the idea that the interest of all those races is one, and that although there must be no notion of hostility to any alleged superior races, yet it is only if all soi-disant subject races unite that they can make their voice effectively heard.

**6. How can the education of these peoples best be promoted ?**

This is already answered, but it might be repeated that native teachers must be insisted upon. This is a view that several religious bodies have been and are increasingly pressing, but, from the purely temporal side, Labour can do a great deal to promote education in that way.

**General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine and Zionist Socialist Labour Party (Achduth Haavoda).**

**JOINT REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE.**

In the following we shall endeavour to reply to those parts of the questionnaire which immediately affect Palestine.

**1. Should these peoples be granted self-government immediately?**

Before answering this question we will briefly summarise the peculiar political and social conditions which prevail in Palestine at the present day.

(a) *Political Conditions.*—Palestine is a mandated territory. The Mandate has been entrusted by the League of Nations to Great Britain. The following parts of the Mandate are most essential for a thorough understanding of the political status of Palestine to-day :

“Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has hereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows :—

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. (Art. 2.)

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy. (Art. 3.)

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. (Art. 4.)

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes. (Art. 6.)

. . . The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. (Art. 15.)

It is clear from these articles of the Mandate that the latter has two objects in view : (1) to assist the Jewish people in establishing their National Home in Palestine ; (2) to safeguard the interests of the remaining population of the country.

These two objects are closely related to one another, they are inter-dependent, and the one is, in effect, subject to the other.

(b) *Arabs*.—According to the Government census of 1922 the total population of Palestine was 757,182 souls. Of these 590,890 were Moslems, nearly all of whom speak Arabic, 73,024 Christians, who were divided amongst different communities ; thus 33,369 were Orthodox, 14,245 Roman Catholics, 11,191 Malachites, 4,555 Anglicans, 2,939 Armenians, 2,382 Maronites, and a number of smaller communities. Only about ten thousand of these Christians were Europeans, such as Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Greeks, etc. The remainder were Arabs.

The main occupation in Palestine is agriculture, which is still in a primitive stage of development. Over 50 per cent. of the population live in villages. These people, who are called Fellaheens, partly own the land that they cultivate, and are partly holding it from Effendis (landlords) on a lease. Each of these Effendis possesses enormous tracts of land, whilst the majority of the Fellaheens, who are illiterate, eke out a most miserable existence. About one-sixth of the Arab population are nomadic Bedouins, who lead the life of herdsmen. But even the 200,000 Arabs who live in the towns are mostly dependent for their livelihood on agriculture, and less on trade and industry. The industries of the Arab population consist wholly of a number of primitive undertakings in a small way, such as manufactures of soap, oil, textiles, cigarettes, potteries, etc.

The number of Arab wage-earners who depend *only* on the labour market is very small.

(c) *The Jews and the Establishment of the Jewish National Home*.

According to the Government Census of 1922 the number of Jews in Palestine amounted to 83,794, i. e., 11.06 per cent. of the



population. In 1926, however, their number was officially stated to have increased to 158,000, i. e., 18 per cent. of a total population of 887,000.

Approximately 100,000 Jews entered Palestine between 1919 and 1927. Of the total Jewish population, 30,500, i. e., between 19 and 20 per cent. live on the land, and are settled in 130 settlements of various kinds. The Jews own 1,002,000 dunams of land, 1 dunam being approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre, of which 214,000 belong to the Jewish National Fund, and 429,000 to the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association, which is known as the P. I. C. A. The Zionist Executive in Palestine has created 41 new agricultural settlements on the land belonging to the Jewish National Fund, nearly all of them since the war. In 1927 a further 8 settlements were established. These settlements cover altogether a total area of 142,038 dunams, with a population of 5,763.

In the town area, too, a considerable development has been noticeable. The new town of Tel-Aviv, the building of which was started in 1908 with a few hundred inhabitants, and as a mere suburb of Jaffa, has now developed into a town with a population of about 40,000. In the other more important towns, too, such as Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Tiberias, the Jewish population has considerably increased, and all of these towns now have modern Jewish districts and suburbs.

Before the War industry was practically non-existent. Lately, however, remarkable progress has been achieved, largely through Jewish effort. According to a census carried out by the Palestine Zionist Executive, there were in Palestine 592 Jewish factories having a total capital £ 1,840,227 in July, 1926. These were giving employment to 5,711 workers. Since then the industries of Palestine have been progressing all the time, despite the recent crisis, which was only of a temporary nature. The most important are : cement, building materials, oil, flour mills, salt, electric power stations, textiles, chocolates, cigarettes, boots and shoes, perfumes, wines and spirits, and so forth.

#### (d) *The Labour Movement.*

The growth in the number of Jews entering into Palestine has been accompanied by the rise and development of the Jewish Labour Movement. Before the war, there were only a few hundred organised workers, mainly engaged in agriculture. The first trade union which was founded was the Union of the Agricultural Workers, which was established in 1911 by Jewish immigrants from Europe, who were working on the land. In December, 1920, the General Federation of Jewish Labour was created. The number of Jewish workers in Palestine at that time was 6,800, of whom 4,433, that is 64 per cent., joined the Federation at its inception. Since then the number of Jewish workers has grown rapidly, and

has now reached 32,000, of whom 25,000, i. e. 78 per cent. of the total number of Jewish workers in the country, are organised in the General Federation of Jewish Labour. The largest Trade Union at the present time is still the Agricultural Workers' Union, which has a membership of about 9,500. Of these, 3,500 are settled in communal and co-operative settlements, and the remaining 6,000 are wage-earners working for private employers. The other Trade Unions are those of the building workers, woodworkers, metalworkers, electrical workers, railwaymen, postal and telegraph workers, clerks, as well as a number of local unions.

The General Federation of Jewish Labour has a whole set of co-operative institutions. There is the Workers' Bank, having a capital of £100,000; a co-operative wholesale and retail society, called "Hamashbir", which supplies the workers with goods and commodities and sells the produce grown in the workers' settlements and has a yearly turnover averaging from £130,000 to £200,000; a Health Fund with 15,000 members, its own hospitals and convalescent homes; an educational department which looks after the educational needs of the workers' children, working boys and girls, as well as of grown-up workers. This department has a considerable number of kindergartens, schools, libraries, reading rooms, apart from general and special classes.

The General Federation of Jewish Labour issues a Hebrew workers' daily called "Davar", and also an Arabic fortnightly for the benefit of Arab workers. Several hundred of these, mainly railwaymen, are members of the Jewish unions.

The General Federation of Jewish Labour has decided at its third conference, held in 1927, to set up a "League of Palestine workers", having as its object the uniting of all Palestinian workers, Jews and Arabs alike, into one international league which has autonomous branches for each section of the population for urging improvement in the labour conditions and social legislation in the country, etc.

#### (e) *Self-Government.*

The question of self-government for Palestine is intimately bound up with the question of the Jewish National Home and the economic and social development of Palestine. It is important to realise from the outset that in Palestine this matter cannot be settled merely from the point of view of present conditions. The future must be clearly borne in mind. Palestine is at present on the threshold of its development, and this development depends mainly on the Jews who will be able to enter and settle in Palestine. The determining factor is not merely the present 800,000 inhabitants, but also the millions of Jews to whom Palestine has been promised as their National Home. The Jewish nation, which was violently broken up and scattered to all parts of the World, has never abandoned its longing to return to its Historic Land. But it is not merely historical

ties which bind the Jews to Palestine. For this nation of 15,000,000 the question of returning to their own land, and the possibility of settling there, as a free and unfettered people who will be masters of their own fate, is in effect a most vital question, which will determine whether the Jews as a nation are to be or not to be. In all countries where Jews are dispersed, particularly in those where they are concentrated in large numbers, such as Poland, Russia and Rumania, they have been deprived of a healthy economic and political basis of existence. In the course of historical development they have seen the right to work on the land and in all important productive occupations taken away from them, and year after year their social and economic status has been growing worse. During the last 50 years millions of Jews have emigrated from Eastern Europe to countries overseas, and millions are now waiting for an opportunity to emigrate anywhere. At the same time it must be remembered that those countries, which have always absorbed the largest number of immigrants, such as the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australia, have been shutting their doors ever tighter against immigrants.

These millions are in urgent need of a country, where they could settle, not by the mercy of others, but by right, not as visitors or passers-by, but as a nation returning to its own homeland, and building there its national future. It is now over 40 years since Jews of all over the World began to return to their ancient homeland with a twofold object in view.

(1) To develop once more their own national life by means of a process of mass-colonisation.

(2) To rejuvenate the ancient Home by fostering all its economic resources and possibilities.

After a considerable period of pioneer work which extended over several decades in the face of all the obstacles of the Turkish rule, Post-War Europe has officially and publicly recognised the right of the Jewish people to establish their National Home in Palestine.

The Mandatory Government has pledged itself to the League of Nations to assist in the establishment of this Jewish National Home. It is consequently under the obligation to protect, in addition to the interests of the present population, those of the future population whose efforts will determine the growth and the development of Palestine.

If peace in the country is to be safeguarded, the Arab masses protected from the Effendi landlords, the growth of the Jewish immigration and the possibility of a great number of Jews settling in the country ensured, and the establishment of the Jewish National Home itself rendered secure, the Administrative of Palestine must for the time being remain in the hands of the Mandatory Power

under the supervision of the League of Nations, and on the lines set forth in the Mandate for the protection of the rights of both Jews and Arabs.

*2. If not how should the principle of political self-determination be applied to these peoples ?*

Self-government in Palestine should be developed gradually and in agreement with the articles of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration.

The first steps should be municipal self-government in the towns and villages, and also the right of every community to direct its own educational, cultural and other activities.

Last year the Government of Palestine took some steps towards initiating local self-government in a number of localities. But the method of election which they prescribed and the powers of the municipal bodies thus elected were reactionary and placed the whole power in the hands of the rich. The vote is given only to men who are Palestinian citizens of the age of 21 and over, who are paying taxes on houses and land amounting to not less than 10s., or other municipal taxes amounting to not less than £ 1. The right to be elected is only enjoyed by electors of 30 years of age and over who have paid £ 1 in taxes on houses and land or £ 2 in other municipal taxes. The register of voters is on a communal basis, Jews, Christians and Moslems being registered on separate lists. The electors of each community, however, may vote for or against candidates of other communities. The faults of this electoral system are mainly as follows :—

- (a) The minimum age for candidates is too high.
- (b) Women have no vote.
- (c) There is no vote for Jews who, though they have settled in Palestine, have not yet had the time to obtain Palestinian citizenship.

The last Conference of the General Federation of Jewish Labour demanded the franchise for all permanent residents of Palestine aged 20 and over without discrimination of nation, class or sex, and also proportional representation.

Another step taken by the Government in the direction of developing self-governing bodies in Palestine is the promulgation of the Communities Ordinance (Official Gazette, No. 157, of February 15, 1926). This empowers the High Commissioner to enact special regulations for each community which desires to be organised on its own lines. These regulations deal with the composition of religious and educational councils of each community and empower the councils to levy certain taxes to cover the needs of the community. The Jewish community of Palestine received a legal status in this way towards the end of 1927. But these regulations, too,

are to a large extent reactionary, give the religious institutions a certain preponderance over the life of the community, and violate the secular character of the progressive Jewish Community in Palestine.

3. *How to prevent their economic exploitation, including the safeguards necessary to protect natives in the ownership and use of their land and the measures to be adopted to prevent slave labour or forced and indentured labour ?*

There is no forced or indentured labour in Palestine. But, owing to the absence of social and labour legislation, the exploitation of workers often borders on slavery. The organised body of Jewish workers and the small minority of Arab workers who are organised with them, are using all their efforts to fight against this widespread exploitation. But the majority of Arab labour is unorganised and at present incapable of organising itself, and consequently often falls a prey to the extreme exploitation which still prevails in Palestine even among workers employed by the Government.

As a result of repeated demands we have recently succeeded in securing from the Government a Workmen's Compensation Act and an Act for the Protection of Female and Children's Labour, both of which are much less satisfactory than similar legislation in other countries. The second of the two above ordinances refers only to certain branches of industry, and the main occupations where women and children are exploited, agriculture and public works, are left untouched. All further demands made by the General Federation of Jewish Labour with the aim of introducing more social legislation have not met with the approval of the Palestine Government.

The condition of the small-holding farmer is no better than that of the worker. The old Turkish system of taxation which is still enforced in Palestine, particularly the tax on crops called "Osher", weighs very heavily on the shoulders of the farmers and land-workers, and is proving a great obstacle to the economic recovery of the country, whose principal source of wealth is agriculture.

The landlords hold very large areas of land, vast portions of which are either not cultivated at all or only partially cultivated by leaseholders. The Effendis are paying practically no taxes and are using their land for purely speculative purposes. The need to overhaul the system of taxation of the land is urgent. It is imperative that the smallholder be relieved of the heavy taxation and that a new progressive scale of taxes be instituted which will be based on the net income from, or the value of, the land. Non-cultivated lands should not be burdened with taxes for a number of years, so that working people may be encouraged to settle on non-cultivated land.

A law has been introduced by the Government which provides that no landlord is entitled to sell land which has been leased to a farmer who is cultivating it, unless the landlord makes provision of other land which is adequate for the upkeep of the farmer and his family. The size of the land which is thus supplied to the farmer is left in each case to the discretion of the District Authorities, who are to fix the area in accordance with the quality of soil, etc. It may be worth while noting that the Jewish National Fund had already introduced these and similar measures long before the enactment of this Ordinance.

*4. How to secure their surplus products for the consumption and use of other nations and maintain a satisfactory exchange of goods between them and the rest of the world ?*

In order to achieve this end it is essential to exploit and develop all the economic resources of the country. Without influx of new workers endowed with technical skill and knowledge, and without adequate capital, the proper development of Palestine is impossible. Palestine can supply the World Market with high-class fruit and high-class products such as oranges, bananas, almonds, etc., oil, wines and silks ; an unlimited quantity of chemicals from the Dead Sea, and building materials such as cement. But it is necessary in the first place to drain all the swampy areas, instal irrigation, supply cheap electrical power and build good roads and means of communication. Considerable progress has already been made in these directions, mainly by Jewish settlers.

The following figures show the increase in Palestine's Exports during the last 15 years : In 1913 their value was £ 745,413 ; in 1921, £ 1,420,104 ; and in 1927, £ 2,280,810.

As for increasing the purchasing power of the country, this can only be done by raising the cultural and social standard of the population, and by augmenting the latter through granting facilities to a large productive immigration up to the maximum limit of Palestine's capacity of absorption.

The increase in Palestine's Imports may be seen from the following : In 1913 their value was £ 1,312,695 ; in 1921, £ 6,013,567 ; and in 1927, £ 6,588,142.

*5. Where different races inhabit the same country, how can all sections be secured in peaceful existence and on terms of equality, and how can the Labour Movement assist to that end ?*

If we wish to secure the peaceful existence of different races inhabiting the same country we must regard as a preliminary condition the necessity of ensuring absolute equality, not merely between individuals of different races, but also between the different

rac<sup>e</sup>s themselves. For this purpose every race or nation should be entitled to conduct its internal matters, particularly education, in its own way. Such a step would certainly lessen friction and greatly facilitate their peaceful existence on terms of equality.

The Labour Movement can assist to that end by organising the labour elements of all nations and races for a combined effort to raise the cultural and social status of these workers and for introducing adequate social and agrarian legislation. Such an organisation must pay due regard to the rights and culture of each of the races involved, and assist the autonomous development of each section of the population on the basis of absolute equality.

## IV. Memorandum of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party

(July 1927 and May 1928.)

The Dutch overseas territories—the term “colony” was struck out at the last revision of the constitution—fall into two portions, those of the West and those of the East Indies. The former constitute by far the more important part. They comprise a large number of islands in the Indian Archipelago, of which the chief are :

	Population
Java (in 1920) . . . . .	34,984,000
Sumatra . . . . .	6,000,000
Celebes . . . . .	2,400,000
Two-thirds of Borneo . . . . .	1,800,000
Bali and Lombok . . . . .	1,500,000

There are further a number of minor islands.

The whole area of the Dutch East Indies amounts to 1,900,151 sq. kilometres<sup>(1)</sup>, and had in 1920 a population of 49,000,000 including about 170,000 Europeans. The vast majority of the native population is Mohammedan.

The Government is conducted by a Governor-General on behalf of the Dutch Crown. The budget receives its final form in the Dutch Parliament. Since 1916 there has existed a “National Council” the beginnings of a Parliament. A portion of the members is elected, the remainder nominated by the Government. A Committee elected by the Council is permanently attached to the Governor-General. This Council likewise deals with the Budget, without however the power to pass binding resolutions. The annual State Budget has at present risen to more than 700 million guilders.

The West Indies comprise, on the Continent of South America, the Colony of Surinam and in addition the Islands Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire. The whole territory has only 190,000 inhabitants.

### Administrative Machinery of the Dutch East Indies.

The supreme administration of the Dutch East Indies, Surinam and Curaçao (the two latter being known as the West Indies and the former as the East Indies) is, under article 60 of the Constitution, placed in the hands of the King. Politically therefore it is in the hands of the Minister for the Colonies, who is responsible to the States General. In so far as specific attributions are not handed over by special acts of Parliament to other bodies, the administrative functions are exercised in the Dutch East Indies by the Governor General and in the West Indies by the Governor. The Governor General is “assisted” by the “Council of the Indies” (whose members

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(1) The area of Holland itself is 33,000 square kilometres.



are nominated by the King) and by the heads of the "General Administrative Departments", who are appointed by the Governor General.

As a result of the most recent revision of the constitution (1922), a new article (No. 61) was introduced, prescribing that the internal affairs of the East Indies, Surinam and Curaçao are to be, generally speaking, left in the hands of the Existing bodies in those countries. The supreme administrative authorities retain, however, a right of veto.

The budget is, in normal cases (where the agreement of the National Council has been secured), drawn up by the Governor General, but it must be passed as a law by the Dutch Parliament. Although therefore the last word is still spoken by the home country, important progress towards self-administration has been made in recent years.

The National Council (Volksraad) mentioned above is the Parliament of the Indies. It consists partly of elected members and partly of members nominated by the Governor General. At the present moment it includes 25 native members (20 of whom are elected), 30 Dutch members (15 of whom are elected) and 5 Chinese members (3 of whom are elected). A bill is at present before the Second Chamber of the States General which, if passed, will alter the number of native and Dutch members to 30 and 25 respectively. The President of the National Council is appointed by the King, i. e., by the Minister.

Each group of the population chooses its own representatives, so that the electorate is subdivided into natives, Dutch and Chinese. The electors for the National Council are the members of the district and local councils, which in turn consist partly of elected and partly of nominated members. The suffrage is still extremely limited so that the influence of the native population as a whole on the representative bodies is still very slight. We do not, however, consider that the Government restricts the suffrage unjustifiably. Universal suffrage in such a country, where more than 90% of the population is illiterate, is unthinkable.

In 1922, the Constitution was revised with the object of securing increased decentralisation of the administration, and of placing the various district and local branches of the administration in the hands of the natives to a greater extent than had previously been the case. It is still too early to express any opinion on the results of this reform. The ultimate aim is to divide the country up into provinces and smaller districts with councils, subjected to a considerable extent to native influence.

In Java and some other more advanced parts of the Dutch East Indies, this reform will certainly yield results in the near future. This is not likely to be the case, however, in districts where the population is more backward.

One of the basic principles adopted by the Government in administering the Indies consists in leaving the native population, wherever conditions are suitable, under their own chiefs, recognised by the Government and placed under Government supervision. Such supervision is carried out by European officials and has in a very large number of cases been so distorted that the native chiefs have become nothing but agents of the Dutch higher authorities.

The territory of the Dutch East Indies is further subdivided into districts which are administered directly by the Governor General, and those in which the native princes have, in most respects at any rate, retained their administrative rights. Such districts are, however, also subject to certain laws of general application, whereby the rights of the princes are curtailed.

An essential feature of the most recent revision of the constitution consists in the fact that the centre of gravity of the administration is transferred to the Indian administrative bodies, so that the home country will in future only concern itself with general questions—questions so to say of imperial importance. It will be our task to hasten this process and gradually to transform the administrative bodies themselves so as to make the right of self-determination of the natives more and more a practical reality.

The transference of the administrative functions to the Indian bodies involves the disadvantage that the responsibility of the Dutch Government is thereby diminished, so that the control of Parliament loses some of its value. Such control can of course be maintained by the National Council, but Social-Democracy will for some time come to be only feebly represented in it. Hitherto not a single Social-Democrat has been elected to it. The two members of the Party who sit on it are nominated by the Governor General. In the immediate future therefore the transference of the administrative centre of gravity to the Indies will involve a diminution of Social-Democratic influence. This is, however, an unavoidable consequence of progress towards the practical exercise of the right of self-determination by the natives.

May 1928.

## Historical Outline of the Activities of the Dutch Socialist Party in regard to Colonial Questions. (July 1927.)

In order to obtain an idea of the struggle carried on by the Dutch Socialist Party in regard to colonial matters, it is necessary to begin by distinguishing between two periods.

During the first period, the only struggle was that carried on within Holland, and more particularly in the Dutch Parliament. The oppressed peoples played only a relatively tiny part in this struggle. The second period opens with the commencement of the first popular movement in Indonesia. From this point, the oppressed peoples began to claim their rights and their point of view had therefore to be taken into account.

The following pages represent an attempt to describe the extent to which this popular movement, which forms part of the general awakening of Asia, has influenced the activities and the tactics of the Party.

During the first period, the Dutch Socialist Party upheld in Parliament the interests of the peoples of the Dutch East Indies and offered resistance to the capitalist spirit which dominated bourgeois colonial policy. Later, on the other hand, the struggle was partly transferred to Indonesia, where the people relying entirely on their still undeniably weak organisations, began to fight for better conditions of existence, for their right to live, against foreign domination. Since 1918, when a representative body, the people's Council, was set up, the Party has also made its voice heard in the embryonic Indonesian Parliament and our comrades have turned the opportunity offered them to good account.

Our campaign against the existing colonial system will henceforth have to be concentrated increasingly on activities within the colonial countries and the oppressed peoples will have to play an increasingly active part in it.

In the early days, that is to say when the Dutch Socialist Party first entered Parliament, in which it has been represented since 1897, the Social-Democratic movement paid relatively little attention to the question of the independence of the Dutch East Indies. The problem at that time was of a purely theoretical character.

In the programme for a colonial policy drawn up in 1901, Van Kol outlined the Party's basic viewpoint as follows :

"The supreme object of our colonial policy must be the welfare of the natives and their physical, intellectual and moral development. Our chief task consists in accelerating the process of economic development

in order that the period of transition may if possible pass without upheavals. A policy based on morality, a policy of responsibility, must be substituted for the present system of administration based on our own interest and on capitalist exploitation."

Provided that the above principles were honestly observed, the Dutch Socialists adopted the point of view that the possession of colonies is not in itself reprehensible and they defended this point of view at the International Congress at Stuttgart in 1907. This was the last international socialist congress which dealt with the colonial problem. It did not endorse the views of the Dutch Socialist representatives and decided against any colonial policy even though based on socialist principles.

Since then a change has taken place, though not, it is true, among the majority of members of the Party, in the opinions of Dutch Socialists on colonial policy, as is shown by the new party programme. The "awakening" of the oppressed peoples has of course been largely responsible for this. They themselves now demand, if not full independence, at any rate the right to a large extent to control their own destinies, and we have now to decide on our attitude in regard to the claims put forward by the countries which are subjected to Dutch domination.

Thus the evolution of colonial conditions confronts us with problems with which our predecessors had scarcely ever to concern themselves.

We will now proceed to deal in greater detail with the attitude of the Dutch Socialist party. As will be seen, the attitude has scarcely varied from the policy laid down by Van Kol, Troelstra and others in 1897. From the beginning the Party leaders, and perhaps above all Van Kol, have protested with all their might against Imperialism, which was at that time flourishing under the Van Heutz government, and against the abominations with which imperialism is inseparably connected.

On the first day on which representatives of the Party sat in the Second Chamber, on the occasion of the debate on the speech from the Throne, on September 28, 1887, the Party protested against the aggressive war of Atjeh, which lasted forty years and of which the cost (estimated by Van Kol at 400 or 500 million florins) has been born by Indonesia itself. Subsequently the Party protested on several occasions against the various expeditions undertaken on all sorts of pretexts in various parts of the Dutch East Indies, against Gajoelanden, Boni, Corintji, Bali, Djambi, Timor, etc. The Party repeatedly showed that the underlying motive of these expeditions, of which the cost was always charged to Indonesia, lay in the desire to extend the power of the Netherlands and to amass wealth. In a number of cases, what happened was simply that the capitalist thirst for profit drove the Government into bringing new territory under its domination, in which capital hoped to discover

fresh possibilities of investment. The Party no less energetically expressed its indignation in regard to the atrocities by which these expeditions were only too frequently accompanied.

The Party has never ceased to oppose the manner in which armed resistance to the forces of the State was repressed in all parts of the Dutch East Indies, especially as such resistance was only too frequently the direct consequence of the activities of the Government and its officials, who laid heavy burdens on the population. An enquiry carried out in 1907 by a member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies even brought to light the fact that risings of the natives were as a general rule provoked by unsatisfactory economic conditions.

The Party has protested incessantly against the squandering of millions of florins for the army and the fleet. These millions would have been far better employed in improving economic conditions and raising the level of civilisation in the Dutch East Indies. Moreover, Indonesia could only be defended against an external foe by the expenditure of so many millions that the country would become bankrupt. The Party's point of view is that the fleet and the army in the Dutch East Indies should be restricted to police purposes, and used solely for the maintenance of peace and order.

The Party has fought not only against militarism and imperialism, but also against capitalism, which is seen at its worst in the colonies, where the proletariat is not only undeveloped and badly organised, but also has few needs to satisfy because of the warmth of the climate and the fertility of the soil. Moreover, capital is far better protected there than in countries which are not under foreign domination.

The Party has struggled unceasingly and with all its strength against the privileges and support which the Government gives to capitalism, against capitalist colonial policy in the true sense of the term. It has shown time after time that the exploitation of the natives by high finance and the "draining" of Indonesia, would bring about the impoverishment of the country and of the people. It has often drawn attention to the decline in the well-being of the natives—and it must not be imagined that the term well-being as used here bears any resemblance to its use in Europe—and more than once enquiries have been made as a result of the Party's attacks. Thus, not long ago, after the Chamber had adopted the Albarda motion on December 18, 1924, an enquiry was started into the social situation of the Javanese. It was discovered that before the war, although their living conditions left much to be desired, the Javanese lived better than they have since.

Both in the Dutch Parliament and since 1918 in the National Council, the Party has demanded better labour conditions for the native population. The innumerable abuses committed in the Ex-

terior Territories<sup>(1)</sup>, particularly among the population of Deli, of evil reputation, which came to light a few years ago, show clearly what can be brought about by the system of exploitation directed by capitalism, and more or less supported by the Government. The system of "poenale sanctie" is still in force there, that is to say that contract labour (coolie labour) prevails and is maintained by the infliction of criminal penalties authorised by law. (If a contract labourer breaks his contract without due cause, he becomes liable to criminal penalties<sup>(2)</sup>). Anyone who knows how the recruiting of workers is carried on in practice in Indonesia will realize that in only too many cases the worker, being completely illiterate, signs a contract without any understanding of the obligations that he is assuming.

From the beginning the Party has protested energetically against this method of recruiting labour, and against the "poenale sanctie". After the Socialists' entry into Parliament, Van Kol has not let a single year pass without agitating against the "slave contracts", the "forced labour" and the "coolie scandals" in the golden country of Deli (so-called because of the enormous sums of money to be made on account of special conditions obtaining there). The Colonial Minister of that time, Cremer, a Deli millionaire, replied to Van Kol's bitter attacks in the most cynical manner. In 1902, a pamphlet by Dr. van den Brand, an Orthodox-Protestant barrister, was published under the title: "The Deli Millions" (De Millioenen uit Deli). This pamphlet, which caused a great stir, described in a powerful manner the abuses and injustices committed in Deli. An official enquiry was instituted under the direction of the Attorney-General at Batavia, Dr. Rhémser, which confirmed everything that Van Kol and Dr. van den Brand had asserted.

The injustices which came to light through this official enquiry resulted in the institution of a labour inspection service on the East Coast of Sumatra (Deli), the improvement of the police force and the creation of a Council of Justice in the principal port of Medan.

Since that time, the Dutch Socialist Party has repeatedly, both in and outside Parliament (and since 1918 in the National Council itself) demanded the abolition of the "poenale sanctie". On March 20, 1917, the Chamber passed the resolution moved by the Party demanding that the question of abolishing the "poenale sanctie" should be considered and that a detailed report should be submitted to the Chamber. The Committee which was set up for this purpose, and on which the Party was represented, presented a report

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(1) The Dutch make a distinction in Indonesia between Java and Madura on the one hand and the "Exterior Territories" on the other. The latter term applies to all the islands except Java and Madura. The island of Madura is situated close to the North East coast of Java. (Translator's note.)

(2) H. V. 9. 8. 27 Batavia 8. 8. 27 (Aneta) the Meddendorp member of the Nat. Council motion (I.S.P.D.) demanding the abolition of the "poenale sanctie" was rejected by 34 votes against 9. (Translator's note.)

two years later ; and it is altogether remarkable that this Committee, on which almost all the political parties were represented, also came to the conclusion that labour conditions in Deli, i. e. the "poenale sanctie", closely resembled a system of slavery quite out of harmony with modern ideas. In spite of this, the majority of the Committee were of the opinion that, however undesirable they might be, it would not be advisable to abolish the "poenale sanctie". The restrictions imposed on the coolies could only be abolished when a sufficient number of free workers had become available as result of increased immigration.

The representative of the Dutch Socialist Party suggested that the "poenale sanctie" should be abolished in any case after a transitional period of three or four years.

In 1918, the Indonesian Government informed the National Council, under pressure from the Party, that the "poenale sanctie" would be abolished in the near future. The Government did not keep its promise. In 1923, at the time of the discussion on an amendment to the Coolies Order for the East Coast of Sumatra, the Government informed the National Council that the "poenale sanctie" would have to be continued for an indefinite period. The Party at once protested, both in Holland and in the colonies, and in June, 1924, Schaper again demanded that the "poenale sanctie" should be permanently abolished, within a period of five years. His proposal did not obtain a majority in the Chamber, which did not, however, go as far as the Government and the National Council of the Indies, as it expressed the hope that "the Coolie Order should, beginning from 1930, be progressively modified with a view to the gradual abolition of the 'poenale sanctie'."

Meanwhile, the "poenale sanctie" have recently been the subject of considerable discussion as a result of the publication of facts concerning the scandalous treatment of the coolies in a number of plantations in Deli. It was proved that a number of coolies had been disgracefully badly treated by (or by order of) their employers.

The Socialist representative in the National Council proved conclusively that these scandals are closely connected to the system of "poenale sanctie" and that this system has a demoralising influence both on the employers and on the workers. He again demanded that they should be abolished.

The Dutch Socialist Party fully realises that it is desirable and necessary to spread civilisation in the Exterior Territories. But progress should never be bought at the price of such inhumanity and national dishonour. I have laid great stress on this side of our activities in colonial affairs because the Party has been struggling for more than thirty years against this form of slavery which still exists in Indonesia. Moreover, this is a very important question, in which foreign countries, the Interparliamentary Union, the League of Nations, the Mandates Commission and the International Labour

Office are interested. The Party will not rest until the "poenale sanctie" are abolished.

In general, the native worker has no protection against his employer, who is in most cases a European. For this reason the possibilities of exploitation are far more unlimited than in the West. Low wages and long hours of work are the general rule. There are no laws for protecting the worker worth mentioning. A few years ago, thanks to the pressure that the Socialist Party brought to bear on the National Council, a timid attempt was made to initiate social legislation. A Labour Bureau was founded seven years ago. But it has not been able to do much yet in the field of labour protection because the Government refuses to give it the necessary funds.

Both in the National Council and in Parliament, the Party has laid stress upon the necessity for granting more adequate funds to the Labour Bureau and for transforming it into a Department of Labour and Social Hygiene. It is only when this has been done that it will be possible to make any considerable progress towards the protection of labour, which it is of such essential importance to secure. The Party's attempt to bring about the legal fixing of a minimum wage has failed. This measure is most necessary, not only on account of the miserably low level of wages, but also because the workers' organisations are much too weak, left to their own resources, to secure any increase. It is true that restrictions have been imposed on the work of women and children and that some measures of social legislation are supposed to be in preparation. But that is about all that has been done in the field of social legislation for the natives.

The Party has repeatedly demanded the extension of the labour inspection service ; at present there is no such service in the Island of Java, notwithstanding the number of industrial undertakings.

Under such conditions the native workers' are naturally not very well disposed, generally speaking, towards their European employer. Evidence of this has often been forthcoming. It is particularly bad in the important sugar industry. The barbarous treatment of the coolies in this industry has even been before the Dutch Parliament and the National Council. It is no exaggeration to say that this is the industry that the natives detest more than all others. I have no space in this report to go over all these abuses in detail. The Party has never failed to condemn them as they deserve. They occur in connection with the most diverse matters : the leasing of land, the water supply, conditions of work, etc. The Party has succeeded, it is true, in obtaining here and there some redress for the native population, but much remains to be done.

Occasionally the native workers have tried to better their conditions of work unaided. Their attempts have been unsuccessful, both on account of the attitude of the employers, whose point of



view in the Dutch East Indies, resembles that of the European manufacturers in the earliest days of the Labour movement, and because of the attitude of the Government and its officials, who have often taken sides in disputes against the workers. The Party has vigorously criticised this attitude.

There have been a great number of labour disputes in Indonesia during the last few years, for various reasons, in particular on account of the policy of excessive economies. They have broken out in the public services and the railways, as well as in private industry, and particularly in the metal industry at Surabaya.

These strikes were caused largely by the infamous treatment of the natives by European employers or their agents. The Government put an end rapidly to most of the strikes, with considerable severity, by imprisoning their leaders. As soon as the strikes were broken, most of the prisoners were set free. Criminal proceedings were only taken against very few individuals, in virtue of the article introduced into the Penal Code of the Dutch East Indies by the Government twenty four hours after the big railway strike in 1923. This article is to the following effect : "Art. 161. Any person who, with a view to disturbing public order or disorganising the economic life of the community, or who is unable in good faith to deny that, as a consequence of his actions, public order may be disturbed or economic life may be disorganised, induces more than one individual to refuse to work or to carry out a legally issued order, where the persons concerned are obliged by agreement or by the nature of their duties to perform such work, or who is an accessory to such refusal, may be condemned to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or be ordered to pay a fine not exceeding 1000 florins."

By means of this article the Government is able to put a speedy end to any strike by arresting the leaders. It has already put it into force several times with success. Strikes are thus rendered practically impossible and the right to strike has been taken away from the workers, which makes it impossible for them to secure better conditions of work. At the same time the Government does absolutely nothing to improve conditions for the workers. It is therefore understandable that the Dutch Socialists have demanded the repeal of Article 161, both in the National Council and in Parliament, though so far without success.

As I have said above, the native worker is extremely badly treated by his European employers. Such treatment is sometimes carried to the length of physical violence and sometimes ends tragically by the death of one of the parties. There are victims every year, and year after year the Socialist Party has protested against this brutal behaviour and against the relatively slight punishment inflicted on the guilty parties ; for penalty inflicted in these cases is usually negligible in comparison with the penalties inflicted for uttering or publishing so-called seditious opinions, the

victims of which are mostly Indonesians. These facts have led the Party to protest strongly against such race and class justice.

The Party has asked the Government to set a good example by abolishing whipping in prisons and educational institutions, where too frequent use is made of the right to inflict corporal punishment. A few years ago sensational figures were published concerning this practice, particularly in the State coal mines at Sawah-Loentok, on the West coast of Sumatra.

To sum up, the Dutch Socialist Party is able to affirm that labour conditions do not only leave much, but everything to be desired. The same applies to the economic conditions of the whole population of the Dutch East Indies, particularly that of Java, the principal island in the colonies of the Dutch Kingdom. The enquiry made a few years ago, of which I have spoken above, gives significant proof of this. The native population has become poorer and poorer as a result of the "draining" of profits arising from the capitalist system. The Party has drawn attention, both in Parliament and in the National Council, to the serious consequences arising out of this colonial policy. A few figures will suffice—there is no space in this report to give many details—to show how the system of "draining" of profits has gradually extended and to what a proportion the Dutch and foreign capital invested in Indonesia has increased. These figures will show that employers have, in general, pocketed very satisfactory profits.

First I will explain what is meant by the term "draining" and for this purpose, will take the formula chosen by Comrade Stokvis, Socialist member of the National Council, in the introduction to his motion on nationalisation, submitted to the National Council on September 24, 1924 :

"The gross profits of private industry withdrawn from the Indian national income and secured by foreign capital invested in the country and which finally, i. e., after payment of the proportion due to the natives and subject to the deduction of the local taxes, and also after making the usual allowance for depreciation and for the payment of the regular local rate of interest, are retained by the entrepreneur to dispose of as he pleases."

It is, of course, scarcely possible to find out exactly where "draining" begins and to give the exact figures reached each year. Therefore the following figures have little value except as an illustration.

At the time of the discussion of the Indonesian budget in the Second Chamber in 1901, Van Kol estimated the "draining" at 70 million florins, including officials pensions, capital withdrawn from the country by officials, Chinese and Arabs returning home, and the cost of military expeditions and pilgrimages to Mecca. Bogaardt, a Catholic member of the Chamber, at the time of the discussion of the budget of the Dutch East Indies, estimated it at a total of 150 million florins in 1907, as against 1200 million florins of foreign capital invested in the Dutch East Indies.

Stokvis, in his resolution, estimated the "draining" of the country at 424 million florins for the ten years between 1913—1922, reckoning the rate of interests at 6%. He considered that this figure was not too high as he had not taken into account other sums of money which leave the country each year, e. g. pensions of Government officials, etc.

These figures show how greatly net profits have risen during the past years and to what an extent interest on capital has increased in Indonesia.

The following figures tell the same story :

The excess of exports during the last years of the 19th century reached the figure of about 50 million florins per year, whereas from 1916 to 1920 it totalled 653.6 million florins per year and from 1920 to 1924, 493.9 million florins per year. These figures show to what an extent the profits made in Indonesia benefit people outside the country.

In a "Note on Taxation" published in the middle of 1922 by the Chairman of the Employers' Council for the Dutch East Indies, Dr. M. F. W. Treub, we get an idea of the total amount of these profits. He shows that during the past ten years *300 million florins*, on an average, were paid out in dividends on foreign capital, including the salaries and share of profits payable outside the country. According to the calculations made later by this same Employers' Council, the profits made in Indonesia in a normal year can be estimated at *500 million florins*.

It is therefore clear that for the last few years, profits have greatly increased and the stream of gold which flows from Indonesia becomes larger and larger. The total amount of dividends paid out annually is a proof that there are excellent opportunities for investment by High Finance in the colonies. It is impossible to give the exact figures of the total amount of capital invested in the limited companies of Indonesia ; the Government estimates it at 2½ thousand million florins, and the Employers' Council at 5 thousand million florins. About two thirds of the Indonesian undertakings are in the hands of the Dutch. The Government's free trade policy however enables foreigners to invest money in the industries of the Dutch East Indies. In particular there is a great deal of English and American capital.

The import and export figures also indicate the amount of foreign capital invested in Indonesia, and the importance in world trade of the Dutch East Indies, which has increased still further during the last few years. Indonesia looks for the best possible market for her products and does not always find it in Holland. In fact this country's share in the Dutch East Indian exports and imports has decreased of recent years.

The figures given above give some idea of the development of Indonesia during the last twenty-five years. To complete them I will now give figures taken from the Indonesia Budget. The native

population has only a tiny share in the successful business concerns carried on in the country. The Socialist Party has called the Government's attention to this repeatedly. It has also pointed out the steps that should be taken to prevent the realisation of excessive profits and to ensure that the country and its people benefit by the wealth produced in Indonesia.

The first step to be taken is to adopt a more equitable fiscal policy. The Party has declared itself in favour of taxing the big capitalist more severely and has pointed out that the poor population is relatively speaking much more highly taxed than the capitalists. For years the latter have paid very little in taxes ; in particular capital invested in oil has been treated with special consideration, although it is well-known that the "Koninklijke Petroleum Maatschappij" was making very large profits in Indonesia. When the Government increased the export duty on oil, and in the opinion of the Party, the increase was much too small, the Koninklijke started a campaign against the Government and threatened to shut down its undertakings or to remove them to another country. Even a Dutch East Indian bourgeois newspaper expressed the opinion that "the protest made by the Koninklijke was as unfounded as it was undignified, and was not in the least "royal"." (The word "Koninklijke" means "royal" in Dutch.)

Nevertheless the Government gave way and increased the export duties far less than had at first been intended. Later on an oil tax was introduced, but here again the Government allowed itself to be frightened and did not go as far as it had at first intended. The Government also allowed itself to be intimidated by a movement started by the important planters, headed by Mr. Treub, mentioned above. For years this group had been attacking the Government's financial policy and their attacks had been followed with great interest abroad. Their thesis may be summarised as follows : the taxation levied on capital is far too heavy on account of the excessive sums spent on education, social insurance, etc., etc., by the Government. These expenses must be reduced so that the rate of taxation can be lowered, as this is the only way to attract foreign capital to Indonesia.

The Party opposed this action or rather reaction, but with no result. A few taxes which already existed, such as income tax levied on bodies possessing legal personality, the tax on commodities, the oil tax, were replaced by the taxation of the profits of limited companies, which brought in about the same amount as the old taxes. The Party led a violent campaign against this new tax, both inside and outside the National Council and Parliament. The question to be decided was whether or not this tax on profits should be based on a *progressive or a proportional tariff*. For the powerful planters, it was more advantageous to have a Proportional tariff, but the Treasury would lose by it, especially in periods when Profits were very high. As usual, the big colonial capitalists came out of the fight

victorious. A proportional tariff was chosen, to the benefit of big business, which thus pocketed several extra millions every year, whereas the taxes payable by the people, which were already sufficiently heavy, were increased in all sorts of ways. They were further increased between 1921 and 1925.

This was the situation in Indonesia during the darkest period of the history of the Dutch Colonies, when Mr. M. S. de Graaf was Minister for the Colonies and Dr. F. Fock Governor General. What chiefly characterised this period was the heartless suppression of all important expenditure for the people. I will speak of this again later on. On the other hand, direct and indirect taxation increased to such a degree that the native population paid 92% more in taxes in 1925 than in 1919, and this at a time of economic depression. It is therefore not surprising that the population is embittered against the Government. The Socialist Party strongly opposed the increase in income tax. In the end, the Government gave way to our protests, and a committee was appointed (Mr. Meyer, Ranneft-Huender) to enquire into the influence of taxation on the economic conditions of the native population. The committee came to the conclusion that their condition was worse than before the war. Taxes were reduced, but the native population still pays, this year, 81% more in taxes than in 1919. It is the small peasant who suffers particularly from this heavy burden of taxation, and it is to him that help should be given in the first place.

The Meyer Ranneft-Huender enquiry showed that the economic situation of the native population has not improved. Van Kol declared in Parliament, thirty years ago : the population of Java is poor. And the same may still be said today.

The mania for economy during the Fock—de Graaf régime did not improve the situation ; on the contrary. The closing down of a number of public works increased unemployment. Both the Government and private undertakings tried to retrench by lowering wages. The purchasing power of the population decreased. Taxes on the contrary increased. This caused bitterness and discontent. The Party frequently warned the Government that such a situation might lead to a catastrophe. Our fears were realised sooner than we expected.

As I said above, the average income of an Indonesian family is about 200 to 225 florins a year. But for the majority of the population it does not reach this figure. The Meyer-Ranneft report says that 62% of the rural population of Java has to live on less than 150 florins a year. These wages cannot, of course, be compared with wages in Europe, but it is quite certain they are not sufficient to guarantee a more or less decent existence. Most of the population of Java is insufficiently fed and condemned to wretchedness.

The Party has asked the Government to take measures for the improvement of the economic position of the native, laying stress

particularly on the heavy burden of taxation they have to bear, the necessity for legislation for the protection of the workers, and the natives' right to better conditions of work.

On the other hand, the Party has been urging for years that everything possible should be done to increase the productiveness of labour and particularly to improve and intensify agriculture in Indonesia. The Dutch Islands are primarily agricultural and need schools of agriculture, competent farmers, cheap credit, irrigation systems, etc. Agriculture in Indonesia, even compared with European results, is not negligible. The following figures (1925) taken from a report of the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Trade at Buitenzorg (Java) are proof of this.

In 1922, exports took place to the value of :

Java: Native agricultural production . . . . .	about	46	million florins
Exterior Territories: ditto . . . . .	"	117	" "
Java: European agricultural production . . . . .	"	400	" "
Exterior Territories: ditto . . . . .	"	121	" "

It must be taken into account that these figures represent the export value of the products. Moreover most of the native production remains in the country.

For 1922, the value of the total agricultural production of European undertakings may be estimated at 600 million florins, and that of native Indonesian agriculture at 1½ thousand millions.

Since then many things have changed. The exportation of "native products" from the Exterior Territories has greatly increased, as a result of the increased cultivation of rubber by the natives. The cultivation of rubber has increased so greatly during the last years, and will probably increase still more in the future, that it has become a menace on the world market. In 1921, 6000 tons of rubber were produced by natives, to the value of 5 million florins; in 1925 the figures had reached 120,000 tons (80,000 tons of dry rubber) to the value of 250 million florins. Since then the price of rubber has fallen, so that the value of the rubber exported in 1926 only reached the figure of 180,000 million florins. But it is seen from these figures what importance the native population attached to the cultivation of rubber. According to information from official sources, it is thought possible that as much as 200,000 tons of dry rubber is produced.

The growth of rubber exports has increased the well-being of the population of the Exterior Territories, where the cultivation of rubber is especially widely-spread, and the natives live under far better conditions there—especially as regards housing accomodation, food and clothes—than in Java.

The cultivation of products for exportation, such as sugar, rubber, coffee, tobacco and tea is more advantageous for the financial prosperity of the country than the cultivation of products for home consumption such as rice, maize, etc. For this reason, especially in recent years, the Dutch Socialist Party has asked the Government to encourage the cultivation of products for exportation, particularly

in Java. It goes without saying, that this is not a reason for neglecting the cultivation of products as important as rice. The Party asked the Government, in the first place, to give its support to the cultivation of the sugar cane, and that, as in the case of sugar beet, cultivation of the sugar cane should be in the hands of the natives and the manufacture of the sugar in that of the manufacturers.

The breeding of cattle is closely connected with agriculture in Indonesia. It is estimated that the native population possesses cattle to the value of 500 million florins.

Industry in Indonesia is much less flourishing and for years the Party has asked the Government to encourage it and give it its support. At one time it seemed as if the Government (influenced by Van Kol, who, with a view to studying this problem, had been travelling, especially in Japan) were prepared to co-operate in the development of industry in Indonesia. But after a few attempts, nothing more was done. The slogan "Industrialise the Dutch East Indies", raised a few years ago, has no partisans at present. Yet it is certain that in time industry will develop in this country to considerable proportions.

It is through the school, in the first place, that the economic level of the population can be raised. The Party has therefore, from the beginning, intervened in favour of better and more widespread education. For years (one is tempted to say for decades) the Government has hardly done anything for Indonesian children. There are a great many illiterates. According to statistics, in 1925 barely 6% of the men of Indonesia and 1% of the women knew how to read or write. The figures for those with a knowledge of Dutch were 0.2% and 0.05% respectively.

It must be recognised that during the last 25 years and particularly during the last ten years, many improvements have taken place. But for the last few years things have been at a standstill and standing still means going back. Yet progress, both in quantity and quality, is urgently needed. According to the official statistics for 1925, there were 13 million children, in round figures, between the ages of five and fifteen. Of this number, 737,000 were receiving primary education in state schools, while 488,000 attended better or higher grade schools, that is to say, 1,223,000 out of the number of children who should have been receiving schooling. If boys alone are taken into account, the proportion is rather better, that is 15.2%. In the state schools, the teaching is fairly primitive and only lasts three years. A number of reforms are needed in this field. One of the most important items in the programme of the Dutch Socialist Party in the future should be a strong campaign for decreasing the number of illiterates in Indonesia.

The Party has also raised its voice in favour of technical education. For the last years, Indonesia has possessed schools for higher education which are quite as good as those in Holland. There is a technical school, a law school, and a medical school, while the

feasibility of creating a school of agriculture is under consideration. The Party recognises willingly the efforts made by the Government to provide the population of Indonesia with everything that is best in the field of higher education. But it still does too little for primary education. The Party has always opposed those who defend, either in Holland or the colonies, the point of view that "private schools should be the rule and State schools the exception." (1)

The Socialists demand that "*neutral*" (non-confessional) State schools be founded, as the majority of the population prefer them to Christian confessional schools. The Party notes with approval that during the last years a few schools have been founded by Indonesian organisations.

It is most important that measures of hygiene should be popularised to raise the level of the population, for in this field, especially in big towns like Surabaya, Semarang, Batavia, the People are very backward. According to the most recent official statistics, the mortality in the three towns mentioned above was on an average 47%, 43%, and 41% for the years 1912 to 1921. In certain parts of these towns the mortality was even higher. The Party has never missed any opportunity of calling attention to the necessity of combatting infectious diseases, such as malaria, dysentery, etc. At the same time, it asks that a larger number of hospitals, and better hospitals, be founded, and that there should be a more extensive medical service, more adequate assistance in cases of child-birth, leprosy, etc.

The Party is also struggling for better housing conditions as housing in Indonesia leaves much to be desired. The Government has certainly done a great deal in this field during the past ten years, and when a public health service has been founded, many improvements will follow. But the measures envisaged will certainly not be anything like sufficient to make sanitary conditions in Indonesia satisfactory. A population which is insufficiently fed and worn out by disease has not the strength which must be expected of it, if it is to do what is necessary to raise the level of its economic life.

Finally, it should be noted that the Dutch Socialist Party warmly supports the campaign against alcohol and especially against opium. The consumption of opium brings in a fairly considerable sum to the Indonesian Treasury. The Party is nevertheless in favour of its total prohibition. The present policy of the Government renders progress in this direction doubtful. The situation is as follows: The moral and economic level of the population could certainly be raised by proceeding on the lines laid down by the Socialist Party. But the funds necessary to do so are not forthcoming.

The Party has therefore neglected no opportunity of pointing out to the Government where and how it could procure the necessary money, laying stress upon the fact that to develop the

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(1) In Holland a distinction is made between lay *public* (State) schools and "special" schools, for different religions, which are subsidised by the State. (Translator.)



people would certainly increase its capacity, which, in time, would compensate for any sacrifices that had to be made. First of all large economies could be made on military expenditure. At the present moment, the wind is not blowing in a favourable direction for the views of the Party, as the Government has proposed to allow 10 million florins more for the army, police, etc., in 1928 than 1927, on account of the recent disorders.

In the opinion of the Party the profits of a larger number of big undertakings could be taxed without danger to capital.

The Party attaches great importance to the nationalisation of all suitable undertakings, and to its being achieved more rapidly than it has been so far, not only in the interests of the Treasury, but also to put a break on "draining". From the beginning the Party has conducted a campaign in this direction, and has met with success more than once, for some of our motions have been accepted in Parliament and in the National Council. It is partly due to pressure on our part that greater extension has been given and is still being given to the State agricultural undertakings. The financial results of recent years are sufficient proof that the State undertakings (the majority are rubber plantations) produce satisfactorily. In 1926, the State rubber undertakings made profits amounting to 5.5 million florins, or, in other words, after due allowance has been made for depreciation etc., the average profits amounted to 50% on the capital invested.

The Party has also frequently proposed that State sugar plantations should be started. The National Council adopted our resolution requesting that an enquiry should be made as to the possibility of such undertakings being successful, but the Government refused to give its approval. The Party will therefore continue the struggle.

For years Van Kol has fought energetically for the nationalisation of the mines. His slogan was: "State undertakings should be the rule, private undertakings the exception", for he believed that by no other means could a stop be put to the fraudulent proceedings of a number of private firms. The results obtained by the Party are very slight. Van Kol was right, however, when he wrote in his pamphlet entitled: "The Mining Industry and Mining Legislation in the Dutch East Indies", published in 1910, that the mines could be made to contribute considerably to the economic development of the colonies and could be of great use in ameliorating the situation of the population. The case of the tin mines in the island of Blanca shows that he was right. The State finances would be in a much less satisfactory state without the profits brought in every year by these mines. The Party's proposal that the Government should also take over the Billiton mines on the expiration of the concession, was not carried. The Government set up a mixed undertaking—a method for which it has generally shown a preference in recent times.

The same thing happened in regard to the oil wells. In 1921, the "Ned. Ind. Aardolie Maatschappij" was founded, in which the State of Indonesia and the "Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij" took equal shares. This undertaking was formed for the boring and exploitation of the oil wells of Djambi on the East coast of Sumatra, and much was expected of it. It is impossible, in this report, to go into this affair in detail. But it is a typical example of the unscrupulous way in which the big capitalists of Indonesia behave and of their power over the Ministry for Colonial Affairs. Troelstra used to say that the whole affair stank of oil and dirty "rijks-daalders" (2¼ florins).

The Party tried to make the Government take over the control of the oil mines, and in the beginning it seemed as though its efforts would not be in vain. On the 15 November, 1915, the Second Chamber adopted the Albarda motion, stating that nationalisation is desirable and rejecting the Bill. A new Bill was discussed in the Chamber in April 1921, which provided for the foundation of a mixed undertaking. All the Party's attempts to obtain the nationalisation of the oil wells were unsuccessful.

It was only after the Bill was passed by the Chamber, that it was discovered that the Government had chosen the powerful "Koninklijke Petroleum Maatschappij" to cooperate with private industry, to the exclusion of all other undertakings, for instance the Standard Oil Company. The Government of the U. S. A. naturally complained of the harm this would do to American industrial interests. Once more the Socialist Party tried to induce the Government to withdraw the Bill and to bring the question of the oil wells of Djambi before the Second Chamber, but without success. The First Chamber passed the Bill on July 1st, 1921, in spite of strong opposition from the Socialist Party.

Up to the present day, the contributions of this mixed undertaking to State finances have been negligible, although it was left to the vaunted services of private enterprise to discover and exploit the oil wells. At present three new Bills concerning the exploiting of oil producing districts, in some of which oil is very plentiful, are before the Second Chamber. But the Government has not the remotest intention of proposing the Nationalisation of these territories. Once again the richest districts will be handed over to the Ned. Ind. Aardolie Maatschappij, and the Government will grant concessions for the less important wells under the terms of Article 5 of the Indonesian Mines Act.

Thus the Government itself is contributing to the "draining" of the Dutch East Indies. As the colonies are now governed, the country and the people get no benefit from the millions taken out of the soil, and the greater part of the stream of wealth is lost to them. Here again it should be noted that capitalist colonial policy

primarily serves the interests, not of the colonies themselves, but of a small group of capitalist magnates of the Mother country.

Among the other proposals put forward by the Socialist Party, should be noted the encouragement of irrigation, the provision of railways and tram services, the improvement and construction of roads, etc., etc. This would accelerate the development of the main productive territories and open up, at the same time, new sources of revenue to the country. The Party has laid stress upon the necessity of undertaking these public works, which should not however be financed out of the ordinary resources of the State. Nevertheless in spite of the fact that it is contrary to the real interests of the country, and in spite of strong protest from the Socialist Party, the Fock-de Graaf Government has reduced expenditure of this kind to a minimum.

A few figures may be quoted to show the importance of the State undertakings for the country, to which are appended figures taken from the Budget of Indonesia, to give an idea of the development of the country during the last ten or twenty years.

On public works of a so-called permanent character, the Government spent 353 million florins between 1867 and 1911, and 958 million florins between 1912 and 1925, i. e. a total amount of 1,311 million florins. Not all of these works were carried through by borrowing money; several of them, especially roads and water-works, were executed by forced labour.

Naturally, the activities of the period 1912—1926 greatly increased the State debt (in particular considerable progress was made under the Progressive Van Limburg Government in 1916—1921). On 31 December, 1925, the State debt reached the figure of 1200 million florins, including unfunded debt of some tens of millions (at the same date the total loan issue amounted to 1,104 millions), i. e. less than the estimated value of State property in the Dutch East Indies. The State debt may thus be considered as completely covered, which cannot be said of most States. Moreover, this cannot be regarded as a very high figure for a population of 50 millions.

Further the State receipts from monopolies (opium, salt, pawn-broking), from State productive undertakings (agricultural undertakings, mines), and from public services (railways, postal service, telephone and telegraph services, harbour works, electricity, etc.), have greatly increased in the course of time.

In 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925, the *net receipts* reached the figures of 102.2; 87; 79.2; 118.3; 148.6; and 148.4 million florins respectively. The total State receipts for the same years amounted to 312; 433.7; 489.8; 435.6; 487.3; and 512.6 million florins. These figures show that the State monopolies and undertakings account for the largest part of the State receipts and that without them the

Treasury would be in a much less satisfactory state. The importance of nationalisation for a country like Indonesia is therefore obvious and the Socialist Party will continue to demand further developments in this direction. It has also been proved that the State is in no way inferior to the private employer, qua employer.

Since the Socialist Party first took up the question in the Dutch Parliament in 1897, many changes have taken place in Indonesia, not only in respect of economic and cultural progress, but also politically, owing partly to the influence of the Party.

In the draft programme for a colonial policy drawn up by the Party in 1901 (mentioned above) there is no question of a representative body. The Party demanded, in the first place, that the administration, which was very centralised and bureaucratic, should be decentralised, and that for this purpose the different districts and localities should be made more independent even in regard to legislation. There was no question at that time of granting such rights of consultation or representation to the natives as exist at present (although, in our opinion, in an extremely elementary form). But even then the Party was convinced that its principal task consisted in preparing the way for self-government for the native races.

In 1903 some decentralisation took place in favour of the provinces or districts. The population had, however, little influence in the provincial councils that were set up and the councils themselves were and remain of insignificant importance. The Government has never properly supported them. Only very slowly and gradually has the situation improved. There is no space here to go over in detail the prospects of further decentralisation, and of the colonies attaining the right to participate in the discussion of the budget. Comment must be confined to the principal events of the last ten years.

The National Council came into being in May, 1918. The bills concerning its constitution were voted by the Dutch Parliament on December 16, 1916. Although, in the beginning this Council was only of an advisory character, it contained the seeds of a national representative body.

The first National Council was fairly progressive and started to work energetically. It therefore succeeded, as Governor General Fock remarked later at a sitting of the Second Chamber: "in conquering a position for itself, in the first six months of its existence, which greatly exceeded what had been expected of it in the beginning."

Then occurred the "days of November" (1918), when a revolutionary spirit took hold of the people for a short period. On this occasion, the Socialist representative in the National Council made a speech on what had happened and expressed the hope that a committee would be set up to enquire into the possibility of transforming the National Council into a real national assembly; for it was

the duty of the Government to steer the ship of State firmly in towards democracy. Other orators spoke more or less to the same effect. On November 18, 1918, the Government made a declaration, which was vehemently attacked later on in Holland by the reactionaries, to the effect, that in consequence of the recent events, the Government and the National Council had to face a new situation and to confront the possibility of important political changes, the implication of which could not yet be foreseen, but it was clear that the Council and the Government had to deal with much weightier claims, and would only be able to cope with the situation successfully by working in close collaboration with each other. The Government therefore proposed without delay to get into touch with the National Council with a view to coming to an agreement as to the best means of establishing a firmer contact, and invited its immediate support in introducing the necessary reforms and raising the general standard of life.

This declaration was favourably received by the National Council and shortly afterwards the so-called "Committee on Revision" was nominated, on which the Socialist Party was represented. Its terms of reference were : "to advise the Government concerning the proposals to be presented to the supreme Government, (1) concerning a fundamental revision of the law of the constitution of the Dutch East Indies ; (2) concerning the amendments arising out of such revision, to be made in the Government Regulations (Constitution of the Dutch East Indies), and in the different Orders."

The Committee sent in its report to the Governor General on June 30, 1920. Its proposals were not very well received, although part of them had the support of a number of professors at Leyden, including Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronja, Dr. C. van Vollenhoven and other authorities, who published a "Suggested Constitution for the Dutch East Indies" in May 1921.

The Dutch Government as well as the majority in Parliament considered that the proposals of the "Committee on Revision" went too far. The Socialist Party defended them in the National Council and in the Chamber, where Albarda declared on December 21, 1920 : "We consider that the first duty, if not the only duty of the Government and of the National Assembly, is wholeheartedly to encourage and support self-government for the Dutch East Indies, that is to say, the establishment of a native state in the East Indies."

The proposals of the Committee were not without effect on the revision of the Dutch Constitution in 1922. The words "overseas possessions" and "colonies" are not mentioned in the new Constitution. Moreover, it lays down that, in principle, the internal affairs of the Dutch East Indies, of Suriman and of Curaçao, should be left in the hands of the appropriate bodies in those countries. This shows clearly the constitutional evolution that has taken place in the Dutch East Indies during the last ten years. The effect of the

revision is that the centre of gravity of the Government and the administration has been transferred to the colonies themselves. This is a step forward in the direction of autonomy.

Not long before, at the end of 1921, another important change had taken place in the system of government in the Dutch East Indies, which had a twofold aim in view : to establish the organs both of self-government and of decentralized administration, of such a kind as to provide for the possibility of extensive progress in both directions. For this purpose the Dutch Government proposed to constitute provinces, districts and municipalities. The provincial councils were to be partly nominated and partly elected. They were to be responsible for local administration and the maintenance of order in the provinces. The municipalities were to nominate their own authorities subject to the approval of the higher authorities. This system looked attractive, but appearances were better than the reality. The plan was submitted to the National Council which proposed a considerable number of progressive amendments to it, based on the proposals of the Committee on Revision. The Minister did not take these amendments into account and brought forward the Government's original proposal. The Party protested vehemently against this sabotage. The reforms laid down in these proposals consisted almost solely in bureaucratic decentralisation ; the competence accorded to the provincial councils was very restricted and the population was hardly allowed any say in their composition. Albarda gave his opinion of the new state of things as follows : "If administrative reforms are to be introduced in the Dutch East Indies at the present time, this should only be done in a democratic spirit. The proposal that has been put before us certainly has a democratic exterior, but there is absolutely nothing democratic in it and it really contains nothing that the people over there are hoping for." All the Socialist Party's efforts to improve the Bill were useless ; it was passed on October 14, 1921, the Socialists voting against it.

The administrative reforms have not made any great transformation. The only thing to be done is to get as much out of them as possible. So far only one province, West Java, has been set up and provided with the appropriate councils. The chief complaint that the Socialist Party has to make about these councils is that the population has extremely little say in their composition. The Government of Indonesia has so far retained its bureaucratic character.

Rather more importance can be attached to the Amendment of the Government Regulations for the Dutch East Indies of 1925, which is to be regarded as connected with the Revision of the Constitution mentioned above, and which, in the view of the Government, represents the fulfilment of the promises given in November, 1918. But this amendment also—as we pointed out in the

Chamber—falls short of the proposals of the Committee on Revision and really contained nothing that had been promised in November 1918 and that the people of the Dutch East Indies had the right to expect. Indeed, in the opinion of the Party, it was not even in harmony with the spirit of the new article of the Constitution.

The Bill submitted to the Chamber laid down, in general terms, that : (a) the number of members of the National Council should be increased, so that the interests and different currents of opinion of the Indonesian population could be represented in a more satisfactory manner ; (b) whereas the National Council was tending to enlarge the scope of its activities, in accordance with the greater legislative competence given to the Government of Indonesia, its activities should in the future be restricted to the discussion of the budget and business connected therewith ; (c) the National Council should, however, appoint from among its members, a "legislative council", which would be entrusted with the legislative and other duties which were normally within the competence of the National Council.

This Bill undoubtedly involved an extension of native influence and a fresh step towards the creation of a parliament in the European sense of the word. The Party was nevertheless dissatisfied with the prospect of a "legislative council" which would reduce the importance of the National Council ; further, the Party criticised the very limited franchise prescribed for the choice of the elected members of the National Council, which greatly reduced the effective influence of the population ; the fact that the National Council had not the right to open enquiries ; the excessive powers of the head of the general administrative department ; and the fact that the "Council of the Dutch East Indies", although it had become superfluous, had been retained.

Parliament made the Bill still more unsatisfactory by introducing a number of amendments which, in the opinion of the Party, were not in the least in agreement with the spirit of the revised Constitution. In the first place, the Governor General was made far more dependent on the Minister for the Colonies than was either right or necessary, secondly, the proportion of European and Indonesian members of the National Council was so fixed that the latter were in a minority.

The Party energetically opposed the Bill in the Chamber, and when the final vote was taken, Albarda made the following declaration in the name of the Socialist group : "The Bill falls so far short of what the Dutch East Indies are today entitled to claim and will so hinder the normal political development of the Indies that I, and my colleagues, refuse to take any responsibility for it. We shall vote against it."

The new National Council, which contained two socialists nominated by the Governor General, was opened on May 16, 1927. The franchise is such that Dutchmen who are in the least progressive, stand almost no chance of being elected to the National Council.

Our present object—for the attainment of which we have already opened a campaign—is to obtain a fresh revision of the new Government Regulations (the Constitution of the Dutch East Indies) as soon as possible, with a view to ultimately transforming the National Council into a national assembly on as democratic a basis as possible. The first thing to be done is to modify the franchise.

Before leaving this subject, it should be noted that the modification made in the composition of the National Council by the Chamber caused special disappointment and bitterness in Indonesia. The announcement by the Governor General at the opening of the National Council that a Bill was to be brought in for the purpose, *inter alia*, of bringing the text of the Indonesian constitution into closer harmony with the idea underlying it, *viz.*, that the population of Indonesia shall be entitled to play the largest possible part in choosing the members of its representative bodies, is therefore excellent news. The Bill will also aim at redistributing the number of seats allotted to the different groups of the population on the lines laid down in the Government's original Bill. There is therefore ground for hoping that the Government will repair its former grave mistakes. The Governor General also intends to hold an enquiry into the possibility and desirability of increasing the number of native members in the local councils.

The attitude of the Socialist Party has certainly had a wholesome influence on the Government of the Dutch East Indies.

Reference has already been made above to the fact that the period, since 1921, *i. e.* the period of Fock's Governor Generalship, has been a very difficult one for Indonesia. It has been a period of reaction and oppression such as the East Indies had never previously known. It is worth while to deal with this period at some length, as it has resulted in rather serious disturbances, such as there had not been for a long time. The risings did not surprise the Party; both in Parliament and in the National Council, the Socialists had warned the Government to take care, and not to persist in its reactionary policy, which was bound to lead to catastrophe.

The authorities did not shrink however from pursuing a most reactionary capitalist colonial policy. The population was living in great poverty and sinking deeper and deeper into destitution, as a result of the prevailing policy of economy. On the other hand, the capitalists were making large profits and privileges were being showered upon them. For their sake, the "*poenale sanctie*" were maintained, all labour activities were for the time being suppressed.



the right to strike was still further restricted, the fiscal law modified in their favour, particularly favorable conditions were granted them in regard to hereditary leases and other concessions, the policy of nationalisation was increasingly abandoned, etc., etc. On the other hand, shortsighted economies were enforced at the expense of the vital interests of the country and the people, and it is not true, as was clearly proved later, that such economies were necessitated by the bad financial state of the country.

It is not in the least surprising that a large part of the population was filled with despair and bitterness. Their state of mind was not improved when the right of combination and of assembly was abolished in many places and a number of political and trade union leaders were imprisoned for uttering or publishing opinions held to be seditious. Freedom of opinion scarcely existed and since Article 161 (mentioned above) was inserted in the penal Code, it had become in practice impossible to strike.

The Indonesian intellectuals were especially embittered by the fact that the Government did not keep its promise to abolish the "poenale sanctie" and to grant the Indonesians the right to control their own destinies. The spirit of non-cooperation (so-called) became increasingly noticeable.

Whenever an opportunity has occurred, either during the discussion of the budget or when a debate has been demanded on some question concerning Indonesia, the Party has emphatically warned the Government that it was playing into the hands of the Communists. The large majority of Indonesians are not in the least inclined to Communism, but as Albarda said on December 16, 1924, Communism in Indonesia owes its influence to "the violence of its methods, which is in harmony with the present state of mind of millions of Indonesians."

Dr. Kraemer, who is very well-known in the missionary movement, and was sent to the Dutch East Indies by the Dutch Bible Society, gave his opinion in the following words: "Today the movement in the Dutch East Indies, in all its manifestations, consists in a solid mass of protestation, hostility, anger, criticism, whether these feelings are expressed in a violent and revolutionary manner or rankling in the hearts of the people. It is semi-Communism which benefits most by this." This is word for word what was written on the political situation in Indonesia towards the end of Mr. Fock's rule, by a man who cannot be suspected of harbouring "red" sympathies.

No sooner did the Governor General arrive in the Indies than serious troubles broke out, first of all in November 1926 in West Java, and subsequently in January 1927, not far from Padang, in West Sumatra. Before this there had already been trouble in Atjeh and disturbances had taken place from time to time in other places.

The only explanation of these troubles is that the policy followed by the late Governor had begun to arouse a considerable ferment.

That the Government's view of the situation was fairly pessimistic is shown by the increase in the army estimates for 1928 and the strengthening of the militia and the police. It was possible on this occasion to overcome the rising by force, without much trouble, but it is quite another question whether or not in the future it will always be as easy to get the situation under control.

The Government has so far shown no clemency. Thousands of people have been put into prison. Many lives have been sacrificed, and about a thousand of the most important leaders of the political and trade union movement have been banished to a very lonely and inaccessible part of New Guinea. Not all of them have yet been sent there, but they no doubt soon will. In many places, the different cases have not been examined in a properly objective manner and it is not at all certain that all those who have been banished were really guilty. It may even be affirmed with some certainty that a quite considerable proportion of them had taken no part in the rising, but had only participated in Communist propoganda, and were therefore innocent.

The Party's protest against these banishments gave it an opportunity once again to demand the abolishment of the so-called "extraordinary powers" by which the Governor General was able, with the approval of the Council of the Dutch East Indies, to intern or banish certain persons in the interest of public order and safety. Such action is taken as an administrative measure, and not as a penalty duly inflicted by the Courts. The Governor General can therefore without any previous legal proceedings banish a person i. e., can inflict a penalty, which for many Indonesians, is worse than death. It is certain that the attitude of the population towards the Government has not been improved by the latter's treatment of the insurgents, and by the banishments and other measures which have been adopted. If the Government continues along the path it has chosen, Dutch rule will only be maintained by the employment of even greater severity, by the use of more brutal force, and at the cost of even greater misery for the population.

The Party in Parliament has never defended bloody revolt. It has even condemned with the utmost severity the fermenting of discontent whether instigated in Moscow or in Canton. On the other hand, the Party has furnished proof that it was not Communist propoganda alone that was responsible for these troubles, but that a large share of the responsibility falls on the Fock-de Graaf Government, which absolutely forced the population to have recourse to illegal action. For this reason, the Party has demanded that an impartial enquiry should be held and that the National Council should for this particular case be granted powers of investigation.

The discussion of the troubles in Indonesia in the Second Chamber also gave the Party an opportunity once more briefly to formulate its point of view regarding the Indonesian national movement and the development of the Dutch East Indies.

The nationalist movement of Indonesia, which is not at all the same thing as the Communist movement, has the Party's sympathy. It is true that for the moment, through Mr. Fock's fault, Communist influence has increased. But if the Government makes an effort to follow a progressive policy, this influence will certainly decrease with time, for there is nothing in common between the Oriental and Soviet mentalities.

The slogan : "Hands off" is not that of the Socialist Party if by that is meant that the Dutch must clear out immediately ; for the Party has good reason to consider that immediate evacuation would be contrary to the interests both of Holland and of Indonesia, not to speak of those of world Peace. For this very reason, however, it is the duty of the Party to do all in its power to help Indonesia to establish its right to self-government as soon as possible. The ultimate aim of the Party, as is clearly shown and concisely stated in its programme, is definitely an economically and politically independent Indonesia.

Such an objective is necessarily incompatible with a capitalist colonial policy, the consequences of which are, as shown above, revolt and repression. In Indonesia, as in all other oppressed countries, the bankruptcy of such a capitalist colonial policy is now manifest. The transformation of the Dutch East Indies into an independent state can only take place, without causing excessive dislocation, if a serious attempt is made to revise this policy in the direction recommended by the Socialist Party.

Socialists have therefore a fine though difficult task to fulfil in this sphere. At the beginning of this report, it was stated that the future would confront the Party with complex problems. The report itself makes it possible to form some idea of the probable character of these problems. Further suggestions are embodied in the declaration on colonial policy appended to the Party's programme.

The manner in which the problem is to be solved no longer depends so far as Holland is concerned solely on the Socialists. The Oriental and other peoples, who are subject to the yoke of Western capitalism, and who are now in process of "awakening", will have their own views to express. In future, the Party will be struggling no longer *for* the people of Indonesia but in close alliance *with* them, for the freedom and independence of their country.

This report may fittingly be concluded by a quotation from a speech delivered in the First Chamber on 30 May, 1919, by Comrade Van Kol, the great fighter and advocate of the interests of all oppressed peoples : "The still waters of Indonesia have begun to move after their prolonged stagnation. They have set in motion a current which can no longer be stayed, but which we may endeavour to canalise. The decisive moment is at hand. The time has arrived.

The present process can only end in the creation of an *Indonesian State*. Let there be no attempt to stop this movement. Let us rather smooth the way for it with a view to effective collaboration ; let us assist the efforts of this people in process of re-birth, struggling for its rights, its happiness and its freedom, by all the means at our disposal."

### Development of the resources of the colonies.

(May 1928)

*Native rights in the ownership and use of the land, and generally of the natural resources ;*

*freedom of labour, forced labour, compulsory migration, etc.*

#### Question II (1).

In 1870, the hotly contested "Declaration of Domain" was issued, under the terms of which the supreme authority laid down that "all soil and land in which no other person or body has property rights is the property of the State". In 1875, the Government extended the scope of this declaration to cover all districts other than Java and Madoera. The native retains however a certain right of possession in respect of land on which he is settled. If the Government requires such land it can only expropriate him by granting compensation.

There have been considerable differences of opinion in regard to this "Declaration of Domain". Well-known persons such as Professor van Vollenhoven take the view that it has inflicted considerable injury on the natives. The Government has recently appointed a national commission to enquire into the question whether the agrarian policy hitherto pursued is the right one. The consequences of the "Declaration of Domain" form one aspect of this question.

Thus land and soil are divided into two categories, viz., occupied land in respect of which natives retain rights of possession, and unoccupied land which lies within the competence of the Government. Such unoccupied land is State property and the Government can dispose of it as it likes, by sale, lease or copyhold. Copyhold is the general rule. Unoccupied land—available in almost unlimited quantities except in Java and Bali—is leased on copyhold for a maximum period of 75 years. The rent is generally very low, being from one to six florins a *bouw* (one *bouw* equals 7 hectare). Extensive districts have been leased on copyhold for long periods for agricultural purposes, in many cases with little regard for the interests of the native population, which is steadily increasing.

Native rights of possession of occupied land are hereditary and may be vested in the individual or the community. In the latter case a distinction is made between possession involving periodical exchange or re-distribution of fields and ownership involving fixed

rights to specific property. Land in regard to which natives retain right of possession may, in the case of individual holdings, be handed over to the occupier as his definite property. The cession of landed property to non-natives is prohibited, so that undertakings, such as for instance those for the manufacture of cane sugar, are obliged in most cases to lease the land required for the cultivation of their raw material from the native owners. Such leases are subject to control by the authorities.

The natives pay a land tax which is partly a tax on the harvest.

Forced labour for private undertakings (coolie labour), subject to the so-called *poenale sanctie*, is not found in Java and Madoera,<sup>(1)</sup> but only in the so-called Exterior Territories.

It is true that in some districts of Java certain feudal rights to services are still exercised, but this practice is steadily diminishing. In the districts known as the "Principalities" (i. e. the districts of Djokdja and Solo in central Java) where primitive conditions have been preserved more completely than elsewhere, such feudal services must be rendered to the property holders. This institution however is fast disappearing. In the rest of Java a poll tax had been substituted for feudal service, but last year this was abolished.

Unremunerated services may still be claimed in the interests of the *desa* (village community). This institution was in quite recent times not unknown in Europe, where it possibly still exists.

On the other hand, feudal services are still claimed from the population in the Exterior Territories and frequently give rise to complaints. So far all that has been done to remedy this situation has been the fixing of a maximum number of days for which such services may be demanded. In general such feudal services are claimed for (1) the making and maintenance of roads; (2) the construction and maintenance of dams, dykes and other means of protection against floods; (3) police and other services in the interests of public safety, e. g., extinction of fires. In Sumatra certain feudal services exist which, however, may only be imposed in return for the payment of adequate compensation. The Social-Democratic Party is of the opinion that feudal services must be abolished everywhere.

*Method of levying and utilisation of taxes in respect of both natives and foreigners. Utilisation of profits realised by capitalist undertakings in the colonies.*

#### Question II (2).

The facts mentioned in the historical report may be supplemented by the following information. The burden of taxes on the natives has increased considerably in recent years. This is true especially

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<sup>(1)</sup> Three fifths of the entire population of the Dutch East Indies inhabit Java and Madoera.

of indirect taxes which are heavier than the direct. One of the most important direct taxes payable by the natives is the land tax, which produced 33 million florins in 1925. The total amount of taxes paid by natives alone is 170 millions, including the proceeds from monopolies (salt and opium). The land tax is based partly on the land and partly on the harvest and is levied on Sawahs (flooded rice fields), dry fields, fish preserves and forest lands in private ownership. About 17 millions are paid by the natives on account of income tax. The poll tax produced about 12 millions in 1925. It has now been abolished, as is stated above. Import and export duties, including an export duty on the so-called native rubber, produced 42 and 11 millions respectively. By way of taxes on petroleum and sulphur matches, the natives are estimated to have paid 13 and 5 millions respectively. The meat tax produced 5 millions. The pawnshop monopoly and the salt monopoly produced in 1925 17 and 8 millions respectively. The Social-Democrats are carrying on an energetic campaign against the scandalous profits realised by the pawnshops.

A total sum of 196 millions was paid in 1925 by European persons and undertakings.

*Does the State engage directly in economic enterprise and in what forms ?*

Question II (3).

Some information on this point has already been supplied in the historical report. The part played by the Government of the Dutch East Indies in this sphere is certainly not insignificant, though it might be still more considerable. The Social-Democratic Party has therefore also frequently agitated for the introduction of State enterprises, though in many cases without success.

The greater part of the railway system is run by the State. This is not true however of the minor railways. At the end of 1926, 7167 kilometers of railways were in use, of which 4177 were administered by the State. The authorities also maintain important automobile services. The kilometrage covered by State cars in 1926 was 2,739,000. Marine shipping is in the main in the hands of a subsidised company, the Royal Packet-boat Company, the rates charged by which are to some extent controlled by the State.

The postal, telegraph and telephone services are in the hands of the State. This is also the case in regard to the Ormbilin coal mines, which in 1926 produced 902,000 tons as against 563,000 produced by private undertakings. The important tin mines of the Island of Banka are run by the State, while those of the Island of Billiton are in the hands of a private company, in which however the State has a large holding.

Gold and silver production, which are of no great importance, are in the hands of private undertakings. The State is exploiting a small gold and silver producing district in Sumatra, which is not however very productive and this undertaking is not likely to be carried on much longer. The exploitation of the oil producing districts is carried on by private undertakings of which the Royal Dutch Shell Company is the most important. The province of Djambi in Sumatra is the scene of the activities of the Dutch East Indies Oil Company, of which the State holds half the shares.

In the agricultural sphere, the State produces rubber and quinine with great success. It also produces tea, palm-oil and turpentine. One of the most important State undertakings is the State Forestry Administration, the profits of which amounted in 1926 to 14½ millions.

Electrification, which is entirely in the hands of the State as far as the use of water power is concerned, is fast developing.

*Questions of the open door, etc.*

Question II (4).

The system of the open door exists unreservedly in the Dutch colonies. There is no question of any preference for Dutch imports or Dutch capital. Foreign capital is welcomed, and plays an important part.

Holland's share in the total imports has fallen considerably in recent years and now stands no higher than 20%. In this respect the Dutch East Indies are perhaps the most international of all colonial countries. Import duties are identical for all imports irrespective of the country of origin.

Full freedom of settlement is also allowed to foreigners, though as a general rule the State and State undertakings only employ foreigners where the services of Dutch nationals are unobtainable.

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*Question 3 and 5* have been adequately answered in the historical report.

*Question 4* does not apply as far as Holland is concerned.

**Is there any labour movement in your colonies ?**

*If so what are its characteristics ?*

Question VI.

There is no labour movement in the Dutch East Indies as the term is understood in Western countries. Trade unions of Europeans exist, but they are of an entirely different character from those formed by the workers in Europe, as they consist almost solely of persons employed in the administration as technical or administrative officials or as industrial managers or labour overseers. There are strong organisations of European railway-men,

teachers, employees in the sugar industry, officials, etc., whose activities however are for the most part directed towards the maintenance of the privileges of the whites. This has certainly nothing to do with Socialism. When for instance in 1923 the staff of the railways in Java went on strike, the European staff opposed the strike almost to a man.

So far there has been no native labour movement in the Indies on any kind of a class basis. The characteristic of the native popular movement is its nationalistic or racial character. Although Indian society is, like society elsewhere, divided into classes, the popular movement is directed principally against the European employers, against Western capital and against the foreign rulers. There is no question of a class struggle. The native worker regards the oppression to which as a worker he is subjected principally as an aspect of foreign domination.

Native trade unions do indeed exist, but they are extremely weak and are directed only against European employers.

Such native unions were until recently under the influence of Communist propaganda.

#### **Do race nationality problems exist in your colony ?**

##### **Question VII.**

As has been stated in the answer to question VI, such problems certainly exist as in all cases where one race is dominated by another. As is well-known, the Islands of the Dutch East Indies are inhabited by a number of different races with very varied standards of living and outlook, speaking different languages, belonging to different religions and having reached very different stages of development. Although a certain unity is beginning to make its appearance as against foreign domination, it must be recognised that the varied character of the native population might lead to very serious conflicts if Dutch rule suddenly ceased.

Mention must also be made of the great contrast between the native population and the Chinese, of whom about one million inhabit the Dutch East Indies.

#### **Does there exist in your colonies any movement in favour of self-government or national independence ?**

##### **Question VIII.**

The answer to this question has to some extent already been supplied above. The popular movement in the Indies is quite definitely nationalist and its declared object is the independence of the Indies.

Various groups of this kind exist and in 1918 a form of collaboration between them was set on foot under the name of "Radical



Concentration". The initiative had been taken by the Social-Democratic Party of the Indies, which consists almost exclusively of Europeans.

A common programme covering only a few points was drawn up as a basis for the movement, which did not fail to produce some results, but which in consequence of differences of opinion among the natives themselves, among whom the non-cooperative idea had acquired too much influence, was not of long duration. For practical work in the cause of reform such collaboration between Social-Democrats and nationalist groups in the colonies certainly appears appropriate and desirable.

**What system of military service exists in your colonies ?**

*To what extent can native troops be used in war in the service of the colonial Power ?*

Question IX, X.

In the Dutch East Indies the army consists almost exclusively of volunteers, the majority of whom are natives. A small portion of the troops consists of a European militia, that is to say, Europeans settled in the Indies are liable to service. The natives are not liable to any form of military service. The idea of making them so liable has frequently been put forward but has never been put into effect, probably because the dangers involved are regarded as too great. In case of war, those natives who have joined the army would naturally be employed, but only for the defence of the Dutch Indies themselves. In addition to the army, the authorities also have a marine at their disposal. There is however no East Indian marine. A part of the Dutch fleet is permanently stationed in the Indies.

The total strength of the Dutch East Indian army is about 35,000, of whom some 6,000 are Europeans. The officers are almost all European Dutch. The same is true in the main of the non-commissioned officers.

May 1928.

## **V. Report on Italian Colonial Policy by the Executive of the Unitary Socialist Party of Italian Workers (P. S. U.)**

### **Scope of the Report.**

Perhaps it would have been better not to answer the questionnaire of the Colonial Commission of the L. S. I. at all, seeing that it is impossible to reply with any precision. The Party, being composed of political refugees, without any easy or regular means of communication with their country (apart from clandestine contacts which are of little help in carrying out legislative and statistical enquiries) has none of the data necessary to draw up a report such as those which are being compiled by the Socialist Parties of other countries. In time the disadvantages which the Italian Unified Socialist Party abroad has to contend with may diminish, but for the moment it would be useless not to admit them frankly.

On the one hand, however, the Party would not be justified in not contributing such information as it has at its disposal to the enquiry on the colonial problem, while on the other, the information provided, even if not backed by political and legislative texts and statistics, such as may ultimately become available, may nevertheless be of some use.

### **Brief Historical Survey.**

Italy, being the last country affected by the reconstitution of European nationalities which took place in the 19th century, only began to have a colonial history towards the end of the last century. The diplomatic events of 1878 gave to France the Protectorat over Tunisia, i. e., the only outlet of any importance for the population of Unified Italy, which was already getting control of it through the work of Sicilian peasants. Italy then allowed herself to be elbowed out towards the Red Sea (the sea beyond the Suez Canal) and towards Abyssinia—probably the most firmly established and best organised state in the whole of Africa. Heavy casualties and the difficulties connected with military colonisation were the immediate result. The battle of Adowa took place, followed by the downfall of Crispi. The dream of conquering the feudal Abyssinian Empire had to be abandoned. This might have been foreseen, seeing that thirty years before England had come to the same conclusion at the time of the war against the Negus Johannes.

For some time afterwards, in the first years of this century, there were "small colonial wars" against the dervishes in Erythrea. Cassala was taken by Italian troupes; but was claimed by England.

The frontiers in the direction of Abyssinia and the zones of influence in the neighbourhood of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were fixed by treaties. Erythrea became a useless, rather expensive, but peaceful colony. For the moment Italy was saved, by this failure, from the effects that colonial imperialism "à la Crispi" would have had on its budding economic development.

This was too good to last, however. At about the same time Anglo-Franco-German rivalry brought about the first Moroccan crisis. The struggle for "colonial reserves" to be exploited by European capital became more intense. Austria definitely annexed Bosnia. Now or never was the time to take what one could; and Italian nationalism seized the occasion to make the military conquest of Lybia (1911). Fifteen years before the Italian people had swarmed into the railway stations to prevent troops leaving for Abyssinia. In 1911, the Socialists were left to struggle alone against the enthusiasm in the lower middle classes for the "Roman" conquest of the "Land of Love". (In the popular songs Tripoli in Africa had been confused with Tripoli in Asia, and the Sahara with the land of the Crusades and the legends; this picturesque name was given to the deserts of Tripoli!) They stood alone to denounce the fraudulent bluff of the nationalists, the slaughter and the atrocities involved in a war of conquest which was perfectly useless, seeing that Lybia never could and never will be an outlet for the surplus population of Italy, nor provide a market of any importance for Italian products.

In any case the interests of Italian commerce would have been amply guaranteed by protectorate, which would have been very easy to establish, and which would have been quite sufficient to prevent what is called the "bottling-in" and "encircling" of Italy in the Mediterranean. Nationalism had, however, just made its appearance; capitalism was going through a sufficiently comfortable period to allow itself, at last—the luxury of a little glory "like everybody else"; and in the name of "national prestige" and "Roman traditions" Italy declared war on Turkey. Indeed, there is perhaps some truth in the reproach that Italy fired, at Tripoli, the first cannon shot of the war which stirred up the whole of the Balkans and finally in 1914 shook Europe and the entire world to its foundations. All that Italy got out of this was a most unsettled and expensive colony, where only a tiny quantity of her products are consumed and where she has been able to find employment only for a few trades people and a number of officers.

For the first ten years the Italian Government was content to maintain sway over two or three towns on the coast. Fascism naturally started to conquer the interior of the country, and for nearly six years the struggle has not ceased. It is easy to imagine what a colonial war carried on by Fascists is like. Only a few days ago, at the Chamber of Deputies, the Minister for the Colonies,

Federzoni, speaking on his budget, made the following official statement : "In conclusion, Fascist Italy has succeeded not only in ruthlessly repressing insurgents, but also in enforcing obedience and discipline on those who have submitted." "Ruthless repression" is at least clear. In the mouths of a Fascist its clarity is terrifying. The insurgents, needless to say, are those who defend themselves against the invaders ; and what invaders !

Only one Italian colony has hardly any history : Somaliland. That is to say, its history is a record of the characteristics, individual and collective, adopted throughout Central Africa by white "civilizers" in dealing with tribes which it is easier to wipe out than to civilise :<sup>(1)</sup>

### Italy's Colonial Programme.

Is Italy's colonial programme based on any definite line of policy ? In any case different policies have been pursued respectively for colonial development in the Mediterranean and for the development of the Italian colonies beyond Suez.

On the Northern coast of Africa, Italy cannot seriously pursue any objects not of a military and strategic character, for it would be quite impossible to undertake the commercial conquest of the immense desert which lies a few miles from the coast, and it is equally ridiculous to imagine that it would be possible to settle even a tiny quota of the excess Italian population along this coast, at the edge of the desert (where the population moreover is not as small as is generally believed and suffices amply for such agriculture as can be carried on there). The only opening—not a very attractive one at that—for capital is in arboriculture, performed by local labour, wretchedly paid. The two or three ports will never again be, as they were fifty years ago, centres for the meagre trade carried on by the caravans across the desert between the Mediterranean and the North of Central Africa. The wealth which, fifty years ago, was separated from the world by the Desert, now flows definitely, easily and more and more abundantly towards the Congo, Nigeria and the Atlantic ; Tripoli and Bengasi will never see it again. Lybia is therefore of no use to Italy except for military purposes, and then only on condition that she remains at any rate in control of the coast. This is almost impossible, as was shown in the war of 1915—1918.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Rhodes and the Dodecanese cannot of course be classified as Italian "colonies". The territory involved in these occupied places is of slight importance and has practically no economic value. Italy occupied them on account of her desire to obtain a share in the remains of the Turkish Empire in Asia Minor. As always happens, the fait accompli of occupation has continued in existence although it has ceased to have any reason. What capitalist nation has ever behaved otherwise ?

Erythrea and Somaliland on the contrary offer less negative opportunities for exploitation by capitalists, especially Somaliland, on account of its size, its climate, its products, its large river, etc. Everyone knows, moreover, that these two colonies may be considered as gateways to Abyssinia. But will Italy be able to lay hands on the necessary capital, in the next few generations? This is doubtful. In any case, France at Gibouti and England with the Harrar have made sure of two commercial openings into Abyssinia, which lie much closer to the interior market and are far nearer to much wealthier regions. France and England have rather more capital at their disposal than Italy!

There is one obvious conclusion to this short survey of the colonial history of Italy. Italy has no interest in pursuing an international policy, the object of which is to ensure that the Powers which already have protectorates or colonial mandates, shall maintain the privileges which go with these different forms of colonial domination. The policy of the "open door" is the only one which serves the interests of Italy. Accordingly Italy should be the first to support an increasingly thorough and general emancipation of the colonies. Emancipation would reduce to a minimum the expenditure on interior and exterior policing, which might be borne—at least for a time—by the colonial Powers, and would not deprive them of the advantage to be derived from an earlier and more direct contact with the populations of their colonies. Moreover Italy would find in a system of international supervision of the maintenance of the "open door" and of the freedom of the colonies, a guarantee for her trade and all the advantages involved in the reduction of colonial expenditure, which she has great difficulty in meeting.

Needless to say Fascist colonial policy does not take such considerations into account. In official speeches and in the Fascist press, there is plenty of protest against the selfish colonial policy of other nations and against the disastrous effects of the trade monopoly, which it is the object of all colonial domination to secure; but Fascism nevertheless pursues a colonial policy precisely identical with that which she reproaches other countries for following on the ground that it is one of the causes of her inferiority in international trade. Although the question of colonial mandates will certainly be brought up sooner or later by Germany, Fascism has no intention of asking that it should be settled according to the principles of international equality of treatment for the oppressed peoples, mentioned above; on the contrary the Fascists utter general threats of what they will do if, when the mandates are revised, Italy is not given her share of privileged exploitation, to be maintained—of course—by the "ruthless repression" of any attempts at rebellion.

It is useless to tell the Fascist leaders that their demands for colonies—as presented from time to time—would bring nothing to

Italy but an increase in its military expenditure, to cover an interminable series of colonial wars and the repression of uprisings. Nor is it any good to tell them that Italy will never find the outlets she needs for trade and emigration in Syria, or in Palestine, or in a small slice of the Cameroon or of Togo. Considerations of this nature are not even listened to by people whose whole policy is based on a romantic mediaeval imperialism, under cover of which it aims at the exploitation of a whole country for the benefit of an unscrupulous oligarchy. What matter the destinies of Italy, provided that Fascism, with its policy of dictatorship at home and of imperialist bluff abroad remains in power ?

### **The policy pursued by the Socialists.**

It would be very surprising if, under such circumstances, Italian Socialists had not opposed, always and with all their strength, the colonial policy of the Governing classes of Italy. None of the reasons—such as utility, magnificent civilising work or national necessity—which have led the Socialists of other countries to adopt a less intransigent attitude towards colonial problems, could be alleged in this case. The intransigent attitude of Italian Socialists towards expensive and unproductive militarist colonialism was wisdom itself.

As early as 1887, when Andrea Costa raised the slogan : "Not a man, not a farthing" against Crispi's policy, which resulted in Italy's bloody defeat at Amba-Alagi (Abyssinia 1896) ; again in the period of national infatuation over Tripoli (1911) ; and even when the pan-Islamic movement became dominant in Tripoli and began to press the political demands of the inhabitants, the Socialists continued unswervingly to maintain an attitude based both on a far-sighted comprehension of the real interests of their country and on a thoroughly humanitarian realisation of their duty towards peoples, unjustly oppressed by foreign rule, exploiting them under a pretence of civilising them.

As Italy has no reason for or interest in playing the part of an important colonising Power (especially since the other Powers have completely monopolised such colonies as might have been of value to her, either on account of the raw materials which they produce or the market they would have offered for her trade), I must hasten to say that the Italian Socialists, in their anti-colonial campaigns, have seldom met with any great opposition on the part of public opinion. The riots of 1896 were a condemnation both of the sanguinary and fruitless attempt to conquer Abyssinia and also of the incapacity of the political and military chiefs responsible. Although there was enthusiasm for Tripoli at the beginning of the colonial war in 1911—1912, it only lasted a very short time ; at the elections which followed immediately afterwards (November, 1913, the first elections based on universal suffrage) the Socialists gained

a victory, largely on account of their uncompromising opposition to the military conquest of Lybia. It was the author of this report, then a deputy, who was entrusted (on 12 February, 1914) with the task of voicing the criticisms of the Socialist Party, of which he has given you a summary above.

To make it quite clear that the Italian Socialist Party was unanimous in its views on the colonial question, I need only recall that when at the time of the Tripolitan exploitation a militant like Leonida Bissolati (whose character was above reproach) allowed himself to be so far led astray as to approve publicly of the expedition, the 1912 Congress decided, practically unanimously, to expel him from the Party. Bissolati joined the partisans of the conquest of Lybia, while recognising that the colony was worth nothing and that it would be wise to go no further than the coast and to give up all idea of conquering the interior.

Leonida Bissolati was then at the beginning of the process of development by which he was subsequently to become one of the apostles of Italy's entry into the war in 1915. He died in 1919, having ceased to support the imperialism which was betraying the declared objects of the Great War, in which, as an idealist, he had made the mistake of believing—to be subsequently disenchanted.

The world war was not without its effects on the Italian colony in the Mediterranean. It revived resistance in the interior and left behind it a strong current of feeling in favour of the pan-Islamic movement. The question of the right of a people, by no means savage, to control its own destinies, war raised without ambiguity by the leaders of the revolt which was beating against the very gates of Tripoli. Once more the Italian Socialist Party did not betray its principles or shirk its duty. In Parliament and in the press it clearly stated the case for according the widest possible autonomy to Lybia, and did not hesitate to get into touch with the pan-Islamists, which brought down on the Party—as was to be expected—the bitterest reproaches from the Nationalists. The author of this report remembers a speech in the Chamber (1921 ?) in which he set forth, in the name of the Party (and in reply to the Fascists) the policy that should be pursued in Lybia, of which the guiding principles have been given in this report.

The efforts of the Italian Socialists had their reward. In face of an inert Government which was incapable either of waging war or of concluding the peaceful settlement, based on justice, with Lybia which the Socialists demanded, the leaders of the Tripolitan Arabs declared that they were willing to negotiate terms of settlement with a delegation from the Socialist Parliamentary Group. But the Fascist current was already too strong. The Socialists were prevented from intervening, and the colonial war recommenced (it was, unfortunately, Amendola, Minister for the Colonies in the last

non-Fascist Cabinet of 1922 who was responsible for this). Shortly afterwards the coming of Fascism into power was definitely to destroy all influence of the Socialist movement in colonial questions.

### **Social and Political Life in Somaliland and Erythrea.**

Italian Somaliland is still practically unexplored. It is almost entirely covered by vast forests and is inhabited by scattered nomad tribes. The coast offers no facilities for landing during several months of the year, owing to the "monsoon" and the almost entire lack of natural harbours. It would therefore be vain to refer in this report to the social and political life of the natives, seeing that the backward character of the social life of the country deprives local political organisation of any standing in face of the absolute power of the Governor and of the "free hand" enjoyed in such a country by the authorised colonial undertakings. It is sufficient to point out that the Governor, Count Vecchi, is one of the most blood-thirsty of Fascists and that the concessions are almost all controlled by a limited company, the effective chairman of which is the Duke of the Abruzzi, cousin of the King, who dislikes the peaceful life of the home country, but who is better known as the explorer of the Arctic and the Himalaya than as the Director of an undertaking which has never yet yielded any profits.

At the end of some decades and after hundreds and hundreds of millions of lire have been squandered in clearing and draining operations in the interests of a small group of capitalists (instead of cleaning-up and modernising Italy in the interests of a whole people), it may perhaps in the end prove possible to obtain from distant Somaliland, with its harbourless coast, a portion of the cotton which Italy needs, but which by that time it may be possible to produce cheaper by artificial means.

England knew very well what she was about, in displaying boundless generosity when Italy asked her for compensations in Somaliland on account of the territorial acquisitions which she had made in Africa since the war. She generously permitted Italy to undertake the long and difficult task of bringing under cultivation a country which is surrounded by the great English colonies of the Great Lakes and Kenya and which, so soon as it becomes productive, will inevitably fall within the economic orbit of the African colonial Empire. This is something like a colonial programme—to know how to profit by the traditional shortsightedness of retarded imperialism in a nation which lacks the programme she ought to have!

That state of affairs in Somaliland has naturally not prevented the Italian Government from doing its best both before and since the triumph of Fascism to provide the *princely* undertakings of the country with all the financial assistance demanded by speculators, much better provided with plans than with capital. Naturally too



the tribes of Somaliland, in exchanging the rule of their native chiefs for Italian sovereignty, gain nothing as far as freedom is concerned and pay, in another manner but no less surely, the taxes which the Italian Treasury is introducing even in this distant colony.

The position in Erythrea is completely different. This is the oldest Italian colony, the one in which even before Fascism it had been possible locally to organise an administration with a Governor and a number of local councils. The economic and social condition of the country—certainly not very advanced, but by no means primitive—which is comparable with that of the Tigray, made this region even thirty years ago a land fitted for a comparatively advanced system of Government.

The Italian administration, having been obliged to abandon its dream of a swift and brutal penetration into Abyssinia, was not slow to realise that its best course lay in respecting existing institutions to the greatest possible extent, while imposing Italian rule and securing privileges for Italian exploiters. Hence Erythrea possesses a judicial organisation both civil and criminal not entirely unworthy of the name, notwithstanding the fact that it is based (as is to be expected in a colony) on complete inequality of treatment in favour of Europeans (both Italians and foreigners), and to the disadvantage of the natives.

The Italian codes are enforced side by side with local customary law. Certain guarantees in regard to procedure exist even in the case of the special courts set up for the natives. Moreover the penalties which may be inflicted on natives, although unfortunately they include capital punishment, are not altogether different from those prescribed in the case of non-colonial countries.

The Fascist administration seems disinclined to modify this state of affairs to any great extent, for it has recently, for the second or third time, (decree number 23—24 of 18 December, 1927) postponed the reform of the administrative organisation of the colony, and the judicial regulations introduced by the Fascists (Decree 472 December, 1926) have not brought about any radical change in the previously existing situation. In regard to taxes, it is impossible for the author of this report to give any exact account of the existing system in Erythrea. Before the triumph of Fascism, a land-survey was already being carried out with a view to ensuring a less imperfect enforcement of the tax on land. Italians resident in the colony were liable to local taxes not entirely unlike those which they would have had to pay in Italy. In the districts nearest to the land frontiers (Abyssinia and the Sudan) there exists a system of annual taxes payable by villages or other suitable communities.

Thus Erythrea may be described as a colony which for nearly thirty years past has had no history; a colony without any important future; a land where comparatively impecunious firms are

endeavouring to grow coffee ; where such railways as are very slowly being constructed are no longer expected to compete with the transport facilities with which the British Sudan is to be provided, and where all idea of becoming the gateway of Abyssinia has been abandoned.

The Northern part of Abyssinia is mountainous and practically barren. The South and South-East is considerably richer, but is provided with an outlet, as has already been pointed out, by the French and English colonies of the Harrar.

Although it has left the local organisation of Erythrea more or less untouched, Fascism has naturally not been slow to introduce changes as regard personnel so as to find places for its own partisans. Its political opponents (and there were some such) had no choice. They had either to submit or to go. In the Italian colonies, freedom of settlement has never been recognised and in this respect the Fascists have found traditions already existing which they have merely strengthened. A decree of the Government is sufficient to condemn even an Italian citizen to take the first boat for Italy. Moreover if before Fascism the racial inferiority of the natives was regarded as a social and political axiom, the same is no less the case today. That was only to be expected.

Nevertheless the Italian administration in Erythrea does take some action in the interests of education of the natives and of public health. It is obliged to do this in order to further the exploitation of the colony. It is moreover able to take such action without running any serious risk of awakening, through improved education, a local political movement for independence, or even for autonomy, seeing that the profound division of the Erythrean population into Moslem Sudanese (in the North and West of the colony) and Abyssinian Copts (in the South and East) seems to rule out any such possibility.

As far as the "colonists" are concerned, they are so scattered and so far less numerous than the civil and military officials, that it is almost impossible to suppose that the day will ever come when they will demand radical changes in the colony. Indeed why should they demand such changes, seeing that they can hardly be under any illusion in regard to the mediocre future which lies ahead for business and for the colony in general.

### **The Lybia (Tripoli and Cyrenaica).**

There has been practically continual war in Lybia since 1911 until two or three years ago, almost up to the gates of the towns on the coast. It is therefore impossible, a priori, to speak of Italy's *administrative work* in Lybia, seeing that she has done nothing but wage war.

Italy has of course organised the life of the coast towns and spent millions of lira on constructing the port of Tripoli and a promenade of great magnificence as seen from the harbour. She has also naturally made every Italian law applicable to Lybia. Consequently all the Italian residents and the naturalised foreigners live in the coast towns as one may live in no matter what town of Fascist Italy. If, however, we set out to prove by figures, as would be easy, that nothing or practically nothing has been done from the economic and social point of view, we should encounter the reply that there has not yet been time to accomplish more.

About the middle of last April, the London *Times* published an article from a correspondent in Tripoli, which attempted to refute certain pessimistic assertions by Mr. Nitti regarding Lybia, the latter having become (a little late in the day) convinced of the truth of the declarations and predictions made by the Socialists seventeen years ago. If, however, this article in the *Times* (of 17 or 18 April 1928 unless we are mistaken) is read, it will be seen that, whether by accident or by unavowed design, it entirely fails to refute the assertions of Mr. Nitti or those of the Socialists.

Enough however has been said on this subject. It will be sufficient to add that so thoroughly has the lesson been learnt that there is no future for Lybia whether regarded as the "ancient granary" of Rome or as the gateway to Central Africa, or even as a country to be repopulated by a considerable immigration of peasants, that the idea of advertising Tripoli as a watering place is now under consideration! The Fascist press lends its support unashamedly to this fraud, without perceiving that by so doing it is finally confirming our criticism which it will therefore henceforward be unnecessary to reiterate.

Thus legislation for Lybia can in general be regarded only as *the preparation for a colonisation scheme which has hardly yet been initiated* and which it is safe to say will never come to anything. Nevertheless Lybia now possesses a full-fledged administrative, and more particularly a military organisation (Tripoli has even the honour of having for its Governor General de Bono, who has been implicated in all the most serious crimes of the Fascists and particularly in the attacks on deputies). There are law courts and even an Appeal Court. Arab, Jewish and Mixed Courts exist to deal with certain questions. There are also branch establishments of the Agricultural Credit Fund, from which grants for industrial undertakings can be obtained. Finally there are schools and a complete organisation for the protection of the health of the population. But what will come of all this? A specious system of soft jobs for bureaucrats, behind which will be concealed the hopeless failure of a colonisation scheme bound to prove either unworkable or economically disastrous, as we predict? Or a raising of the standard of life, *in the desert and in spite of the desert*, of tribes which have practically never progressed beyond the nomadic state, owing to the invasion

by the desert of a region which may some thousands of years ago have possessed the water supply which it now lacks and grown the grain which is now no longer to be seen? We should like to think that our grandsons reading these lines will feel moved to laughter, as the sons of those French subjects who emigrated to Canada laughed at the pessimism of Voltaire in regard to that country. Unfortunately, however, Canada was still a riddle, whereas the Desert of the Sahara is an only too well-known fact.

It would in any case have been better not to complicate the struggle against the desert by embarking on a struggle, far less justified against the inhabitants of the country whose redemption is supposed to be the object in view. From the beginning, however, the conquest of Lybia has throughout been characterised by the most terrible atrocities. In Erythrea recourse was had at first to violent methods, to "livragations" (as they were called after their initiator, an officer by name of Livraghi), but these were soon abandoned. In Lybia the course of events has been quite different. A memorable attack delivered by Filippo Turati against the summary execution by hanging (in 1913 unless we are mistaken) of Arab notables, whose innocence was beyond doubt, was the first of many denunciations of the method "ruthless repression", which has always had its fanatical supporters and to which official sanction has been given in the latest speech of the Fascist Minister for the Colonies (May 1928). It is a sad fact that the rebel tribes of the interior of Tripoli and Cyrenaica have more frequently come into contact with military aviators dropping bombs on them than with missionaries seeking their conversion. Naturally there have been retaliations on Italian soldiers, who have fallen into the hands of the natives. The military conquest of the interior has therefore been constantly carried out in a manner which, owing to the secrecy maintained, can only be imagined. It has in fact scarcely ever been the work of the Italian regular military forces. More especially since the triumph of Fascism the use of coloured troops (from Lybia and Erythrea) has gradually been substituted for that of regulars. Recently the Fascist militia from certain districts of Italy has been sent to join the coloured troops, a fact which does not in any way render it likely that the natives will be treated less harshly.

Fascism would not be Fascism however if in addition to recommencing the war in the interior and to accentuating the methods described above, it had not taken steps to impress itself on the ordinary political life in the towns and places outside the war zone. In October 1919 was proclaimed, in accordance with the solemn undertaking of 1911, the Constitution of Lybia. Elections were to have taken place and a Parliament was to have been summoned. The armed revolt which took place in the interior was partly the reason and partly the excuse for the first postponement of the elections. They have naturally continued to be postponed under the Fascist régime, and quite recently the Fascist Minister for the Colonies, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, referred derisively to

the law which he had forgotten to repeal. Further he announced that even what remained of local autonomy is to be abolished (Lybia after all cannot be granted privileged treatment as compared with Italy!).

Meanwhile the Fascist Government has issued new police regulations for Cyrenaica and Tripoli (Decree No. 884 of 8 May 1927). In future in Lybia a system is to be applied, no less forcibly than in the Italian Peninsula, involving liability to police supervision without due process of law, and compulsory relegation to a specified place of residence without trial, in both cases primarily on purely political grounds. Moreover the police is of course empowered to deport even Italians, should they happen to be politically "undesirable", from the "splendid" Mediterranean colony. No printed matter may be sold without permission (a rule which is perhaps to be found in many colonies). All sorts of obstacles are placed in the way of public meetings, and private meetings, which can always be declared public "in view of their object", may be prohibited or dissolved. The possession of weapons is forbidden—a fact which will cause no surprise to the native inhabitants of many other colonies. There is perhaps, however, a certain legislative "progress" in Article 40 of the police regulations, which permits the summary execution of natives who outside the towns do not immediately obey the order to hand over any weapons which they may be presumed to possess. Similarly in Article 192, a measure which is perhaps unavowedly practised even in other countries—viz, the arrest of an entire "ethnic" group, its deportation *en masse* and the confiscation, which may be final, of its movable and immovable property (Article 193),—is for the first time legally recognised.

It might be unnecessary to go into further detail (seeing that all the rest can easily be imagined), but for one very characteristic fact which concerns not only Lybia but the administration of the Italian colonies as a whole and which deserves special mention. The Fascist regime had already decreed in a series of laws and regulations that any public servant in the service either of the State or of the local administrative bodies (whether a wage-earner or in receipt of remuneration dignified by the name of a salary, whether school teacher or University professor, whether office boy or chief of service or highly placed specialist) may at any time be dismissed if his conduct is not in accordance with the *national interests*. "National interests" is the phrase actually used, though it would be legitimate to read instead "*Fascist interest*". But even this little tribute to public opinion has now come to be regarded as excessive in the case of officials in the colonial services (both at home and in the colonies, from the Governor to the humblest labourer) and Article 8 and 11 of Decree No. 355 of 26 February, 1928, prescribe that any official in the colonial services may be dismissed "if his moral, civic

or political conduct" is not considered to be "in accordance with Fascist national policy".

*"E questo fia suggel."* ("And this shall be the seal.") (1)

### Conclusions.

(1) In none of the Italian colonies is there any Governmental and administrative organisation in the least capable of preparing the way for native group autonomy. On the contrary there is a tendency to repeal such small progress as has been made in this direction and to reduce to the greatest possible extent even the minor privileges which had been granted in regard to the administration of petty local collective interests, and which was perfectly compatible even with the denial of any political autonomy in the colonies.

(2) No attempt has been made to expropriate the native proprietors for the purpose of extracting profits from the Italian colonies. In Erythrea especially, and in the districts immediately contiguous to the coast towns of Lybia, the steps taken to carry out a land-survey suffice to prove that it is intended to respect the property rights of the natives. It is however very difficult to obtain a clear idea of what is going on in Somaliland, where the holders of agricultural concessions are apparently subject to no restrictions in regard to the holding of land, except in so far as it is to their interest not to force the pace too rapidly. It is similarly very difficult to form an opinion whether the *theoretical* respect of property is not *in practice*, a dozen or so miles outside the Lybian towns or towards the Sudanese or Abyssinian frontiers of Erythrea, compatible with the expropriation of individuals and even of communities in the interests either of specially *enterprising* individuals or of the policy (apparently applied on a large scale in Lybia) of forming colonisation settlement for old soldiers and Fascist militia-men.

(3) Except in Somaliland, recourse does not appear to have been had to forced labour in the Italian colonies.

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(1) At the moment of writing, the negotiations in regard to Tangier are taking a satisfactory turn in regard to Italy's demands. The Fascist regime will not be satisfied with this. It will go on to demand that its Mediterranean colonies shall be "given air", and to this end will claim access (across the Sahara!) to Lake Chad, through the recognition of its rights over the Bornu and Wadui which it claims to have inherited from the Turkish Empire, though Turkey was unable to exercise them even when Lake Chad was approached only from the North across the Sahara. Fascism now claims these rights at a time when the North of Central Africa has become the hinterland of the Niger and the Congo rather than of the Mediterranean. What then is the use of putting forward such a claim, which would be platonic even for a country far richer than Italy (for no amount of wealth would enable any country to reach Lake Chad except from the Gulf of Guinea)? The claim in regard to Lake Chad may however be merely the prelude to a claim for an outlet Southwards for the Italian colonies on Lake Chad. Such a claim can easily be justified on the map, but for a country in Italy's situation it may be less easy and less desirable to realise in practice.

(4) The agricultural concessions and industrial undertakings enjoy all sorts of facilities where they are carried on by Italians. The results so far have not been very remarkable, except as regards cotton growing in Erythrea and Somaliland and coffee planting in Erythrea (and quantitatively speaking the production even of these two commodities has not reached very considerable proportions). In Tripoli the growing and weaving of esparto grass, which is very plentiful there, were already carried on before the Italian conquest and still continue. The State maintains a monopoly of salt production as in Italy.

(5) Taxes are collected in Erythrea and Somaliland from natives of nomadic or semi-nomadic habits by means of collective levies payable by each group in a given district. The groups within themselves are free to raise the money as they like, but they are collectively responsible for its payment. In the case of Italian citizens and colonial citizens (the latter have local political rights but not the political rights of Italian nationals), taxes are increasingly collected in accordance with the fiscal system in the home country, the fiscal laws of which have been extended to practically all the colonies and particularly to Lybia. The Italian colonisers had hoped one day to obtain some degree of preference for their imports into Italy. The only preference that they have obtained however consists in the fact that the maximum quantities which may be imported into Italy free of duty are determined for each year. The amounts hitherto allowed have been more or less inconsiderable. On the other hand, the colonisers have no legal means of taxing Italian imports and foreign products (if we are correctly informed) are not generally granted any more favorable treatment as regards their importation into Italian colonies than as regards that into Italy herself.

(6) No right of immigration into the Italian colonies exists even for Italian citizens. Admission depends on the arbitrary decision of the Governors and the central Government. There are no real guarantees even for the residential rights of natives born and brought up in the colony. Colonial Fascism could not be expected to recognise such outworn notions. As for the rights of combination and of assembly, it is needless to speak of them. At Tripoli, immediately after the war, an attempt was made to form a trades council. The authorities did not wait for the advent of Fascism before deporting the secretary and excluding any possibility of trade unionism even of the most rudimentary character. At present for all we know there may be compulsory Fascist trade unions. Such unions however (as everybody except the Director of the International Labour Office knows) have no connection with the freedom of the workers to combine.

(7) Progress in respect of the education of the natives will certainly take place in time. The financial position of the Italian Government in the colonies is not however such as to allow much freedom of action. The same may be said in regard to the prevention

of disease, for which the military services certainly provide possibilities of wider and more effective action than for education. But paternalistic methods in regard to education and public health have never in any country produced important results and it seems utterly absurd to expect any great improvement in the moral and material standards of the native races so long as they are not free to meet, to organise, to state their requirements and to defend their interests. In the Italian colonies no activities of this kind are possible even in theory.

(8) Military service and the transference of colonial troops to Europe will certainly in the long run play a considerable part in the moral and intellectual awakening of the colonies, especially the French colonies. Will such a development take place in the Italian colonies? We think not. Italy has no need to increase the numerical strength of her army by calling up her colonial subjects, for the Italian people is sufficiently prolific to provide all the men that she requires. She therefore recruits in the colonies only such troops as are required for the colonial service. "Ascari" from Erythrea, regarded as excellent soldiers, have been sent to fight side by side with the Lybian mercenaries. Save however for occasional parades, neither the Erythrean "Ascari" nor the "Meharists" or other troops from Lybia have ever been dispatched to serve in Italy. It does not appear therefore that military recruiting will exercise any noteworthy influence on the civilisation of the natives or that it will provide Italy with military reserves of any importance.

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## **VI. Memorandum of the Socialist Party, U. S. A.**

(June 1928.)

### **The Colonial Policy of the United States.**

#### **I. Continental Expansion.**

Colonies in the sense of oversea possessions are a thing of comparatively recent development in the United States. During the first century and a quarter of its existence the country had no need and no use for territory beyond the North American continent. The thirteen original colonies which seceded from Great Britain and constituted themselves into independent federated states in 1776, were all situated on the Eastern coast of Central North America. The whole territory occupied and claimed by these states in 1790 was about 900,000 square miles, barely one third of the full area of the United States proper as now constituted.

The expansionist policies of the new republic were thus naturally directed in the first instance to the contiguous and sparsely settled territory West and South of it. Its fixed aim was to acquire and to consolidate the whole area of Central and North America from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic ocean to the Pacific. This task was consistently pursued by all customary methods of expansion—occupation, purchase and conquest. It was definitely accomplished by the middle of last century.

As early as in 1803 the young republic purchased from France for a total sum of about 27,000,000 Dollars the vast territory to the South and West of it known as Louisiana, from which were subsequently carved out the immense states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Minnesota and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. The purchase was followed by the acquisition from Spain of the disputed territory of the peninsula of Florida in 1819.

In 1845 the independent republic Texas, which had just seceded from Mexico with the aid of the United States, was incorporated in the latter, and finally the Mexican war of 1848 gave to the country a veritable empire of territory extending clear to the Pacific coast.

The area of the powerful North American republic was thus fully rounded out according to programme and the following fifty years were devoted to the task of settling, developing and organising the tremendous territory of the country. The only departure from the policy of normal internal development during that period was the purchase of Alaska from Russian in 1869. The Arctic peninsula comprising 590,000 square miles was bought for 7,200,000

Dollars. It was the first non-contiguous territory acquired by the United States, but it was still territory on the North American continent.

## II. Colonial Policy.

The colonial policy of the country in the true sense of the term dates only from the last years of the past century. By that time the United States had largely developed its own territory and had attained an important position in international manufacture and commerce. The American capitalists like those of all other leading modern countries began to cast greedy eyes at new sources of raw material, new fields of investment and new and monopolised foreign markets for their products. It was this new phase of capitalist development which was largely responsible for the Spanish-American war of 1898. The price which Spain paid for its defeat in the unequal contest was the cession of the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. Of these the first two are within comparative proximity to the United States while the last are on the other side of the Pacific ocean and in the immediate neighbourhood of Japan.

In 1898 the Hawaiian islands, situated midway between the American and Asiatic coasts of the Pacific ocean "annexed themselves" to the United States.

In 1900 the United States obtained several islands of the Samoa group, located in the Southern Pacific, by partition of the islands between itself, Great Britain and Germany.

Four years later it took possession of a part of the Republic of Colombia for the purpose of building the Panama Canal and has ever since maintained it as United States territory under the name of Panama Canal Zone. This was a naked act of force, thinly disguised by an American made revolution and a "treaty" of cession signed by the "revolutionists".

The last expansion of American territory was accomplished in 1917 by the purchase from Denmark of the Danish West Indies or the Virgin Islands.

As Cuba has since been constituted an autonomous republic, the American colonies to-day consist of Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands, Guam, Hawai, the American Samoas and the Virgin Islands.

Of these the only ones of real economic importance are Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and to some extent Hawai.—Guam has a population of only 17,000, the Samoan Islands have an aggregate of about 8000 inhabitants, while in the Virgin Islands the population has dwindled down from 26,000 at the time of their purchase to about 20,000, and still keeps on diminishing by emigration.

The Philippines consist of a group of about 7000 islands covering an area of 114,000 square miles with a total population of about 12,000,000, mostly native Philipinos. It does a growing business

with the United States on the basis of free trade. Its principal product is sugar.

Porto Rico has a population of 1,400,000. It produces large quantities of tobacco, coffee and sugar. Its foreign trade exceeds 200,000,000 Dollars a year and 90 per cent. of it is done with the United States.

Hawai with a population of about one third of a million is rich in pineapples and cane sugar. Its foreign trade, almost equal to that of Porto Rico, is done almost exclusively with American capitalists. Its importance to the United States is however rather strategic than economic for Hawai is the "cross road to the Pacific ocean". Its population is of mixed Asiatic stocks with the Japanese preponderating.

The native workers of the colonies are, of course, exploited by American capitalists to a greater extent than the American workers at home, yet such exploitation has never generally assumed the form of forced labour, and on the whole the American administration of its colonies has been free from such brutality as occasionally characterised the treatment of natives by other colonial powers. It must also be admitted that the general state of sanitation and education in these colonies has improved under American administration.

The main criticism of the American colonial policy is that it is a *colonial* policy i. e. one that imposes a foreign rule on unwilling peoples and treats them as inferior subjects with inferior political rights.

The system of government prevalent in the colonies of the United States is of a tolerably uniform type and has been largely determined by the historic and political traditions of the country.

The United States of America began its historic career as a federation of thirteen independent and sovereign states, whose rights were guaranteed by the constitution. Such rights comprised among other things an equal representation in the United States Senate (2 from each state), a proportional representation in the House of Representatives (the Lower Chamber) based on population and complete autonomy in state and local government except in the spheres expressly delegated by the constitution of the federal government.

In the course of time thirty-five new autonomous states were added to the Union, all with similar rights and powers. These new states, however, were not admitted to the union immediately as full-fledged partners. In most instances they passed first through a sort of probationary period during which they were given the status of "Territories". The "territories" were a species of colonies on the American continent and within the boundaries of the United

States. They were administered by Congress. They had no representation in the Senate and only "delegates" entitled to speak but not to vote in the House of Representatives. They were administered by governors appointed by the President of the United States and had a limited measure of local self-government. As such territories developed in population and importance to a degree deemed sufficient by Congress they were from time to time admitted to full statehood. Today the whole continental territory of the United States is divided into full-fledged states, except the district of Columbia, which contains the city of Washington, the capital of the country and is administered by Congress as neutral ground, and the Alaskan peninsula, which still retains the status of a territory.

When the United States acquired its oversea colonies, the territorial form of government thus traditionally developed, was applied to them with some minor variations as seemed to be required in each case.

The Philippine Islands are administered by a Governor General appointed by the President of the United States with the approval of the Senate. Subordinated to him are a number of provincial governors elected by the inhabitants. There is also a local elective legislative assembly, but all laws passed by it are subject to a veto by the United States government. The Philippine Islands have two president Commissioners in Washington without definite powers.

Porto Rico has an elective local legislature consisting of two Chambers, the Senate and Assembly, but its laws are subject to a veto by United States authorities. The chief executive of the island is a governor, who is appointed by the President of the United States, as are also the other heads of the several departments of government. The chief language of the island is still Spanish. Porto Rico has a pretty well organised labour movement, which is equally active politically and economically and has representation in the local legislature. A whole third of the total revenue of the territory is spent in public education.

Hawai likewise has a governor appointed by the United States and a "delegate" without a vote in the House of Representatives at Washington. It has an elected local legislature and elective municipal administration, both with limited powers.

The Virgin Islands are administered by the United States Congress, which delegated the authority to the President. The latter appoints the governor of the territory. The local government is a mixed body composed of some elective members and some appointees of the United States.

Guam and the American Samoas are administered more fully and directly by the United States and have practically no local government.

The Panama Canal Zone is administered by the United States War Department as a military reservation.

United States citizenship is conferred on some of the colonies, whose inhabitants are assumed to have reached a higher degree of civilisation, such as Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, but is withheld from the colonies, including the Philippine Islands.

### III. Spheres of Influence.

As an inevitable by-product of its colonial policy the United States has also developed the institution of the "protectorate" over several neighbouring countries, and it is in this sphere of activity in which the government has laid itself bare to severe criticism from all liberal elements at home and abroad for its aggressive, often brutal policy.

The official "sphere of influence" of the United States extends to Cuba, Panama, Haiti and Nicaragua.

When the United States declared war on Spain the government proclaimed officially and solemnly that it had no desire to acquire any Spanish possession for itself. The islands ceded by Spain in the treaty of peace were promised complete and early independence. This promise has been redeemed only with respect to Cuba and only in a very limited sense. The treaty between the United States and Cuba entered into in 1902 makes the latter practically a vassal state. It assures to the United States a permanent supervision of the affairs of the island and authorises it to intervene, by armed force if necessary, "to perfect the independence, life, liberty, and property" of Cuba, a broad credential which permits the United States to control all external and internal affairs of the little republic.

The republic of Panama, practically created by the United States, is bound to the latter by a treaty even more drastic than that of Cuba. By the terms of that treaty Panama practically renounces its sovereignty in favour of the United States.

Haiti, which has been invaded by armed forces of the United States and subjugated without the formality of a declaration of war, has now been reduced to the condition of a bankrupt under American receivership. The weak little Caribbean republic is practically administered by an American "Financial adviser" and by a General Receiver. Haiti's sister republic, Santo Domingo, although not officially listed within the "sphere of influence" of the United States is to all intents and purposes as much a "protectorate" of the latter as Haiti itself.

The most recent victim of America's protection is the republic of Nicaragua, where the Government of the United States is supporting its own tool who claims the presidency of the republic without popular sanction, and where regular forces of the United

States marines are engaged in actual warfare against the revolutionary party of the country led by Sandino. The official justification for the presence of the American marines in Nicaragua at this time is that they are there to supervise the presidential elections of the republic in accordance with the terms of an agreement made between the opposing political parties and an official representative of the United States.

#### **IV. The Socialist Attitude on the Colonial Policy of the United States.**

The Socialist Party of the United States is naturally and consistently opposed to all policies of aggression and oppression by the government of the country, and has never missed an opportunity to publicly condemn these policies and to support the natives in their justified protests and demands. These demands vary with the conditions of the different colonies.

The people of the Philippine Islands who have time and again been promised their independence as soon as they would be ripe for it, assert that they are quite capable of self-government and object to the continuance of the American domination. Only recently the local assembly of the islands unanimously passed a bill calling for a plebiscite on the question of independence. The bill was vetoed by the President of the United States, on the ground that the Philippine people are not yet ready for self-government, although they have now been under American tutelage for 30 years.

Porto Rico, whose political status is almost exactly that of the old-time continental "territory" of the United States, does not demand independence but the full rights of statehood, i. e. full representation in Congress and complete local self-government.

The people of the Virgin Islands demand complete local self-government.

Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua want freedom from American interference and oppression, and Cuba and Panama are entitled to full sovereignty and the right of self-determination.

The Socialist Party of the United States is practically the only political Party which frankly and emphatically recognises and expresses the justice of these various demands. It is particularly active in its opposition to the government's policy of forcible intervention in the weak republics of the Carribbean seas and to its growing policy of imperialism which is a menace to the peace of the Western hemisphere.

## VII. Report of the Colonial Committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.)

### I. The Political Problem.

a) *Description of the systems of Government which exist in the different types of native communities.*

(Question I. 1)

The systems of government of native communities vary considerably in French colonial territories, as do also the level of civilisation and education of the people of the various colonies. They may be subdivided into three main classes according to their political organisation.

(1) *The Old Colonies* : the West Indies (Martinique and Guadeloupe), Guiana, Senegal, Reunion, Algeria, Cochin-China.

The Revolution involved the transformation of these old colonies into "over-seas departments". They have since been treated on more or less the same footing as French departments. For centuries (in the case of the West Indies and Reunion) or for many years (in the case of the other colonies) they have elected their representatives to Parliament, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

Algeria, which is treated as a group of three departments, is placed under the control of the Ministry of the Interior, whilst the other colonies are controlled by the Ministry for the Colonies. All alike, however, are placed for administrative purposes not under prefects (i. e. officials whose powers are limited and subject to constant and direct supervision by the central authorities and the electors, under a system of universal suffrage), but under that of *Governors*, i. e. potentates whose authority is derived from the regulations drawn up by the old régime, and who owing to the absence of any direct supervision, can act arbitrarily and in violation of the rights of the inhabitants, especially of their political rights.

All the colonies in this group are directly represented in the French national Parliament. An important distinction must, however, be made. On the one hand there are the West Indies, Guiana, Reunion and "the four municipalities with full rights" of Senegal, in which the electorate consists of the whole population (composed mainly of black or coloured citizens with a small minority of whites). The electorate in these colonies has full suffrage rights, elects its deputies and senators (only too frequently under circumstances which justify suspicion, owing to the pressure exercised by

the administrative authorities) and also its municipal and departmental councils. On the other hand in Algeria and Cochin-China only citizens of European origin, together with a few naturalised natives who have in most cases abandoned their own native status, have electoral rights. The remaining four-fifths of the population, which consists of *subjects* (Arabs and Cabyles in Algeria, and Annamites in Cochin-China) are without any representation in Parliament. In Algeria the natives are represented on the municipal councils, but their representatives are in a permanent minority, as the French citizens elect about two-thirds of the members regardless of the numerical strength of the respective racial groups. This means in practice that such councils always give substantial preference to European interests. Similarly in New Caledonia the French inhabitants, though without representation in Parliament, elect their own municipal assemblies and departmental councils to the entire exclusion of the native Kanakas. Similarly also in St. Pierre and Miquelon, small islands of the coast of Newfoundland inhabited solely by sailors and fishermen of Breton origin, the inhabitants elect their own local bodies but are not represented on the French Parliament.

(2) *The New Colonies* : Indo-China, Madagascar, West-Africa and Equatorial Africa (all acquired during the last forty years or so).

The policy pursued in these colonies is essentially that of capitalist imperialism everywhere, being based on the entire subjection of the natives "in the special interests of the colonizing power" (in the expressive phrase of Professor Girault). The main and indeed essential object of the French authorities is to secure industrial and commercial progress, to develop means of communication and exploit the natural vegetable and mineral wealth of these colonies. The level of civilisation in these lands varies of course infinitely, from the Annamites and the Combadians, who belong to ancient civilisations which have produced marvellous works of art (e. g. the wonderful ruins at Angkor) and in which large sections of the population are intellectually very advanced and capable of assimilating modern civilisation, science and industry, or again the Hovas in Madagascar, who had already before the French conquest developed an interesting native civilisation, down to the extremely primitive tribes of West, and still more Equatorial, Africa, right at the opposite end of the scale, who can only acquire civilisation, and thus secure emancipation, very gradually.

The systems of government of the native communities in these colonies naturally vary. It may however be asserted without hesitation that they all involve, though in varying degrees of intensity, the same methods of exploitation as capitalist imperialism always adopts in regard to conquered and subject peoples. Generally speaking, each district is placed under a colonial administrator, who in turn is directly responsible to the Governor. None of these



colonies acquired in the last half century has a constitution. The Governors' decrees and orders have force of law. It is true that to some extent the original native organisation remains in existence, though precariously and only in so far as it does not form an obstacle to subjection and exploitation by the dominant Power. It is generally speaking true to say that such remains of native organisation are merely a means by which the conquerors are able to secure the execution of their orders.

In Madagascar there existed before the conquest a form of organisation not unlike that of our own municipalities, known as the *Fokolona*. This has been nominally retained, but side by side with it have been set up municipal councils, of which the European members alone are elected (by the colonists), whilst the native members, who incidentally have not the right to vote, are nominated by the Governor.

(3) *The Protectorates* : Tunisia and Morocco.

These represent another form of Imperialist domination "only complicated by hypocrisy". The native political structure is maintained—under the Sultan in Morocco and the Bey in Tunisia—so as to allow the "protecting" State, under cover of the system, to act in an entirely arbitrary manner in regard to the natives and even to the colonists themselves. In practice, under cover of the Protectorate, the powers vested in other colonies in the Governor are here exercised by the Resident. The fiction of a Protectorate makes it possible both in Tunisia and Morocco to restrict the freedom of the press and of opinion of the French colonists themselves. It provides an excuse for refusing to them the rights possessed by the colonists in Algeria for instance.

The position is roughly similar in Cambodia and in Annam, where native kings and emperors have been retained for purposes of window-dressing. In reality all power is in the hands of the Resident, who is a vice-roy under another name.

b) *Extent to which and manner in which these systems of Government may enable the native population rapidly to win self-government.*

(Question I. 2)

A distinction must of course be drawn between the level of civilisation and the political capacity of the natives in the various French colonies.

In the case of those who are still in an altogether primitive state, the question arises only in a very slight and remote form. On the other hand in the case of the more advanced races, it arises very definitely.

Generally speaking French Socialists and more particularly Socialists in the French colonies (whether of native or European origin) have remained faithful to the old democratic tradition of 1789

and approach the problem from the standpoint of the political assimilation of the natives to Europeans and the extension to them of equal civil and political rights with all French citizens. These are the lines on which the problem has been solved in the old colonies, which have been placed on essentially the same footing as French departments. It must, however, be remembered that those old colonies represent altogether no more than a million human beings, practically all of whom speak French, who adopted European forms of civilisation many years ago, who inhabit territories which are small in extent and which are in a quite different ethnical and geographical situation from vast districts inhabited by millions of people, such as Indo-China, Tunisia, Morocco and Madagascar, not to speak of less advanced countries.

It may, however, be asserted without hesitation that French methods of Government are not in any way directed towards developing in these peoples any movement in the direction of freedom, self-government or self-administration.

## II. The Economic Problem.

*(a) Native rights in the ownership and use of the land, and generally of the natural resources ; freedom of labour ; forced labour ; compulsory migration.*

(Question II. 1)

In his extremely interesting report on his own country (Madagascar) Comrade Stefany gives an account of the manner in which, after the French conquest, the Governor forced the last native ruler, Queen Ranavalona, to sign a law "declaring the soil throughout the kingdom to be State property", thus transforming the natives' right of ownership into a right of use, *which only becomes a right of ownership where the native acquires the rights of French citizenship*. As conditions have been attached to this formality which in many cases the natives through ignorance or other causes are unable to fulfil, they are deprived of the ownership of their land, which is handed over to French colonists.

To varying degrees and in various ways the same phenomenon of expropriation, which is an almost universal feature of capitalist colonial policy, recurs in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Indo-China and in general throughout the new colonies. The same may be said in regard to natural wealth, of which the most important item, namely, the mines, are conceded to French or European colonists to the exclusion of the natives, both in Madagascar and in the majority of the other colonies.

Freedom of labour, even to the limited extent to which it may be said to exist under the capitalist system in Europe, is of course far from being guaranteed to the natives, especially in the colonies where the level of civilisation is most elementary. Thus in Equatorial

Africa freedom of labour is supposed in theory to exist, but in practice labour for important works, such as the construction of the railway from Brazzaville to the Ocean, which has recently been undertaken, is recruited by the strictest compulsion.

The cruellest and most scandalous abuses occur especially however in connection with the conscription of carriers, which is the scourge of all these vast tropical regions. Over a quarter of a century ago the great and high-minded explorer Fourneau condemned these abuses when he pointed out that "this barbarous means of transport wipes out whole tribes in Africa each year". Unfortunately the situation is still unchanged. Last year a talented writer, Mr. André Gide, writing in the *Nouvelle Revue Française* and later in a book, admirably reviewed by Comrade Léon Blum in the *Populaire*, denounced the abominable cruelties and unspeakable crimes committed in regard to native carriers in the Congo in the name of the "Sanga-Oubangi" Forestry Company, which by its rubber monopoly (with the connivance of the local authorities) has reduced all the natives of these districts to a state of cruel slavery. Attention has been drawn to these enormities in the French Chamber of Deputies by a number of Party members, and Comrade G. Dumoulin has brought them to the notice of the International Labour Office.

As regards Tunisia, the enquiry conducted by the I. L. O. has shown up the indirect form of forced labour existing in virtue of the drawing up before one of the Bey's notaries of a labour contract, any violation of which involves physical penalties, even imprisonment for not less than 15 days or more than 6 months. In Madagascar, a shocking law is in force which makes it possible to inflict imprisonment for not less than three months or more than one year on native "vagabonds". In virtue of this law, which dates from 1921, the administrative officials are empowered to imprison natives, who are unwilling to accept the oppressive conditions imposed by the employers.

*(b) Method of tax collection and expenditure of revenue in the interests of natives and foreigners.*

(Question II. 2)

The taxes levied in the colonies are a heavy burden on the native races. Generally speaking they are collected with the "help" of the native chiefs, who themselves, in most cases, increase the burden by adding their own levies to those of the dominating Power.

In Morocco, the unfortunate Berber peasants, who are thus subject to a double process of squeezing, are incapable of bearing the burden and are consequently perpetually reduced to famine or driven to bloody and hopeless rebellion. Our Socialist Federation in Morocco, consisting mainly of French workers, subordinate officials and tradesmen, but conscious of its historic mission to protect

the natives, denounces this situation and proclaims that "peace in Morocco is coupled with starvation". Its energetic Assistant-Secretary, Yves Farge of Casablanca, points out on behalf of the Federation that "while as a result of the exploitation of the French over-seas dominions the customs of the natives handed down from their ancestors are disappearing with increasing rapidity", French imperialism makes an exception in the case of native feudal rights, and he adds "France governs part of Morocco by relying on and reinforcing the arbitrary omnipotence of the great Caids of the South . . . for example, as to the unlimited powers of the Pasca of Marrakech, whose despotic sway extends over a vast territory, who has expropriated whole tribes, who is in a position to ransom whole villages, to confiscate crops at will, to assassinate, to encourage rapine and slavery, a mass of evidence can be collected, which is accompanied by traces of collusion on the part of the French political or financial potentates".

As regards the expenditure of revenue from taxes, particularly for municipal purposes, we have had the opportunity of noting by personal observation that at Marrakech for instance (and the situation is the same in the other important centres of Morocco) the municipal councils, consisting of a majority of Europeans and a minority of natives (the members of both the majority and the minority being workers nominated by the French officials) devote the greater part of the proceeds of the local budget to the new quarter which has been built and is inhabited by the colonists, and entirely neglect extensive native quarters including even historical monuments, such as the splendid old central mosque.

In Madagascar, a large number of direct and indirect taxes are paid by all male natives over 16 years of age, whilst Europeans other than traders, including officials, pay practically no taxes. The revenue derived from the taxes is devoted almost exclusively to administrative and military objects; native institutions, especially schools, receive only niggardly grants.

### *c) State Enterprise.*

#### Question II (3).

Provided that a given branch of industry is fairly prosperous, private enterprise can develop freely in it. On the other hand, the State makes itself responsible for undertakings attended by risk—in accordance with the wholesome capitalist conception.

Nevertheless some important nationalised industries have been set up. In Morocco for instance the extremely prosperous "Sheriffian Phosphates Office" contributes considerable profits to the State budget.

d) *Customs tariffs. Prohibitive tariffs. Preferential treatment of the colonising power.*

Question II (4).

All the French colonies have been founded more or less from the point of view that the trade of the colony should be restricted to the home country. The object pursued is to prevent the colony from making direct purchases in foreign countries and from selling its produce direct. Transport by sea between the colony and the home country must take place solely in French vessels. The "Customs Assimilation Act" of 1892 was based on this policy.

In 1924 Madagascar exported goods to the value of 259 million francs of which 200 millions went to France, 16 millions to the other colonies and only 41 millions to foreign countries. On the other hand, it may be noted that exports from Indo-China to France during the years 1922, 1923 and 1924 were only 20% for Cochin-China, 16% for Indo-China, 25% for Annam, 4% for Cambodia and 19% for the whole of the French Empire in Indo-China.

III. *Improvement in the conditions of the natives from the point of view of material welfare, education and health.*

Question III.

There is no doubt that capitalist colonisation whatever its defects and even its crimes has led to an improvement in conditions of life for the natives, particularly in regard to health conditions which, although still far from being perfect, were previously lamentable. Mortality and morbidity figures have been considerably reduced. At the same time such manifestations of primitive barbarism as the cruelties and tortures current before the conquest have naturally been disappearing.

In Algeria medical control has been gradually extended to the Southern districts on the edge of the Sahara, though the number of doctors is still far from sufficient. The same may be said of Morocco and of West Africa, where yellow fever has recently proved a heavy scourge and where the provision made for the protection of public health has been shown to be completely insufficient (as has been pointed out to us by Comrade Malbranque, an old militant member of the Party from Amiens, who has for many years been settled in Africa). Considerable public works have been carried out for the construction of roads and railways in Algeria and Morocco. Transport by automobile has developed amazingly during the last few years and the sight of Sleuhs, Arabs, and Berbers, who have forsaken their camels and donkeys to travel in increasing number at dizzy speeds to the Souks (native markets) packed in huge cars ("Americans" as they are wittily called), on the fine roads which have been laid across the Magreb, is peculiarly picturesque.

The Socialist Federation in Morocco has devoted special attention to the means of mitigating the miserable poverty of the native masses and of adapting native Moslem institutions (e. g. collective ownership, popular meetings or "Djemmas", the Ulemas—that amazing court to whose judgements the Sultans themselves submit) to a process of democratic evolution. It has also studied the problem of preventing natives from abandoning the land, of defending the peasants against local feudal customs, usury, famine and a premature and regrettable proletarianisation, which is destroying the interesting Moroccan arts and crafts and driving the natives to toil in large factories under wretched hygienic conditions for ridiculously low wages—6 to 8 francs a day:

Important public works have also been undertaken since the conquest of Madagascar, but the "public authorities are only interested in lucrative undertakings and town planning has to take a back seat". (Stefany.)

Little progress has been made in regard to education notwithstanding the really touching anxiety to learn which may be noted among the young natives, especially in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Madagascar and Indo-China. As a general rule the local authorities encourage instruction in manual work. Thus the writer has visited a school for apprentices in Marrakesh in which an endeavour was being made to perpetuate the best traditions of the great Moroccan craftsmen. Capitalism needs good workers but cares very little about raising the standard of education of the natives and is not in the least anxious to enable them to think and act for themselves. In Martinique the Socialist Federation is demanding the creation of a university for the West Indies. The friends of the natives all agree in demanding an increased number of elementary schools in Algeria, Morocco and Indo-China. It is highly desirable that the ancient Moslem university of Fez should receive encouragement and support.

#### IV. Freedom of opinion and right of association.

##### Question V.

a) *Political conditions of the natives. Individual rights. Freedom of the press and of association.*

Comrade Stefany has summed up the position very well in the following words: "The personal safeguards and political rights of citizens are denied to the natives because in the eyes of colonial Imperialism they are regarded *not as citizens but as subjects.*"

Under Article 69 of the law of 29 July, 1891, the law concerning the Press is made to apply to the colonies, but by a decree of 16 February 1901 native publications must be approved by the administration before they can be printed. Similarly, as regards freedom of assembly, one of the articles of this decree prescribes that

"freedom of assembly exists only in colonies which send representatives to Parliament". Consequently there is no freedom for the native press in Indo-China (where the native press has been subjected to numerous repressive measures), Madagascar, Morocco or Tunisia. No independent Arab paper may be published in Algeria, any more than in Morocco. Official news sheets compiled under the control and inspiration of the high French officials constitute the only intellectual "sustenance" offered to the natives in their own dialect. Those of them, however, who understand French manage to obtain some initiation into modern ideas. In Algeria the French newspapers are admitted freely without exception. In Morocco and Tunisia the legal fiction of a protectorate makes it possible to prohibit the introduction of the French Communist papers. On the other hand the Socialist papers are admitted and the *Populaire* has hundreds of subscribers both in Morocco and in Tunisia.

In Tunisia the native press, which represents the views of the "Young Tunisians", has been prohibited by decrees issued by the Bey, of course under the inspiration of the Resident General.

In Madagascar only citizens of French origin or naturalised natives can follow the French Socialist press and the development of the Socialist movement throughout the world without running the risk of persecution by the authorities.

(b) The natives are almost universally denied any *right of association*. A native trade-union movement has nevertheless developed with a certain amount of freedom in Algeria, but the violence and lack of prudence of Communist propaganda and especially its appeal to the narrowest native nationalism have provided an excuse for the action taken, at least against the "Unitarian" trade-unionists. Similarly in Tunisia, the "Tunisian Confederation of Labour", having been accused of being under Communist influence, has been dissolved in a most arbitrary manner.

## V. Existence of a labour movement in the colonies.

### Question VI.

A reply to this question has already in part been given in the last paragraph. A distinction must of course be drawn between the various classes of colonies. In the old colonies a trade-union and Socialist movement has been in existence for some years past e. g. in Martinique. An outcome of this movement may be found in the strikes which took place on the sugar cane and rice plantations in the early years of the present century and which in many cases (e. g. the Francois strike in 1901) have left tragic memories behind them. The first local Socialist Federation was formed during this period and the first Socialist seat in the colonies was won in 1910, when Comrade Joseph Lagrosillière was returned to Parliament, in

which he continued to sit until 1919. In the elections of 1928, Comrade L. O. Frossard was returned by a large majority by one of the Martinique constituencies. The other constituency undoubtedly elected Lagrosillière, but he has been deprived of his seat by shamelessly fraudulent electoral methods and by the terrorisation practiced by the authorities. The Socialist Party is represented by a large number of members on the department council of the Island. Trade-unions have also developed, especially during the last few years, and there is a *Bourse du Travail* at Fort de France.

A Socialist movement started a quarter of a century ago in Guadeloupe, the black population of which appears to be of a somewhat lower intellectual level than that of Martinique. The movement was ruined by an unscrupulous politician named Legitimus, who was at one time elected as a Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies. A reconstitution of the movement under the influence of that of Martinique appears likely.

In Algeria three active Socialist federations exist, consisting mainly of workers, small tradesmen, officials and French or European colonists. A certain number of Algerian Jews (who since 1871 have enjoyed full citizen rights), of Arabs and of Cabyles have also joined. The Party is largely represented on the town council of Algiers and publishes a number of weekly papers, especially at Algiers.

As has already been stated above, a trade-union movement of some importance exists in Algeria, mainly among the French, Spanish, Maltese and Cabyle railwaymen and dockers. The printing-trade workers are also well organised. The division of the labour movement by Bolshevism and the existence of two confederations of labour has, however, greatly weakened trade-union action in Algeria.

In Tunisia the membership of the trade-unions consists mainly of workers in the Biserta Arsenal and of officials belonging to the General Confederation of Labour.

The extremely active Socialist Federation publishes a daily paper, the "*Tunis Socialiste*". Its membership consists mainly of French and Italians, Tunisian and Algerian Jews and a few Arabs, particularly of the intellectual class.

The membership of the Socialist Federation of Morocco consists almost exclusively of French workers, officials, salaried employees and small tradesmen at Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakesh, Kenitra, Meckness, Fez and Oudjda. The Federation has nearly a 1000 members and publishes a "*Bulletin Socialiste du Maroc*". Its influence on the European population is considerable. A "Government Council" (a representative assembly, with restricted powers but elected by the French inhabitants on a basis of universal suffrage) having been recently set up by the Resident General, the elections for this body have made it possible to estimate the extent of the influence



of our comrades among the French population. Eleven of the twenty-two councillors elected were candidates put forward by the Socialist Party, whilst the remaining eleven belong to an alliance against the high cost of living formed and inspired by our comrades supported by the more progressive elements among the middle class republicans.

Our Moroccan Federation maintains cordial relations with the more intelligent and enlightened elements among the natives. Some trade unions exist, mainly at Casablanca. The natives are not organised and do not appear as yet to have reached a stage which would enable them to understand the necessity for organisation. In the main centres of Morocco, such as Marrakesh, the physical and personal wretchedness of the masses of the people is nevertheless deeply moving. All the natives who are capable of following the current of political events realise that the Socialists alone defend them and struggle against the grip maintained on the country by high finance and particularly by the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*.

In Senegal no trade union movement appears as yet to exist. A section of the Party was recently formed at Dakar.

In Madagascar the natives are terrorised by the extremely despotic methods of the administration. It has consequently been impossible to develop an industrial or political labour movement. Sections of the Socialist Party are however being founded with a membership of Europeans together with a certain number of Hovas. Vigorous steps have been taken to repress this movement and the Socialist Party in Parliament has been notified of a new and recent dissolution of the Socialist sections.

Socialist groups have been formed in Cochinchina and Tonkin with a membership composed mainly of officials. The "Young Annamites", whose movement is of an essentially national character and to whom further reference is made below, are nevertheless to a large extent sympathetic towards Socialist ideas.

## VI. Problems of race or nationality.

### Question VII.

Economic and racial conditions naturally vary considerably in a colonial territory so extensive as that of France. The racial problem arises in one form or another wherever a coloured people is subject to imperialist domination by whites. Apparently, however, the racial problem is non-existent in the French colonies in the form which it takes in South Africa, for instance. It may be said in general that the French people, apart from the abuses inevitable in any form of colonisation and of domination, is of all European peoples the one least affected by colour prejudice.

## VII. Existence of a movement in favour of self-government or national independence.

### Question VIII.

A native nationalist movement exists in Indo-China, especially in Annam. The Annamites are members of an ancient Oriental civilisation and include an intellectual élite, which has a fairly developed national consciousness. The activities of the nationalist movement have taken the form of a demand for independence, which has led to the cruel persecution of the movement and the condemnation of many of its adherents to years of imprisonment.

The situation has been considerably less strained since Alexandre Varenne held the Governorship, under circumstances, it is true, which gave rise to serious suspicion and led the Socialist Party to decline all responsibility for his actions. He has since left the Party. We are obliged, however, to admit that Varenne created a new atmosphere in Indo-China, at any rate during the early months of his Governorship and that by declaring an amnesty which led to the liberation of a large number of nationalist prisoners in the gaols or convict settlements, he put an end to a régime of persecution and terror.

Nevertheless the problem still remains to be solved and only very slight (even ridiculously slight) satisfaction has yet been granted to the demands of the Annamite people, especially as Varenne soon gave way in face of the violent campaigns launched by the enraged imperialists, and has moreover since left Indo-China.

A nationalist movement exists in Tunisia. This is the movement of the "Destour" or "Young Tunisians", which has the support of an important section of the native population, especially among the intellectuals. It was fairly active immediately after the war, especially in 1920-1921. The repressive measures which have been taken against it and the usual tactical errors of the Communist Party have apparently to some extent weakened and checked it.

In Algeria the Arab nationalist movement has in recent years been incarnated in the person of the Emir Khaled, member of the Algiers municipal council and grandson of Ab El Kader, the famous leader of Arab resistance in the middle of the 19th century.

A nationalist movement exists in *Tunisia*, the movement of the "Destour" or of young Tunisians, which groups behind it an important section of the native population, principally among the intellectuals. Its activity was rather considerable just after the war and in particular in 1920 and 1921. The oppression to which it has been subjected and the customary blunders of the Communist Party appear indeed to have weakened and hindered it somewhat.

In Algeria the Arabian nationalist movement was, during its latter years, embodied in the personality of Emir Khaled, municipal councillor of Algiers and grand-son of Abd el Kader, the celebrated chief

of the Arab resistance in the middle of the 19th century. The incitements and denunciations of the imperialist and anti-Arab press of Arabia compelled him to leave Algeria for Syria and since then the nationalist claim has appeared to be less virile. There does not appear to be among the Arab population of Algeria any claim for independence as such. It is chiefly in the sphere of the claim for political rights equal to those of French citizens and for direct representation of Arabs and Kabyles in the French parliament, that the national activity of the natives of Algeria is expressed. It is in a word on the basis of *assimilation* that they take their stand, as do a large number of other natives of French colonies, relying of course on the example of colonies already represented in the Chamber and in the Senate, as well as on the tradition which goes back to the French revolution itself.

The most class-conscious elements of the Hovas population in Madagascar followed the same principles and put forward similar claims. In Morocco the national movement, though not yet far advanced, is serving to emancipate the minds of the natives who are suffering from the customary abuses of capitalist imperialism.

This has been revealed quite particularly by the Riff war, resulting moreover from the famine artificially created by the military command, as our comrades of the Federation of Morocco have not ceased to demonstrate.

As elsewhere the communists in the colonising power endeavoured to exploit this situation by demanding an insane policy, *immediate evacuation* of Morocco as of the whole of Northern Africa.

The socialists have rigorously analysed, by the light of Marxist principles, these dangerous utopias—dangerous for the cause of civilisation and thus for socialism itself as well as for the cause of the natives whom it claims to protect and who would thus be thrown with an appalling thoughtlessness into the most bloody and desperate adventures.

#### **VIII. What system of military service exists in your Colonies? Is enlistment compulsory or voluntary?**

(Questions IX, X)

In the majority of our most developed colonies there exists the system of conscription applied on a more or less wide scale to natives as to Europeans. Where, as in Algeria for example, it is not accompanied by political rights, it is obviously unjustifiable. Legally a claim on human life is only conceivable when accompanied by political rights. This is moreover the very solid basis which, of course without wishing to do so, capitalist imperialism has provided in support of the claim for political rights on the part of the Arabs and Kabyles as of Malgaches.

In the majority of our colonies the system of the military organisation of natives provides in case of war for their service in Europe. It is known to what a large extent this method was applied during the world war.

Socialists consider that this system presents manifold dangers, of which not the least would be the utilisation of these coloured troops for the repression of working-class movements within the colonising power itself. They agree in thinking that the employment of this native force should be strictly limited to the defence of the colonies themselves.

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## VIII. Memorandum of the Danish Social Democratic Party.

The Danish Colony of Greenland is in quite a unique position. It can be said roughly that in the inhabited part of the country the Danish State signifies everything. The State owns the land. Not a square yard is let out for holdings. The State owns all buildings, with the exception of private dwelling-houses.

The shipping of the country is exclusively in the hands of the Danish State. Only with permission from the State may foreigners—and Danes also—enter the country and with the exception of small trading among the Eskimos themselves or between them and the Danish officials, trade is a State monopoly.

The State has undertaken to buy all products of the inhabitants at prices established for one year. In most cases the State pays more than it would be possible for the Eskimos to do.

In return the State provides the inhabitants with all the commodities that they need, at prices which are also fixed for a year, and in many cases the goods in the state shops of Greenland are cheaper than in the private shops in Denmark itself.

In *Greenland* there are creolite mines which are leased by a private limited liability company. But only Danish workers work in these, no Eskimos.

The Eskimos themselves are a primitive people, and live as free fishers and hunters. Agriculture is impossible in Greenland. *The inhabitants can all read and write.* The schools are maintained by the State. There is also a Seminary in which native teachers and priests are trained. All instruction in the schools as in the Seminary is free of charge.

*There are no taxes in Greenland.*

With the exception of the most northern colony, in which the primitive Polar Eskimos live, and a few other primitive colonies on the eastern coast, the Eskimos have now a certain *autonomy* through *municipal councils* and *national councils*. One cannot of course speak of any political life in the European sense.

Greenland, or at least the inhabited western coast, is thus a secluded monopoly area ; on the east coast there are only a few small colonies. But there is no question of monopoly trade. The expenditure on shipping and the provision of goods is greater than

the income, and in addition there is the expenditure for schools, churches, hospitals and such like. By a considerable tax on the creolite company the total expenditure is however about met at present.

Although Greenland is thus not a profitable concern for the Danish State, there is at all times in Denmark a majority for the *maintenance of the State monopoly*. Of course voices are not wanting which demand "free trade"—for the good of the Eskimos of course.

We Danish socialists stand *for the State monopoly*, in order to protect the population from the exploitation of private capitalists. "Free trade" would mean the free exploitation of the Eskimos, and it would mean that the Eskimos would be provided with inferior goods—and in many cases with no goods at all.

It is a question here of only 14,000 people—who are, however, scattered along a stretch of coast *2,600 kilometres long*, that is to say, a distance equal to that from *Oslo to Tunis*. And it is well-known that this country is not situated on the usual trade routes.

We consider it a duty of the Danish State towards the inhabitants of Greenland to maintain the trade monopoly, in order to protect this population from private capitalism, to secure it from extermination by Europeans, and to develop it gradually to full autonomy and self-consciousness.

It will probably be a long evolution, but, we conceive, an evolution *along the road of cooperation*, so that the Eskimos will gradually themselves be able to master economic questions also, and on a cooperative basis be able to take over the State shops, the purchase of goods and the sale of their products independently—perhaps in the first place in collaboration with the State.

By an unanimous resolution of the National Council the inhabitants of Greenland have given their agreement to the maintenance of the State monopoly, until the Eskimos are so developed that they can be placed on an equality with the other nations.

## **IX. Motion of the Colonial Commission of the L. S. I.**

At its session of 2nd and 3rd June 1928, the Colonial Commission of the L. S. I. resolved to submit to the 1928 Congress of the L. S. I. in Brussels the following draft :

### **I. Introduction.**

Colonial Policy has been one of the means of the expansion of capitalism throughout the world.

It has opened up the national resources of backward countries, and has developed in those countries modern methods of production and means of transport, thus enormously increasing the supply of the basic raw materials required by the world economic organisation, and promoting the international division of labour.

But these vast developments of productive forces, this great progress of civilisation has been bought at the cost of many evils ; native races have been subjected to brutal foreign domination, to shameless exploitation and robbery by foreign capitalists. They have often been deprived of the possession of their land and compelled to work for foreign employers. The profits derived from the exploitation of the natural resources of these territories and of native labour have been largely exported to the colonising power to the detriment of the development of native resources and of the extension of modern production within the territory itself.

On the other hand, the development of production and of modern transport in the colonies has brought about the social and cultural evolution of the Colonial peoples on modern lines and made them accessible to modern ideas of social and national democracy.

The various colonial races have attained different degrees of development in this process of evolution.

Races with old civilisation have under foreign rule already overcome their technical and social backwardness to a large extent. Within these races important national movements have developed with the aim of freeing themselves entirely from the foreign yoke and of developing an independent national existence. In these territories foreign domination might be ended immediately without their falling back from the capitalistic phase into a more ancient and primitive phase, without the destruction of the modern methods of production and transport and without their being cut off from the cycle of international trade.

At the opposite pole there are colonial races who were at a very primitive level before the establishment of foreign domination and who under it have hardly as yet, risen above that level. In these

territories the modern methods of production and transport still depend completely upon the dominant foreign regime. Consequently, the immediate abolition of the colonial status would not bring with it any progress towards a national culture, but rather a relapse into a primitive barbarism ; it would not mean any progress towards national democracy but, on the contrary, the abandonment of the natives to the power of a minority of white settlers, or of native despots and feudal magnates.

Between these two extremes, the various colonial peoples have arrived at various stages of evolution.

Socialism is opposed to the very principle of foreign domination of colonial races. It considers the abolition of the colonial system as a preliminary condition for any international commonwealth.

It therefore supports the efforts towards emancipation of those colonial races who now fulfil the basic conditions of modern independent civilisation and claims on their behalf complete liberation from the foreign yoke.

For other colonial peoples, who have not yet reached this standard, it demands sufficient safeguards against oppression and exploitation and insists upon their systematic education with a view to independence, and, concurrently therewith, the progressive extension of self-government until they attain the right of full self-determination.

Apart from this national emancipation, which must be primarily achieved by the efforts of the colonial races themselves, it is necessary to encourage in these countries the formation and development of a socialist labour movement. In determining the forms of this movement, it is necessary to take into consideration the institutions and the mentality of the natives and to combine their struggle for national freedom with the class-struggle against foreign and native exploitation, and moreover to educate the working-classes, without prejudice to their struggle for national emancipation, to realise the universal solidarity of the workers of all countries and to subordinate all particular national interests to the common interest of the workers all over the world.

## **II. Support of the Struggles of oppressed Peoples for Emancipation.**

The L. S. I. supports the struggle for the emancipation of subject peoples, without distinguishing whether their subjection was achieved by colonial conquest or whether, in spite of the apparent preservation of their independence as a sovereign state, they have in reality, by means of a system of military intervention and unequal treaties, been placed in a status of dependence on imperialist powers.

The L. S. I. demands complete independence and equality of treatment for China, and the abolition of the unequal treaties which oppress the Chinese people.



It supports the endeavours of the Indian people to attain self-government, and the claim for the complete independence of Egypt.

Syria and Iraq should be given complete independence immediately and be admitted to membership of the League of Nations. The L. S. I. opposes the policy pursued by the U. S. A. of economic domination and military intervention in the Republics of Central and South America.

### **III. Colonies with a higher form of Civilisation.**

In those dependencies with a population culturally more advanced, i. e. with a Europeanised or Oriental civilisation, such as the British Crown Colonies (excluding those in Africa), the French, Italian and Spanish Colonies of North Africa, Java, Madagascar, etc., the measure of self-government demanded by the inhabitants of these territories as a whole should be granted immediately.

The socialist parties of the countries owning these colonies or administering them under mandates, pledge themselves to intervene to the utmost of their power in favour of all reforms which tend to secure and extend the right of self-determination for the populations of these colonial territories.

Such reforms include, in the first place, the freedom of the natives to organise for the conquest and the right exercise of this self-government in such forms as may be best adapted to their native institutions and mentality.

Amongst these reforms for developing self government are :

a) a national representation elected by the whole people, without the consent of which no fiscal burden may be imposed upon the population and no natural resources may be handed over to foreign enterprises ;

b) local and regional administrative bodies established in such a form that they remain in the hands of the natives, with due legal protection for the non-native minorities ;

c) no legal privileges should be granted to foreign inhabitants :

d) all administrative positions, even the highest, should be open to natives.

### **IV. Colonies with primitive Culture.**

In the less civilised parts of the world, and especially in tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and in the Pacific, European governments, in the exercise of their policy of exploiting local economic resources in the interests of certain capitalist groups, have in many places used some or all of the following means :

a) They have declared their own governments the owners of much of the land of these territories accompanied by either the dispossession and eviction from their homes of the resident natives or the exaction of high rents from the natives for permission to reside there.

b) They have enforced agreements purporting to convey vast areas of land or minerals at absurd prices to European adventurers.

c) They have imposed upon the natives direct taxes with a view to compelling them to work for Europeans, and have introduced compulsory labour in public, local and village works.

d) With the same object, namely that of ensuring a regular and docile labour supply, they have imposed laws for the registration of natives and forbidden them to move freely about their own country.

e) They have imposed by law discrimination against natives as such ; they have forbidden the employment of natives in skilled industries operated by machinery ; they have rendered it a criminal offence punishable by fine or imprisonment for natives to absent themselves from work without leave, thus depriving them of the right to strike for better conditions ; and, finally, have prohibited meetings of natives or the discussion of opinions regarded by Europeans as likely to create disaffection of the natives against their employers :

*The Congress of the L. S. I. therefore demands :*

(1) that in all those territories of tropical and sub-tropical Africa and the Pacific all land not already appropriated by Europeans shall be recognised as the property of the native community ;

(2) that every native family should be assured sufficient land for its support ;

(3) that no taxes or any burdens whatsoever shall be imposed upon the natives except for the administration of public services which directly benefit the natives ;

(4) that no taxes should be permitted which a native cannot pay without leaving home to work for a capitalist ;

(5) that every form of forced or indentured labour and every kind of taxation or pressure practised for the purpose of forcing natives into employment shall be abolished ;

(6) that no labour contracts should be enforceable under the sanctions of penal law ; all labour contracts should be made before a magistrate or other official of the administration ; the labour contract should be a civil contract, breaches of which should be remedied by civil process only ;

(7) that the recruitment and conditions of labour should be so regulated and inspected as to prevent industrial slavery and the economic dislocation of the life of the native village and tribal communities ;

(8) The Congress entirely condemns the principles of racial discrimination in industry.

It demands :

(9) a fuller measure of protective labour legislation, especially in the interests of women and children ;

(10) that foreign capitalists and planters exploiting the natural resources should be obliged to contribute a sufficient portion of their profits for purposes of native welfare and education ;

(11) that wherever possible all natural resources should be exploited by state enterprises the yield from which should be used for the development of the country and the promotion of far-reaching schemes of native welfare ;

(12) that native agriculture and the production of agricultural produce should be assisted and encouraged by government. Where machinery for joint production, scientific assistance, etc., are required, the Government should supply the necessary capital through agricultural loan banks or otherwise, encourage the use of improved processes and promote co-operation for marketing. Government should assist and encourage the establishment of consumers' co-operation amongst the natives ;

(13) that the system of education should aim at making the natives capable of understanding and dealing with the political, economic and social conditions of the modern world. It must be provided out of public funds and be dissociated from religious propaganda.

So long as the native population of these territories are not qualified effectually to control by democratic parliamentary institutions the intricate mechanism of a civilised state, it is essential that the European exploiting class should not be placed in unrestricted control of the local government. The judiciary and public administration should be independent of them. The judicial institutions and the administration of justice should ensure that the natives will have equal protection before the law with the dominating races.

In so far as there exist local institutions of government, family, village or tribal, these organic institutions should be preserved and assisted to become efficient. Where necessary, the natives should be given protection against the abuses of their own chiefs.

Where councils of government exist, these should as far as possible be fully representative in due proportion of native as well as of European interests, with continued extension of popular control by the native inhabitants. Immigrants should as among themselves enjoy complete equality with each other independent of nationality. Wherever electoral institutions exist, the franchise should be general and equal and the electoral roll a common one with mixed electorates to the entire exclusion of privileged franchises.

The hygienic welfare of the natives should be organised on a large scale.

The detrimental influence of intoxicants and drugs such as opium, alcohol etc. should be prevented by the prohibition of the production and sale of these products.

## V. General principles.

In all colonies the military employment of natives for other purposes than the defence of the particular territory concerned should be forbidden, so long as these territories do not enjoy full self-government.

As regards the new system of mandates the Congress declares : that the principle of trusteeship under the League of Nations cannot be restricted arbitrarily to particular territories ; it must be extended to cover all tropical Africa and similar colonies of primitive culture elsewhere. The right of the community of nations to supervise the due execution by the trustee of the obligation of the trust must be frankly recognised. Meanwhile, the authority of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations should be strengthened and they should hear evidence in support of petitions addressed to them by aggrieved groups in the territories in question.

The International Labour Office should elaborate a code for the protection of native rights and the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations should accept the duty of watching the enforcement of this code in all mandated territories.

In respect of all unmandated territories the governments concerned should accept the same code as a minimum and entrust the same responsibility for watching over its enforcement to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

The Congress demands the adoption of the open door policy in all colonies, absolute equality for the trade and industry of all nations, and the right of the citizens of all countries to settle in all colonial territories.

*The parties affiliated to the L. S. I. are urged to establish relations with the native movements in order to assist them in their struggle for the principles and demands contained in this resolution. They are also urged to further the development of an industrial and political labour movement in these territories and to influence them towards democracy and socialism.*

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## X. The Congress of the L. S. I.

The Congress of the L. S. I. in Brussels in its fifth session, Thursday 9th August 1928, heard the Report of the Colonial Commission, which after three days' discussion (6th—8th August 1928) had agreed on a definite resolution to be submitted to the Congress.

### The Debate of the Congress :

SEITZ, Chairman : The next item on the agenda is the colonial problem, and I call upon Lord Olivier, Chairman and rapporteur of the Colonial Commission. (Applause.)

SIDNEY OLIVIER (Great Britain): Comrades of the Labour and Socialist International, first of all I would like to express my personal gratification at being once again a member of this Congress, for it is 35 years since I was at the Congress of Zurich in 1893. I think that of our own delegation, there are very few who were present on that occasion who are here now, but my friend Mr. Will Thorne is one. He has done as much as any man in England to build up the unification of the Socialist and Trade Union Movement. I am glad also to have met Vandervelde and others who have collaborated in this Congress. I met with particular emotion our Comrade Turati whom I remembered in those past days, with his splendid figure and who is suffering to-day as an exile, which has been brought upon him in consequence of his defence of those principles for which we stand.

All members of the Congress interested in Colonial affairs, and particularly in the relations between the workers in European countries and those of colonial and imperial dependencies, will have heard with satisfaction the proposal of Vandervelde in his opening address to the Congress that the Congress should devote special attention to making a complete, a well documented, an authoritative and an agreed statement of the colonial policy of the organised Labour parties of the world.

It is indeed high time that this should be done since the new period of capitalist imperialism which has taken possession of the world of the less advanced peoples during the course of the generation that has elapsed since the partition of Africa, is already developing, not only a system of exploitation which is alienating those peoples from any affection to or confidence in the white nations, but is establishing direct antagonism between the European and the

coloured workers both commonly forming the wage proletariat of these territories.

I would like to call the attention of the Congress to the fact that during the period in question, dating it may be said from the Berlin Conference of 1885 at which the European Powers agreed among themselves to divide Africa and the Pacific into so-called "Spheres of Influence" and actually spheres of exploitation, there has actually been created for the world a vast new proletariat, in the sense that millions of native peoples who have hitherto maintained themselves in their own countries by their own direct industry, partly individualist or on a family basis and partly communal, more especially in regard to the right of using the land and its natural resources, have now been made dependent on employment by capitalists and upon the receipt of wages. The report of the Colonial Commission, which I have the honour to present to the Congress, states explicitly the manner in which this revolution has been accomplished or is in process of accomplishment; its effects upon the native peoples and the modes in which it is practicable for the evils which it is producing to be rectified by administrative methods under the direction of Labour Governments in the Imperialist countries.

The central and most important part of our Report deals with this economic problem, but the survey of the Report is by no means confined to these limits. Having regard to the fact that many of the colonies have been long established and have developed their economic institutions, as well as their political, in different degrees, we are confronted with the problem of political democracy in these colonies in different stages of evolution: the necessity for completing that evolution arising from the common origin of such colonies in their establishment as regions of capitalist exploitation.

The problem is complex, for there have been three periods of colonial activity and policy in modern history.

First, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the foundations of commercial imperialism were deliberately laid on capitalist methods, and capitalism itself was more early developed in this sphere than it was in that of industry, during the course of the industrial revolution. Save for the exceptions of small emigrations such as that of the Pilgrim Fathers, of refugees from domestic oppression who desired to build for themselves a new life by their own industry—and who indeed themselves at a later period became participators in the institution of slavery—the European colonisation of the American continent, of the Caribbean Islands, of West and South Africa and of the East Indies was set on foot by the establishment of joint stock companies in England, France, Holland and Portugal. These joint stock companies, financed in the home money market, sent out their agents to the colonies to exploit their resources, and for purposes of that exploitation they supplied them

with slaves, kidnapped from Africa and other parts of the world. The whole colonial system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an organised activity of financial and commercial capitalist enterprise. In the Antilles and in America, exactly as now in Africa, the land was granted out by the European Governments in large estates and concessions. Commercial companies organised and conducted the slave trade. The West African colonies formed the slave market. Merchandise was shipped from Europe, exchanged for slaves with the military tribes of the coast, the slaves were shipped to the New World, sold to the planters established upon the appropriated land and the produce of the plantations shipped back home to the mercantile firms financed by the home money market. That was essentially the foundation of European imperialism ; capitalist exploitation of slave labour.

Under the inspiration of the principles of the French Revolution, associated in England especially with the principles of Protestant Liberalism, the peoples of Europe repudiated this slave economy. They stopped the slave trade and progressively emancipated the slaves. Then occurred an interval of Liberal Imperialism, marked by a greatly increased emigration of European workers fleeing from the increasing oppression of the industrial revolution at home. Thus was founded much of the societies of our present white Dominions, whilst at the same time Great Britain especially, being most actively concerned in the suppression of the slave trade by means of her command of the seas, acquired a special reputation as being the friend of African peoples, and claimed that wherever the British flag flew there liberty, equality and justice were guaranteed to all races and all colours. And in fact for many years the policy of the British Colonial Office was Liberal and in all British colonies the appropriation of native land was forbidden, forced labour was forbidden and administrative means were taken to prevent or to mitigate the oppression of the freed slaves by their former masters. Nevertheless in the old slave colonies much of such oppression continued and it has only been redressed where the descendants of slaves have been able to get land for themselves through the failure and breaking up of the old plantations.

The third period is the modern period, whose operations are typified by the phrase of Joseph Chamberlain that "Imperial possessions are undeveloped estates". Immediately upon the partition of Africa, capitalist companies were being formed to exploit the Congo territories, to exploit the lands lying to the north of the Cape Colony, including those of the Boer Republics, to exploit all East and Central Africa as rapidly as access could be obtained by railways and roads into these territories. The character of the process is abundantly familiar. In Belgium least of all is it necessary to dilate upon it. Belgium has been the first country in which the national sentiment has insisted upon making its own Govern-

ment responsible for moderating the excesses of Capitalism in its imperial territories.

Those excesses in the Congo territories were particularly virulent and special circumstances conspired to make them particularly notorious : but their essential character was in no respect different from the character of capitalistic operations in all the territories made the subject of the later Imperialism. The admirable memoranda contributed by the representatives of national Labour Parties to the volume placed in your hands makes this clear ; and it is most valuable to socialists who denounce these operations in the territories of their own nation to recognise that the grounds of their denunciation are justified by precise parallels elsewhere. This confirmation and support are particularly valuable to the British Labour Party, because public opinion in England is still largely dominated by the complacent tradition established during the period of colonial Liberalism. Whenever in our Parliament we call attention to this or that actual fact of oppression or robbery, we are denounced as slanderers and enemies of our countrymen, and the electorate is disposed to disbelieve us, because it is the British tradition that within the British Empire, there cannot be slavery, injustice and oppression and that the Englishman wherever he goes is by nature the friend and helper of the African labourer.

Therefore the Commission have thought it important to embody in their Report a dry, precise and detailed statement of the methods of exploitation, oppression and injustice that are universally practised in the territories overrun by modern capitalist imperialism. You have here this very brief and precise, but in my opinion very terrible and shameful statement, and those who have contributed to the materials of the Report—many of them like myself persons who have filled responsible offices both in Colonial administration and in the Governments of our countries, as well as independent witnesses among missionaries and travellers—guarantee to the electorates of our countries that these statements are true and that these are the effects of the inroad of capitalism into Africa.

Now with regard to my own country perhaps I may be allowed to say this. There is a bad habit among the peoples of other countries of speaking of the Englishman as a hypocrite. It is a libel. The Englishman is by nature sincere and full of good faith. The ordinary Englishman at home believes in the principles of emancipation and Christianity. He believes that they are applied throughout his Empire. On the other hand the Englishman of the new capitalist Imperialism believes in the merits of capitalism. Our British imperialists have agreed with their consciences in this manner that their imperialism is the most splendid thing for the native, that it will educate him and teach him how to work by bringing him into contact with civilisation, with the cinema, the drink shops, and so on, and will lift him and turn him into a civilised being. Now it is perfectly well known that the policy of our British imperialists is



that of what they call a "trusteeship" for the native, and in order to aid the native it is necessary for him to work upon the white man's estate and thus be in constant contact with the white man.

Now in our resolution we have dealt with the whole complex problem—complicated by the fact that it is historically due to the variations of these three distinct periods—we have dealt with it in different sections. First of all we have dealt in a general introduction with the differences between the colonies and also the political question; and with regard to the political question and the establishment of full autonomy, having regard to the different stages of development we could not, as practical statesmen, commit ourselves to an identical policy for all natives. In chapter 2 we declare—as we have declared in previous resolutions in Conferences of our own Party—we declare for the principle of democracy and self-determination for all these nations, and we specify particularly some nations which are at the present time under foreign domination and some nations which are still regarded as in a state of tutelage. We say that "the L. S. I. demands complete independence and international equality for China and the abolition of unequal treaties which oppress the Chinese people", and we pledge ourselves to order our policy accordingly. Then we recognise the right of the Indian peoples to full self-determination and we support their endeavours in this direction. We welcome the development of the Indian Trade Union Movement. We also support the claim for the complete independence of Egypt. We say that "Syria and Iraq should be given complete independence immediately and be admitted to membership of the League of Nations. The L. S. I. demands the right of self-determination for the peoples of the Philippines, Annam and Korea. It opposes the policy pursued by the United States of America of economic domination and military intervention in the republics of Central and South America and in the republics of Haiti, Saint Domingo and Cuba". We also had under consideration the case of Palestine and we had upon our Commission a delegate from Palestine who brought to our attention some things with regard to his country. Now Palestine is a country we could not regard either as a colony or a country under foreign domination, and is entirely peculiar. After the war there was introduced into that country a new population which, it has been admitted, has the best possible right to find a home there. But that introduced a difference in point of view between the various sections of the population, with regard to which the Commission felt it is quite unfitted to deal. There was a suggestion that, as a matter of fact, the rights of the various sections of the population are properly and sufficiently guaranteed by mandates under the League of Nations. At any rate, we felt we could not express any opinion with regard to the position of Palestine.

Now I come to the next section of the report which deals with colonies with a higher form of civilisation. We set forth there a

practical programme of progressive reform which has been thoroughly discussed and considered in all its practical bearings by the members of the Commission, and we regard this as a sort of textbook or handbook which should be the basis of work for Socialist Labour Parties in all countries. Among the means for developing self-government are certain progressive things which we have elaborated. We emphatically pronounce that non-natives should not be granted legal privileges superior to those of the natives and that all administrative and judicial positions, even of the highest, should be open to the natives. We then proceed to deal with colonies with a more primitive culture and there we set out with an indictment of capitalist methods. We say: "In the less civilised parts of the world, and especially in tropical and sub-tropical Africa and in the Pacific, European Governments, in the exercise of their policy of exploiting the local economic resources in the interest of certain capitalist groups, have in many places, used some or all of the following means". Now I wish to put before you this carefully considered statement of what European Governments have done in the interests of capitalism: "They have declared their own Governments the owners of much of the land of these territories accompanied by either the dispossession and eviction from their homes of the resident natives or the exaction of high rents from the natives for permission to reside there. They have enforced agreements purporting to convey vast areas of land or minerals at absurd prices to European adventurers". The latest example of that is the agreement by which the Government of Liberia has conveyed vast areas to the Firestone Company. "They have exacted forced labour on public, local and village works and have legalised or permitted outside the law compulsion to work for a private capitalist. They have by various means suborned native chiefs in order to utilise the authority of these for exaction of forced labour from their subjects". There comes a sophism which is applied in all our territories, of using labour for public purposes. No European Government is free from the abuse of that sophism. We find there was an ancient custom by which the villagers could be made to perform certain public services such as making roads and building bridges; the chief might call upon able-bodied men to do this work and they would much sooner do that than pay the local rates. On the basis of this custom there has been founded a whole system of forced labour for government, and by devolution, for private employers, because they say that it is in the interests of the public that roads should be constructed, and it is in the interests of the public that administrative officers and the property of the Government should be carried from place to place, and on the basis of that there has been founded an enormous exaction of forced labour which has killed hundreds of thousands of native workers and broken up homes in many places. These natives have long contracts of service far from their homes and with-

out proper guarantees which causes much suffering, and it is done in the same way when labourers are taken for forced service on the roads. It is imperative for the Labour Party in the various territories to enlist some kind of common centralised control. There is no limit to the resources of Africa—minerals, forests and all kinds of resources—and our opponents in capitalist Europe may be in a position to say that these resources are being withheld from the world. Therefore there is no limit to the amount of railway construction and road construction that can be done, but we must see to it that the natives are not exploited for the benefit of the capitalist system. Why are these railways made? Not for the benefit of the natives; they are for the benefit of the capitalist exploiters in England, France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal—for their benefit in order to support the capitalist system, and only on the pretext that the capitalist system is for the advancement of the natives, which you know is an admitted fallacy. The natives themselves know very well what to think of it. During the period of Liberal imperialism some white men had acquired a reputation for justice and the principles of liberty. Liberalism had been preached by missionaries and it had done an immense amount of good for the natives. 30 or 40 years ago native chiefs were quite willing to place themselves under the protection of the white man because they had confidence in him. That state of things is now entirely changed. All over Africa, all over the world, you do not find the native believing in the good heart of the white man. They know that he comes and promises all kinds of things and then takes away their land. The feeling of the natives has completely changed during the last 30 years. We of the Socialist Labour Party have to do our best to remedy that state of things. The system of capitalist exploitation is setting the black people against the white and dividing the world into two halves—white and coloured people. It is also creating among the blacks themselves a direct opposition, not only between the capitalists and the proletariat but between two sections of the proletariat. Now I want to say very frankly what I think is a very great danger in South Africa, and it is a danger for which some of our own comrades are in a large degree responsible. In the Cape Colony the old principles of Liberal imperialism resulted in the establishment of equality. There was no political disparity between the white and the coloured, and the laws prohibiting the movement of natives were abolished and the franchise was given to all persons upon an equal basis. Nevertheless, throughout Cape Colony and very much more in the Boer republic and the Colony of Natal there persisted the old idea that the black man was by nature a slave and only fit for servile occupations and that the white man was degraded by manual work. So that throughout South Africa there had grown up a system by which manual labour was done by the black, the white man merely acting as a supervisor. So long as the country was merely a farm-

ing country that was not a very important thing, but with the introduction of the mines there was at once introduced a new element. It began with the diamond mines and went on when the gold mines were established; the idea that the whole drudgery of manual labour was ordained to be done by black labourers, and the black labourers wage was 1/- per day. It has been increased now. We have in South Africa an enormous capitalisation of the mines, some six millions, and in order to carry them on with this enormous capital it is necessary for the work to be done, all except directing and supervising, by native labourers who are paid 2/- a day and have to live in the towns like Johannesburg, whereas the white worker, the supervisor, who has already taught the native how to do his work, is worth £1 a day. Now in order to prevent the natural encouragement of the capitalists to employ more black men to the detriment of the white men, the Labour Party in South Africa has made a pact with the farmers' Government which I can only describe as a most unholy pact. During the last session of the South African legislature there were passed two laws. The first was called "The Native Affairs Regulation Act", and the effect of that law, which was passed by the South African farmers' Government with the co-operation of the South African Labour Party, is practically to forbid the organisation of African black workers in trade unions or in any kind of association for bettering their position. They are not allowed to combine or hold meetings, and anyone who addresses them for the purpose of getting them to organise themselves is liable to exile on the grounds that it is creating disaffection between the different classes of the community. Our comrade Clements Kadalie, who organised 100,000 workers, has three times been prosecuted under that law—a law passed with the concurrence of the South African Labour Party. Further, in the same session of Parliament the South African Government in a pact with the Labour Party passed a law to prevent any person of colour being employed in any industry in which machinery was used. That does not mean they must not be employed, it means that the white man is to have the job and the black man is to do the work. That is called "The Colour Bar Law", and the effect of that law throughout South Africa and the whole of Africa has been most disastrous. For the first time there has been a declaration of war on the part of the white workers on the black workers, and it is of the utmost importance that our Labour comrade in South Africa should find the means of assisting the black workers to establish their own organisation in order to resist the exploitation of the capitalist. All those matters are dealt with here.

Finally I come to the programme of the Congress and the resolution which has long been the programme of the British Labour Party for the government of these communities of big populations. During the course of the Great War there was some speculation as to what would become of the colonial possessions of the vanquished

peoples, and in England the theory was that of course all the nations of the world would combine to hand these colonies over to England, because England was known to be just. Well, some did not take that view and the Labour Party did not take that view. They said there must be no new appropriation of any African territory. Further than that, not only did we say that any such territory must be governed in the interests of the natives, but we said, and the Commission says, we must not only maintain a trusteeship for undeveloped peoples in the hands of the International Labour Organisation and the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, but we must bring home to other nations of the world that they must place their territories which are of a similar character also under the Mandates Commission of the League. The policy of the Labour Party is directly and distinctly more and more to take away from the individual capitalist nations the power to exploit their own communities. As we say that the power of warfare cannot be left in the hands of individual nations, so we say the Labour Party and the democratic parties must see that these peoples are brought under the League. Therefore this resolution expressly supports the programme of the International Labour Organisation, and we do so not only in the interests of the native peoples themselves but also in the interests of the workers of the European communities, and in our resolution we state precisely the steps which should be taken to prevent forced labour and the appropriation of land. I commend to you this really great work which contains the replies of our colleagues of the various nationalities to the questionnaire which was sent out by the Commission. It is a most valuable handwork and in every country to which it applies it should be of immense value to Labour people. I ask the Conference to-day to accept this report of the Commission and thereby signify to their fellow-workers of the new proletariats of the world that we regard ourselves as one and indivisible. That is the intention of this book. It is in the nature of a charter. We want to make it clear in our industrial and political movement that we are solidly at one in our criticism of capitalist exploitation. We see perfectly clearly and precisely what it is that capitalism does for the workers, and we say that we will do our best to carry forward the idea of progress, freedom and equality for all the peoples of the world.

STEFANY, Madagascar : It is not without emotion that I voice my thanks to the International for allowing me to speak. I realise that this is a special favour because it has been agreed that there are not to be many other speakers. I wish to bring my congratulations to the International for the step forward it has taken in regard to this question, but I desire to make a small addition to the English text on page 3, where it says that "such measure of self-government as is demanded by the inhabitants of these territories should be granted immediately". I propose to add after the word "self-government", "or form of administration as is demanded

by the inhabitants of these territories". The object of this addition is to facilitate the propaganda work of our comrades in certain colonies where autonomy pure and simple could not be considered ; and the comrades of other delegations support it unanimously. It is at length agreed by the parties that the conditions of government in native territories are such as belong altogether to a past age and are such as must be changed. I would like to thank the President and the Congress for the considerable efforts that have been made in developing this question on the Agenda. It would now be possible to say to the colonial populations all over the world that the only quarter from which they could expect real brotherly help was the international socialist movement, and now that the International had made up its mind that it was not right to leave these matters as outside its scope we could expect an era in which the many gross evils connected with colonial domination would be abolished.

CRAMER, Holland : I wish to call attention to the importance in colonial work of collaboration between the socialists of the European countries with the natives in the countries concerned, wherever this is possible. This process has already begun in Holland to a considerable extent, where there is collaboration between the Dutch socialists and the representatives of the Dutch colonies. The time has passed when we could afford to do without direct collaboration. It is essential for the development of our own work and it is to a considerable extent a possibility at the present time. Our own fight against capitalism would be furthered by direct collaboration with natives of other parts of the world, who have hitherto taken no part in the socialist struggle ; and the establishment of a kind of united front against capitalism between white and coloured peoples would be an important step forward for the socialist movement. I admit that such collaboration would be very difficult at the present time, but it is a necessary step for the future. I wish to call attention to the 1927 International Conference of the League against Colonial Oppression, which was the first occasion on which white and coloured people met together to discuss such a subject. I approve the repudiation of this League by the L. S. I. and I do not believe any real combination with the Communists is possible in the colonial question either, in view of the position they take up. Indeed the Brussels Conference of 1927 had shown the dangers of such collaboration, arising especially from the difficulty in leagues representing coloured people which stood for national movements which were not by any means Socialist. At the present time and in the present state of the world the spread of nationalism in such countries smotheres all other movements and especially the growth of the labour movement. Experience has shown that some form of cooperation between European socialists and native movements is possible in principle and for the moment we are seeking only to have the principle endorsed by the Congress. I believe it to be necessary for the Labour and Socialist International in the future

to call a Colonial Congress, at which all the current questions relating to colonial problems could be discussed. It is perhaps premature to think of such a Congress at present, but it might be possible in the not very distant future. If we follow out the collaboration of which I have been speaking I believe we would take a great step forward both in the interests of the natives and in the interests of our own movement.

SIDNEY OLIVIER (Great Britain) wished to say one word in connection with the amendment which the comrade from Madagascar had proposed. On the previous evening they had debated for a long time with a view to finding a formula of words which would satisfy their comrades, but they were unable to do so. He had now consulted some of his colleagues and so far as he could ascertain their views they were willing to accept the proposal of Madagascar. He desired, therefore, on behalf of the Commission to offer no opposition to the amendment.

SEITZ, Chairman, said the Colonial resolution was now about to be put to the vote. There was no opposition but simply an amendment proposed by Comrade Stefany of Madagascar and accepted by the Commission to insert on page 3 line 4 where it read "measure of self-government as is demanded" to make it read "measure of self-government or form of administration as is demanded by the inhabitants of these territories."

The report as amended was then unanimously adopted.

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## **XI. The Resolution on the Colonial Problem**

**adopted by the Congress of the Labour and Socialist International  
in Brussels, 9th August 1928.**

### *1. Introduction.*

Colonial policy has been one of the means of the expansion of capitalism throughout the world.

It has opened up the natural resources of backward countries and has developed in those countries modern methods of production and means of transport, thus enormously increasing the supply of the basic raw materials required by the world economic organisation, and promoting the international division of labour.

But these vast developments of productive forces, this great pro-material civilisation has been bought at the cost of many native races have been subjected to brutal foreign domination, shameless exploitation and robbery by foreign capitalists. They have often been deprived of the possession of their land and compelled to work for foreign employers. The profits derived from the exploitation of the natural resources of these territories and of native labour have been largely exported to the colonising power, to the detriment of the development of native resources and of the extension of modern production within the territory itself.

On the other hand, the development of production and of modern transport in the colonies has brought about the social and cultural evolution of the colonial peoples on modern lines and made them accessible to modern ideas of social and national democracy.

The various colonial races have attained different degrees of development in this process of evolution.

Races with an old civilisation have under foreign rule already overcome their technical and social backwardness to a large extent. Within these races important national movements have developed with the aim of freeing themselves entirely from the foreign yoke and of developing an independent national existence. In these territories foreign domination might be ended immediately without their falling back from the capitalist phase into a more ancient and primitive phase, without the destruction of the modern methods of production and transport and without their being cut off from the cycle of international trade.

At the opposite pole there are colonial races who were at a very primitive level before the establishment of foreign domination and who under it have hardly as yet risen above that level. In these



territories the modern methods of production and transport still depend completely upon the dominant foreign regime. Consequently, the immediate abolition of the colonial status would not bring with it any progress towards a national culture, but rather a relapse into a primitive barbarism ; it would not mean any progress towards national democracy, but on the contrary, the abandonment of the natives to the power of a minority of white settlers, or to native despotism, or to a new era of capitalist raids and colonial wars.

Between these two extremes the various colonial peoples have arrived at various stages of evolution.

Socialism is opposed to the very principle of foreign domination of colonial races. It considers the abolition of the colonial system as a preliminary condition for any international commonwealth.

It therefore supports the efforts towards emancipation of the colonial races who now fulfil the basic conditions of more independent civilisation and claims on their behalf complete freedom from the foreign yoke or, if they so desire, the same political and complete equality of rights with the citizens of the sovereign powers.

For other colonial peoples, who have not yet reached this standard, it demands sufficient safeguards against oppression and exploitation and insists upon systematic education with a view to independence, and concurrently therewith, progressive extension of self-government until they attain the right of full self-determination.

Apart from this national emancipation, which must be primarily achieved by the efforts of the colonial races themselves, it is necessary to encourage in these countries the formation and development of a socialist labour movement. In determining the forms of this movement, it is necessary to take into consideration the institutions and the mentality of the natives and to combine their struggle for national freedom with the class-struggle against foreign and native exploitation, and moreover to educate the working-classes, without prejudice to their struggle for national emancipation, to realise the universal solidarity of the workers of all countries and to subordinate all particular national interests to the common interest of the workers all over the world.

## *II. Support of the Struggles for Emancipation and of the Demand for Freedom and Rights of the Oppressed Peoples.*

The L. S. I. supports this struggle for the emancipation of subject peoples, without distinguishing whether their subjection was achieved by colonial conquest or whether, in spite of the apparent preservation of their independence as a sovereign state, they have in reality, by means of a system of military intervention, economic penetration and unequal treaties, been placed in a status of dependence on imperialist powers.

The L. S. I. demands complete independence and international equality for China, and the abolition of the unequal treaties which oppress the Chinese people.

It recognises the right of the Indian peoples to full self-determination and supports their endeavours in this direction. It welcomes the development of the Indian trade union movement and urges the workers and peasants of India to form their own party, so that political freedom when won, may be supplemented by economic freedom.

It supports the claim for the complete independence of Egypt, Syria and Iraq should be given complete independence immediately and be admitted to membership of the League of Nations. The L. S. I. demands the right of self-determination for the peoples of the Philippines, Annam and Korea. It opposes the policy pursued by the U. S. A. of economic domination and military intervention in the republics of Central and South America and in the republics of Haiti, San Domingo and Cuba.

### *III. Colonies with a Higher Form of Civilisation.*

In those dependencies with a population culturally more advanced, i. e. with a Europeanised or Oriental civilisation, such as the British Crown colonies (excluding those in Africa and the Pacific), the French, Italian and Spanish colonies of North Africa, the Dutch Indies, Madagascar, etc. such measure of self-government or form of administration as is demanded by the inhabitants of these territories should be granted immediately.

The Socialist Parties of the countries owning these colonies or administering them under mandates, pledge themselves to intervene to the utmost of their power in favour of all the reforms which tend to secure and extend the right of self-determination for the populations of these colonial territories.

Such reforms include, in the first place, the freedom of the natives to organise for the conquest and the right exercise of this self-government in such forms as may be best adapted to their native institutions and mentality.

Amongst these reforms for developing self-government are :

- (a) a national representation elected by the people, without the consent of which no fiscal burden may be imposed upon the population and no natural resources may be handed over to any private capitalist enterprises, elected representatives to be associated with the Executive in the Administration ;
- (b) local and regional administrative bodies established in such a form that they remain in the hands of the natives, with due legal protection for the non-native minorities ;
- (c) non-natives should not be granted legal privileges superior to those of natives ;
- (d) all administrative and judicial positions, even the highest, should be open to natives.

#### IV. Colonies with Primitive Culture.

In the less civilised parts of the world, and especially in tropical and sub-tropical Africa, and in the Pacific; European governments, in the exercise of their policy of exploiting local economic resources in the interests of certain capitalist groups, have in many places used some or all of the following means :

- (a) they have declared their own governments the owners of much of the land of these territories, accompanied by either the dispossession and eviction from their homes of the resident natives, or the exaction of high rents from the natives for permission to reside there ;
- (b) they have enforced agreements purporting to convey areas of land or minerals at absurd prices to European venturers ;
- (c) they have exacted forced labour on public, local and village works and have legalized or permitted outside the law compulsion to work for private capitalists. They have by various means suborned native chiefs in order to utilize the authority of these for the exaction of forced labour from the natives ;
- (d) they have imposed upon the natives direct taxes, the object, namely that of ensuring the supply, they have imposed laws forbidding them to move freely and forbidden them to move freely. The deprivation of land or the frequent utilization of natives to serve the needs of the and docile labour ;
- (e) they have imposed by law discrimination in country, such ; they have forbidden the employment of natives in skilled industries operated by machinery ; they have made it a criminal offence punishable by fine or imprisonment for natives to absent themselves from work without leave, thus depriving them of the right to strike for better conditions ; and, finally, they have prohibited meetings of natives or the discussion of opinions regarded by Europeans as likely to create disaffection along the natives against their employers.

*The Congress of the L. S. I. therefore demands :*

- (1) That in all those territories of tropical and sub-tropical Africa and the Pacific all land not already appropriated by Europeans shall be recognized as the inalienable property of the native community.
- (2) That every native family should be assured sufficient land for its support.
- (3) That no taxes or any burdens whatsoever shall be imposed upon the natives except for the administration of public services which directly benefit the natives.

(4) That no taxes should be permitted which a native cannot pay without leaving home to work for a capitalist.

(5) That every form of forced or indentured labour, and every kind of taxation or pressure practised for the purpose of forcing natives into employment shall be abolished.

(6) That all labour contracts should be made according to models established by the governments and made public. That these models should contain clauses among others determining

the period of the contract, and the conditions under which it should be renewed ;

the rate of wages and the method of their payment ;

the hours of labour ;

the place at which the labour is to be performed ;

the measures to be taken by the employer to safeguard the health of the workers (provision of hospitals and medical attendance) ;

the indemnities to be paid to workers totally or partially incapacitated from labour by accident or sickness arising out of the conditions of their employment, or to the dependents of the workers ;

the nature and quantity of food and the nature and quantity of the living accommodation to be supplied to the workers.

Labour contracts should be made before a magistrate or a judicial officer of the administration, whose duty it should be to ascertain that their terms are in accordance with the model established by the government, that they are fully understood by the worker concerned, and that the latter is a perfectly free agent in agreeing to the contract.

(8) That labour contracts should be civil contracts, breaches of which should be remedied by civil process only, all penal clauses for breach of a labour contract should be immediately abolished.

(9) That no labour contract should be valid for a longer period than one year and that its renewal should be subject to the same safeguards as are provided at its inception ;

(10) That the recruitment and conditions of labour should be so regulated and inspected as to prevent industrial slavery and the economic dislocation of the life of the native village and tribal communities.

(11) The Congress entirely condemns the principle of racial discrimination in industry.

It demands :

(12) A fuller measure of protective labour legislation, especially in the interests of women and children.

(13) That foreign capitalists and planters exploiting the natural resources should be obliged to contribute a sufficient portion of their profits for purposes, of native welfare and education.

(14) That wherever possible all natural resources should be exploited by state enterprise, the yield from which should be used for the development of the country and the promotion of far-reaching schemes of native welfare.

(15) That native agriculture and the production of agricultural produce should be assisted and encouraged by the government. Where machinery for joint production, scientific assistance, etc. are required, the government should supply the necessary capital through agricultural loan banks or otherwise, encourage the use of improved processes and promote cooperation for marketing. The government should assist and encourage the establishment of consumers' co-operation among the natives.

(16) That the system of education should aim at preparing the natives for the tasks of modern political, economic and social life. The forms of this system of education should always be adapted to the general cultural level of each colonial territory. It must be provided out of public funds.

So long as the native population of these territories is not qualified effectually to control by democratic parliamentary institutions the intricate mechanism of a civilised state, it is essential that the European exploiting class should not be placed in unrestricted control of the local government. The judiciary and public administration should be independent of them. The judicial institutions and the administration of justice should ensure that the natives will have equal protection before the law with the dominating races.

In so far as there exist local institutions of government, family, village or tribal, these organic institutions should be preserved and assisted to become efficient. Where necessary the natives should be given protection against the abuses of their own chiefs.

Where councils of government exist, these should as far as possible be fully representative in due proportion of native as well as of European interests, with continued extension of popular control by the native inhabitants. Wherever electoral institutions exist, the franchise should be general and equal and the electoral roll a common one with mixed electorates to the entire exclusion of privileged franchises. Immigrants should as among themselves enjoy complete equality with each other independent of nationality.

The hygienic welfare of the natives should be organised on a large scale.

The detrimental influence of intoxicants and drugs such as opium, alcohol, etc., should be prevented by the prohibition of the production and sale of these products.

## V. General Principles.

In all colonies the military employment of natives for other purposes than the defence of the particular territory concerned should be forbidden, so long as these territories do not enjoy full self-government.

As regards the new system of mandates the Congress declares :

that the principle of trusteeship under the League of Nations cannot be restricted arbitrarily to particular territories ; it must be extended to cover all tropical and sub-tropical Africa and similar colonies of primitive culture elsewhere. The right of the community of nations to supervise the due execution by the trustee of the obligation of the trust must be recognised. Meanwhile, the authority of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations should be strengthened and it should hear evidence in support of petitions addressed to it by aggrieved groups in the territories in question.

The International Labour Office should elaborate a code for the protection of native workers which should be adopted by all states administering colonies as a minimum code of protection. The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations should accept the responsibility of watching the enforcement of this code in all mandated territories.

In respect of all unmandated territories the governments concerned should accept the same code as a minimum and entrust the responsibility for watching over its enforcement to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

The Congress demands the adoption of the open-door policy in all colonies, absolute equality for the trade and industry of all nations and, where settlement is possible without injury to the welfare of the native inhabitants, similar equality in the rights to settle.

*The parties affiliated to the L. S. I. are urged to establish relations with the native movements in order to assist them in their struggle for the principles and demands contained in this resolution. They are also urged to further the development of an industrial and political labour movement in these territories and to influence them towards democracy and socialism.*

**CHECKED**  
**2003-04**