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INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALISM
AND
WORLD PEACE.

RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
BERNE CONFERENCE,
FEBRUARY, 1919.

This pamphlet gives the important Resolutions of the International Socialist and Labour Conference held at Berne. These Resolutions constitute the Programme of the International for the establishment of permanent Peace and for an International Labour Charter.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
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International Socialism and World Peace.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

DURING the war, the Independent Labour Party has worked to get a meeting of the International Socialist Movement. Its efforts have been thwarted by the opposition of the Allied Governments and of certain Socialists and Labour men in the Allied countries. At last, however, a meeting of the International was taken place. It was held at Berné in the first week of February, 1919. There met together representatives of the Socialist parties from Allied, Enemy and Neutral Countries. The value of such a meeting has been incalculable, and the general unanimity of the proceedings showed that the principles of International Socialism bind men and women of all countries together more strongly than any alliance formed by diplomats and statesmen.

The resolutions passed at this Conference were of the greatest importance, and with the object of giving them the widest publicity in Great Britain as the peace and reconstruction programme of International Socialism, the Independent Labour Party is publishing them in this convenient form.

I.

WAR RESPONSIBILITIES.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE.

The comrades of the German Majority Party have made the following declaration in committee for the better illustration of their standpoint:

By the revolution the German proletariat has overthrown and destroyed the old system, which was responsible for the war. German Democracy, however one may judge its policy in detail during the war, has now, by its action, shown its firm determination to devote all its strength to the reconstruction of the world ruined by war, and to fight in the spirit and service of the International, side by side with the Socialists of all countries, for the realisation of Socialism within the League of Nations.

The Commission unanimously proposes the adoption of the following resolution:

The Berné Conference acknowledges that, so far as it is concerned, the question of the immediate responsibility for the war has been made clear, both by the discussions and by the declaration of the German Majority, affirming the revolutionary spirit of New Germany and its complete separation from the old system, which was responsible for the war.

In welcoming the German Revolution and the development of democratic and socialist institutions which it involves, the Conference sees the way clear for the common work of the International.

The further declarations made by the German delegates in the course of the debate on the League of Nations have convinced the Conference that, from now onward, the united working classes of the whole world will prove the most powerful guarantee for the suppression of all militarism and of every attempt to destroy international democracy.

The Conference sees fruitful preliminary work in the debates which have taken place, and leaves to a future International Congress, convened under normal conditions, the task of passing the judgment of the International on the world-historic question of the responsibility for the war.

II.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE.

The following important resolution on the League of Nations was unanimously passed by the Conference. It was moved by Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and supported by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mrs. Snowden for Great Britain.

The Union of the peoples of the world in a friendly association has always been one of the ideals of the Socialist International. This ideal, a product of the solidarity of the working classes of all countries, is also one with the Socialist ideal, which cannot be completely realised within national frontiers, but must be pursued internationally.

In consequence of the world war, the attainment of the Socialist ideal of a League of Nations is recognised to-day as an urgent task even for non-Socialist politicians. The world war has shown that, with the great development of military technique and means of transport, every war has a tendency to convert the whole world into two hostile camps, which fight each other with the most horrible engines of destruction to the point of complete exhaustion.

The war which is just over has brought civilisation to the very edge of the abyss. The next war would destroy it completely, and even the preparation for the next war would threaten it with destruction. This disaster can only be prevented by the creation of a League of Nations.

This League of Nations should be based on a real peace 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 constituted States, but by delegates from the Parliaments representing all parties therein, ensuring thus, not an alliance of Cabinets or Governments, but a union of peoples.

All the nations organised on the basis of national self-determination should be 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. Those peoples who have not yet obtained the right of self-determination should be placed under the protection of the League, and be encouraged and assisted to fit themselves for membership.

The first task of the League should be the prevention of new wars and preparations for new wars. The League of Nations should abolish all standing armies, and finally bring about complete disarmament. So long as complete disarmament has not been accomplished, any armed force which may be necessary, owing to the international situation, should be under the control of the League. The League should have the means of economic pressure at its disposal, in order to enforce its decisions when necessary.

The League of Nations should create an International Court, which, by means of mediation and arbitration, would settle all disputes that have arisen, and prevent new disputes arising, including those considered to be of vital interest to the power or honour of the States. When the necessity arises, this International Court should have the power to rectify frontiers at any time, after consultation with the people concerned. It would supervise the application of the fundamental rights to be guaranteed to all nationalities, minorities and majorities.

A further important function of the League of Nations should be the prevention of economic war by the establishment of free trade, free access to all countries, the "open door" in the Colonies, and the international control of world throughfares.

Where individual nations introduce customs tariffs, these should be approved by the League of Nations. Where customs tariffs already exist, their retention should likewise depend on the approval of the League.

The League of Nations should have powers which will enable it to develop into an organ controlling the production and distribution of foodstuffs and raw materials throughout the world, with a view to the raising of that production and distribution to the highest degree of efficiency.

The functions of the League should also include the establishment, development and enforcement of an International Labour Charter.

The League of Nations is being created under the pressure of conditions brought about by the war. It may be feared that, when these 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 of doing justice to its great task if the working class movement in all countries stands behind the League and exerts the necessary driving force.

In proportion as the power of the working class movement in every country increases, and the workers attain a fuller consciousness of their international duties; the more determined they become in their opposition to any policy of might on the part of their own Governments; in proportion, in fact, as the working people realise the ideals of Socialism and appreciate the significance of the new International, so will the League of Nations be able to achieve more powerful and beneficent results.

III.

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE.

On the important question of territorial rights the conference declared as follows:

Just as Socialism sees the liberation of the individual within Society in the creation of a new system of production which will put an end to bourgeois exploitation, so it is convinced that national oppression and exploitation will not really be abolished except by the total disappearance of the class system among mankind. The true liberation of the nations will be their liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

And just as true political democracy destroys the authoritarian State and breaks down the barriers between the People and the State, so it implies, as regards international relations, the destruction of the barriers existing between the nations. The victory of democracy in all countries will be a tremendous step towards international understanding. The fate of the nations is placed in their own hands.

The Conference considers that a democratic solution of the various nationality questions is the best guarantee of a just and lasting peace.

The arbitrary and enforced union of people of different nationalities within a single State has been, and always will be, a cause of international disputes and a danger to Peace. The nationality question is therefore of international importance, and a solution can only be found within the League of Nations.

In opposition to the present tendency to determine national frontiers according to the relative conditions as regards power, resulting from the war, the International Socialist Conference lays down the following principles:

1. The right of all nations to determine their own fate, and to decide to which State they will belong within the League of Nations.
2. In disputed territories, any nationality question will be referred to a popular consultation under the control of the League of Nations, whose decision shall be final.
3. The protection of nationalities, forming a minority or majority in a country, to be secured by a minimum of national rights determined and guaranteed in its application by the League of Nations.
4. When new States are formed or territories become part of already existing States, the League of Nations should take steps, by means of treaties of commerce and free communication, to guarantee the vital economic interests of all the nations affected by the new creations.
5. The right of the League of Nations, after consultation by plebiscite, to satisfy any new claims of nationalities or parts of nationalities which desire to modify their frontiers.
6. Protection of the populations of dependencies, protectorates and colonies to be assured by the League of Nations, which should take steps to prepare the native populations as rapidly as possible for the exercise of the rights of full self-determination, through the founding of schools, grants, local autonomy by the freedom of the press, the right of holding meetings and of forming associations, together with other political rights.

The Conference therefore protests against any attempt to falsify the principles here laid down, and, in consequence, rejects:

1. The right of the victor to the spoils of war, and all the agreements whereby States have been drawn into the war by the promise of an increase of territory at the expense of other nations.
2. The determination of frontiers according to strategical interests.
3. Forced or veiled annexations on the ground of so-called historic rights or of alleged economic necessities.
4. The recognition of "faits accomplis" by the military occupation of disputed territories.
5. The establishment of any economic or political sphere of influence.

The Conference appeals to the working classes of every country to exercise all possible pressure on their Governments in order to compel them to respect these principles in the interests of the conclusion of a lasting peace.

IV.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

(a) THE RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION.

This resolution was not unanimously adopted by the Conference, a minority supporting that submitted by Dr. Adler and M. Longuet.

The Conference hails the great political revolutions which, in Russia; Austria-Hungary and Germany, have destroyed the old régimes of imperialism and militarism, and overthrown their Governments.

The Conference urges the workers and Socialists of these countries to develop democratic and republican institutions which will enable them to bring about the great Socialist transformation. In these momentous times, when the problem of the Socialist reconstruction of the world is more than ever before a burning question, the working classes should make up their minds, unanimously and unmistakably, about the method of their emancipation.

In full agreement with all previous Congresses of the International, the Berne Conference firmly adheres to the principles of Democracy. A reorganised society more and more permeated with Socialism cannot be realised, much less permanently established, unless it rests upon triumphs of Democracy, and is rooted in the principles of liberty.

Those institutions which constitute Democracy, freedom of speech and of the press, the right of assembly, universal suffrage, a Government responsible to Parliament, with arrangements guaranteeing popular co-operation and respect for the wishes of the people, the right of association, etc.—these also provide the working classes with the means of carrying on the class struggle.

Owing to certain recent events, the Conference desires to make the constructive character of the Socialist programme absolutely clear. True socialisation implies methodical development in the different branches of economic activity under the control of the democracy. The arbitrary taking over of a few concerns by small groups of workers is not Socialism, it is nothing but Capitalism with many shareholders.

Since, in the opinion of the Conference, effective Socialist development is only possible under democratic law, it is essential to eliminate at once any method of socialisation which has had no chance of gaining the support of the majority of the people.

Such a dictatorship would be all the more dangerous if it were based upon the support of only one section of the working class. The inevitable consequence of such a régime would be the paralysis of working class strength through fratricidal war. The end would be the dictatorship of reaction.

The Russian delegates have proposed that a Commission, composed of representatives of all Socialist tendencies, should be appointed by the Conference and sent to Russia for the purpose of making an impartial report to the International on the political and economic situation there. The Conference fully realises the difficulties involved in such a task; nevertheless, considering the general interest Socialists in all countries have in exact knowledge of the facts bearing on these popular upheavals, the Conference authorises the permanent Commission to arrange for a delegation to be sent to Russia on this mission.

The Conference decides to put the question of Bolshevism on the agenda of the next Conference, and recommends the permanent Commission to carry out the necessary preparatory work.

The Conference, however, desires to call immediate attention to the fact that the famine and misery which the war has brought to the whole world, and more especially to the defeated countries, was bound to lead to social disorganisation.

Instead of using Bolshevism as a bugbear and denouncing under this term every revolt of working people reduced to the lowest depths of despair, Governments should face their own responsibilities. Counter revolutionary forces are already at work everywhere. The Conference warns those who now hold the fate of the world in their hands against the dangers of an imperialistic policy, and of a policy of military or economic enslavement of the peoples.

It calls upon Socialists throughout the world to close their ranks, not to deliver up the peoples to international reaction, but to do their utmost to ensure that Socialism and Democracy, which are inseparable, shall triumph everywhere.

[This resolution was adopted by the delegations from Sweden, Germany, Russia, Esthonia, Lettland, Georgia, Alsace, Argentine, Denmark, Bulgaria, Armenia, Hungary, Finland, Great Britain, Canada, by the French and Italian minorities, by half the delegation from German Austria, and later also by the Ukrainian delegation.]

(b) THE "ADLER—LONGUET" RESOLUTION.

The leading idea of the policy which we have energetically and indefatigably pursued throughout the whole course of the war was the reconstruction of the international front of the conscious revolutionary proletariat. This same fundamental principle also determined our attitude towards the Berne Conference.

We maintain that this Conference runs the risk of provoking grave criticism, not because of what is contained in its resolutions, but because certain commonplace truths have been expressed too late, not during the war, but after the war is over.

On the other hand, the resolution on Democracy and Dictatorship gives rise to most serious objections. The same men who have passively or actively hindered international action for four and a half years, who have thought it their duty to abstain from any international meeting, now eagerly utilise the Conference for a course of action which will inevitably increase the difficulties of the International.

We warn the working classes against any kind of stigma which may be applied to the Russian Soviet Republic. We have not sufficient material for a judgment. One thing only do we know with certainty, that the shameful campaign of lying in which the press and agencies of the Central Empires and the Entente have vied with one another during the war, continues unchanged to-day.

We do not wish, by passing premature judgment on political methods, to be the victims of the manoeuvres and interested calumnies of bourgeois governments. To our great regret, we are unable to rely solely on the information received from those Russian delegates present at the Conference, who represent only a minority of the Russian working class. We do not cast the slightest doubt on their good faith, but we must demand that the International remain true to its old principle of hearing both sides before coming to a decision. The Berne Conference is but a first feeble attempt at an international assembly. Whole parties, such as the Italian, Serbian, Roumanian, and Swiss are standing aside! Others are taking part reluctantly.

We have warned you against any decision which would make the meeting of the working classes of all countries more difficult in the future. We desire to reserve free entry into the International for all Socialist and Revolutionary Parties of all countries conscious of their class interests.

The majority of the Sub-Committee have not listened to our warnings. We do not wish to be parties to any action against the International, and we cannot be bound by the resolution as a whole, since certain paragraphs can be exploited by the bourgeoisie.

[This resolution was adopted by Holland, Norway, Ireland, Spain, the French majority, by half the German-Austrian delegation and by one Greek delegate.]

V.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE.

THE LABOUR CHARTER.

Under the wage system the capitalist class endeavour to increase their profits by exploiting the workers in the greatest measure possible; such methods which, if unchecked, would undermine the physical, moral and intellectual strength of the present and future generation of workers. They impede the development, and even endanger the very existence of Society. The tendency of capitalism to degrade the worker can only be completely arrested by the abolition of the capitalist system of production. Meanwhile the evil can be considerably mitigated, both by the resistance of organised workers and by the intervention of the State. By these means the health of the workers can be protected, and their family life maintained. They make it possible for them to obtain the education necessary to enable them to fulfil their duties as citizens in a modern democracy.

The degree in which capitalism is restricted varies to a very great extent in the different States. Through the unfair competition of backward countries, these differences endanger labour and industry in the more advanced States. The adjustment of national differences in the legal protection of labour by a system of international labour legislation has long been a pressing need. It has been rendered doubly urgent by the terrible upheavals and awful destruction of the vital forces of the people brought about by the war. At the same time, however, the war is bringing about the possibility of satisfying this need by the formation of a League of Nations, which now seems certain.

The Berne Conference demands that the League of Nations, as one of its primary tasks, shall create and put into execution an International Labour Charter. Having taken into consideration the resolutions adopted by the International Trades Union Conferences of Leeds and Berne, and without prejudice to any more

far-reaching resolutions which may be adopted by the Trades Unions, the Congress demands that the following minimum requirements, which are already partially carried out in some countries, shall be converted into a Code of International Law by the League of Nations on the conclusion of peace.

1. Primary education shall be compulsory in all countries, and a system of vocational and general technical education be established.

Higher education shall be free and accessible to all. It is not right that the capacities and aspirations of young persons should be thwarted by the material conditions in which they happen to live.

Children under 15 years of age shall not be employed in industrial occupations.

Young persons between 15 and 18 years of age shall not be employed for more than six hours a day, with a break of one and a half hours, after a maximum spell of four hours' work.

2. At least two hours' instruction in technical and continuation classes shall be given to young persons of both sexes, daily, between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. Young persons should be allowed "time off" to attend the classes.

The employment of young persons shall be prohibited

- (a) between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.,
- (b) on Sundays and holidays,
- (c) in especially unhealthy trades, and
- (d) in mines below ground.

3. The hours of work of women workers shall not exceed four on Saturdays. They shall not be employed after mid-day on Saturdays. Where exceptions are necessary in certain occupations, the women workers concerned shall be allowed an equivalent half-holiday on another day of the week.

Women shall not be employed during the night. The employer shall not give women further work to do at home after their regular day's work.

As a general rule women shall not be employed in especially dangerous trades where it is impossible to provide for sufficiently healthy conditions, nor in mines below ground.

Before and after child-birth women shall not be allowed to work for ten consecutive weeks altogether, four previous to and six after confinement. In every country a system of maternity benefit shall be introduced, providing compensation at least equal to the sickness insurance benefit payable in the country concerned.

Equal pay shall be given to both sexes for equal work.

4. The hours of work shall not exceed eight per day or forty-eight a week.

Night work between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. shall be prohibited by law in all forms of employment, except in so far as it may be unavoidable for technical reasons or from the nature of the occupation. Where night work is necessary the rate of pay shall be higher than for day work.

The Saturday half-holiday shall be introduced in all countries.

5. Workers shall be allowed a continuous weekly rest of at least thirty-six hours between Saturday and Monday morning. Where the nature of the occupation involves Sunday work, the weekly break of 36 hours shall be given during the week.

In continuous industries the shifts must be so arranged that the workers have at least every other Sunday free.

It is understood that these regulations shall be adapted to those countries and persons which have a different day of rest.

Night work and Sunday work shall be paid at a higher rate.

6. With a view to the protection of health and the prevention of accidents, the daily hours of work shall be reduced below eight hours in dangerous trades, according to the degree of danger.

The use of poisonous material shall be prohibited in all cases where it is possible to procure substitutes for them. An International Schedule shall be kept of all industrial poisons which are to be prohibited. The use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches and of white lead in painting and decorating work (both indoor and outdoor) shall be prohibited immediately.

An identical system of automatic coupling, adaptable to all waggons, shall be introduced on the railways of all countries within five years.

7. All laws and orders dealing with the protection of workers shall apply in principle to home industries.

Social insurance laws shall be extended to home industries.

Home work shall be prohibited

- (a) in the case of work liable to give rise to poisoning or to serious injury to health, and
- (b) in the case of food industries, including the making of bags and cardboard boxes for packing articles of food.

In home industries notification of all infectious diseases shall be compulsory. Work in dwelling-places where there is infectious disease shall be prohibited, suitable compensation being paid to the workers. All countries shall introduce medical inspection in the case of young persons employed in home industries, as well as inspection of the dwelling-houses.

It shall be agreed that compulsory lists of all workers and middlemen in home industries shall be kept and inspected, and that all workers shall have wages books. In all districts where there are home industries, wages boards, representing both employers and workers, shall be instituted, with the object of fixing legal rates of wages. The rate of wages shall be posted up in the work-places.

8. Workers shall have the right of combination and association in all countries. Laws and decrees (domestic service laws, prohibition of combination, etc.) which place certain classes of workers in an exceptional position, in relation to other classes of workers, or which deprive them of the right of combination and association, and of the representation of their economic interests, shall be repealed.

Immigrant workers shall enjoy the same rights as native workers as regards joining and taking part in the work of trade unions, including the right to strike.

Any interference with the exercise of the right of combination and association shall be a punishable offence.

Every foreign worker shall have the right to the wages and conditions of work agreed to between the Trade Unions and employers in his trade. Where no such agreements exist, a foreign worker shall have the right to the wages and conditions customary in his trade and district.

9. Emigration shall not be prohibited.

Immigration shall not be prohibited generally. This rule shall not affect

- (a) The right of any State to restrict immigration temporarily in a period of economic depression, in order to protect the workers of that country as well as the foreign immigrant workers;

- (b) The right of any State to control immigration in order to protect public health, and, if necessary, to prohibit immigration for the time being; nor
- (c) The right of any State to require that immigrants shall come up to a certain minimum standard in reading and writing their native language, so as to maintain the standard of popular education of the State in question, and to enable Labour legislation to be effectively applied in those branches of industry in which immigrants are predominantly employed.

These exceptions can, however, only be permitted in agreement with, and under the control of, the Commission provided for in Art. 15.

The contracting States undertake to introduce without delay laws prohibiting the engagement of workers by contract to work abroad, putting a stop to the activities of professional employment agents in this matter, and prohibiting the admission of workers engaged by contract.

The contracting States undertake to compile statistics of the state of the labour market, based on the returns of public Labour Exchanges, and to exchange such statistics, at as short periods as possible, through an international centre, so that workers may avoid going to countries offering few opportunities for work. These reports should be especially accessible to the Trade Unions of the various countries.

No worker shall be expelled from a country on account of Trades Union action. Appeals against such deportation shall be dealt with by the ordinary courts.

10. In cases where the average earnings of the workers (men or women) are insufficient to provide a proper standard of living, and it proves impossible to bring about agreement between the workers' Trade Unions and the employers, the Government shall set up wages boards, on which employers and workers shall be equally represented, with the object of fixing legal minimum rates of wages.

Moreover, the contracting States shall convoke, as speedily as possible, an International Conference charged with the duty of taking effective measures against any lowering of the purchasing power of wages, and guaranteeing their payment in money whose value has not depreciated.

11. In order to reduce unemployment the Labour Exchanges in every country shall be linked up in such a manner that prompt and, as far as possible, complete information as regards the demand for, and supply of, labour may be obtained.

A system of unemployment insurance shall be set up in every country.

12. All workers shall be insured by the State against industrial accidents. The claims of workers and their dependents shall be determined in accordance with the law of the country in which the injured workman was employed. Laws for the insurance of widows and orphans and for old age, sickness and disablement shall be introduced, and shall apply equally to natives and to foreigners.

A foreign worker (who has been injured and is leaving the country in which he has been employed) may be given a sum down instead of an annual pension, if an international agreement has been made to this effect between his native country and the country where he was employed.

13. A special international code shall be established for the rights and protection of seamen. This code shall be drawn up with the collaboration of the Seamen's Unions.

14. The enforcement of these provisions shall, in the first place, rest with the Labour Department of each State and its factory inspectors. These inspectors shall be appointed from the ranks of technical, hygiene and economic experts and of worker employees of both sexes.

The Trade Unions shall assist in the effective enforcement of the labour laws. Employers who employ at least five foreign-speaking workers shall be required by law to post up, in the mother tongue of these workers, all labour regulations and other important notices, and also to make arrangements, at their own expense, for such workers to receive instruction in the language of the country.

15. With a view to the carrying out of this treaty and to the further development of international labour legislation, the contracting States shall appoint a permanent Commission, consisting in equal parts of representatives of the States which are members of the League of Nations and of the International Trades Union Federation.

In order to promote international labour legislation, this Commission shall prepare for and convoke Annual Conferences of the representatives of the contracting States. One-half of the voting members of the Conference should consist of representatives of the organised workers of every country. The Conferences shall have the power to adopt binding resolutions within the limits of the powers conferred on them.

The permanent Commission shall co-operate with the International Labour Office in Basle and with the International Trades Union Federation.

VI.

THE RETURN OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE.

The International Conference appeals to the humanitarian feelings of the Allied Governments; and hopes

1. That sick and wounded prisoners will be repatriated immediately.
2. That measures will be considered with the object of proceeding with speedy repatriation as soon as the general discussion of the peace preliminaries has begun.
3. That special Commissions will be authorised to visit the camps of prisoners of war and concern themselves with the organisation of repatriation.

ACCREDITED DELEGATES WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE.

Great Britain	Tcheco-slovakia	Russia
A. Henderson	Bechyne	Axelrod
Miss Bondfield	Nemec	D. Gavronsky
Mrs. Snowden	Franke	Bienstock
Cramp	Hampl	Stchoupak
J. R. MacDonald	Tayerle	Roubanowitch
MacGurk	Burian	Rassanoff
Greenall		Sackhomline
J. H. Thomas		
Shirkie	Italy	
Stuart Bunning	Casalini	
	Silvestri	Poland
France	Rosetti	Kossowsky
A. Thomas	Peroni	Kursky
Renaudel	Morgari	
Poisson		Greece
Longuet	Holland	Petridis
Cachin	Wibaut	
Mistral	Troelstra	Bulgaria
Frossard		Sakasoff
Paul Faure	Denmark	Dimitroff
Pressemann	Borgbjerg	
Milhaud	Nina Bang	Armenia
Loriot	Kiefer	Dr. Ohandjarian
	Nielsen	Issahakian
Germany	Sweden	Argentina
Haase	Branting	Dr. Justo
Wells	Möller	Tomaso
Molkenbuhr	Soederberg	
H. Müller	Engberg	Spain
Kautsky	Backlund	Besteiro
Jäckel	Holmström	
Janson	Thorberg	United States
Eisner		Bohn
Kübe	Norway	Herron
Hübsch	Tranmael	
Alsace-Lorraine	Scheffö	Palestine
Grumbach	Kringen	Locker
	Aare	Kohn
German-Austria	Lian	Herz
Seitz	Finland	Canada
Ellenbogen	Keto	Gustave Franc
Domes	Wuolijoki	
Grünwald		Ireland
Gion	Lettland	O'Shannon
Fritz Adler	Seja	Johnson
Seliger		
Hungary	Georg'a	<i>Arrived too late</i>
Buchinger	Tschenkeli	Australia
Biro	Chavichvily	Premier Ryan
Jaszai		Ukraine
Kunfi	Esthonia	Mattuchenko
	Martna	Didouchok

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION.

A permanent commission of 41 delegates was appointed at the Conference at Berne and held its first meeting, February 10th, under the presidency of Mr. Branting.

It was decided:—

1. To send to Paris a delegation consisting of the members of the executive committee—Branting, Henderson, Huysmann, accompanied by Cachin, A. Thomas, Renaudel, Longuet, MacDonald and Stuart Bunning—to present the resolutions of the Berne Conference to the President of the Peace Conference at Paris.

2. It appointed a Commission, consisting of the Executive Committee of the Conference and the delegates Renaudel, Longuet, MacDonald and Stuart Bunning, charging them to watch over the work of the Peace Conference at Paris.

3. It appointed a delegation charged to go to Russia and investigate the political situation of that country.

4. Finally the Commission, according to the order of the day, voted upon a resolution relating to the pogroms at Poland. It was proposed by the Jewish delegates of Poland, representing the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Poland, and reads as follow:—

“The Conference protests energetically against the pogroms which lately took place in Galicia, Poland, the Ukraina and in other countries, and calls upon the socialist parties of all countries that they may recognise and emphasise the absolute necessity and a noble duty to agitate against anti-semitism and the consequent eruption of hate.”

DO YOU WANT TO BE INFORMED about the : : LABOUR AND SOCIALIST VIEWS on the GREAT : : : QUESTIONS OF THE DAY?

To meet this need The Independent Labour Party is issuing a new series of up-to-date pamphlets and books.

Each book and pamphlet will be written by an authority upon the question with which it deals.

The following pamphlets are now ready, and others are in an active state of preparation:—

- (1) INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND WORLD PEACE, price 2d.
- (2) THE PROFITEERS' PARLIAMENT, by W. C. ANDERSON, price 1d.
- (3) THE MINEOWNERS IN THE DOCK. Report of the Coal Commission, price 2d.
- (4) WHY GOOD MEN GO WRONG ON WAR, by Rev. R. LEE, M.A., price 1d.

In preparation:—

- RECONSTRUCTION OF TRADE UNIONS, by R. Page Arnott, price 2d.
- THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE, by Joseph Hyder, price 2d.
- THE SHIPPING SCANDAL, by Sir Leo Chiozza Money, price 2d.
- SOCIALISM FOR CO-OPERATORS, by John Penny, price 2d.
- THE COMING CRASH, by J. T. Walton Newbould, M.A., price 2d.
- SOCIALISM FOR ANIMALS, by H. Baillie-Weaver, price 2d.

Other pamphlets are in preparation dealing with the Housing Question, Profiteering in the Textile Trades, The Tobacco Trust, The Great Meat Trust, Industrial Democracy, Socialism for Farm Workers.

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