



FRENCH SOC. CONVENTION.

By J. R. Macdonald, M.P.
In Glasgow Forward

My first thoughts this week—unhindered by Passport offices or deluded seamen—to Paris to congratulate Longuet and his friends, and also the whole French Socialist Party, on their victory for Socialism and the International. Our papers have of course, minimised the significance of the vote. Loviot, the irreconcilable, got 152 votes for a Keintahl policy, Renaudel 1,172 for a support the Government; but from the top of the fence declaration, the Longuet section mustered 1,544.

So far, so good. That shows that the Socialist movement in France is waking up to the realities of the position and to the need of a working class policy. Upon this vote, if the French Socialists had notions of democratic representation, which found no place for minority opinion, there would be no Thomas, no Renaudel, and no Government pro-war French delegates at the next International.

That by the way, however; though I hope the Independent Labour Party will now address the French Socialists on the subject of that unfortunately mischievous Prussian vote at the Central Hall which excluded minorities from Stockholm. The significance of the French vote does not rest in the figures alone. It is greatly enhanced by an explanation of the figures.

The Longuet majority included the votes of every considerable industrial section, some of the most important of them having minorities so small that on their system of minority representation the opposition could not muster a single vote. This was the case with Lyons, Marseilles, St. Etienne, Nantes, Brgeat, Limoges, Rouen, Toulon, and some other centres which cast a solid vote.

On the other hand the Renaudel 1,172 included 700 votes cast by the Federation du Nord, which in reality does not exist, but the votes of which are in the hands of a few unrepresentative refugees. On a most liberal estimate, not more than 600 genuine were made up largely of minorities votes supported Renaudel, and they from the Puy-de-Dome, Herault, and such districts. The minority is to appeal to a special conference of the Party. We need not doubt the result. The policy of Socialist impotence is weakening everywhere, and I do not believe that any Socialist conference of any country will put Humpty Dumpty on the wall again.

FRANCE.

The Death of Louis Jaures.

All the French Socialist papers have had paragraphs expressing reverent sympathy with Madame Jaures whose son Louis, after two years hard fighting, has been killed at the Front. He was not twenty years old! We are sure that our readers' sympathy will go out with that of our French comrades to the stricken mother, the wife of Jean Jaures, who lived so grandly and finally was

struck down so foully for his faith in the International, which shall yet save the human race.

The Bank of France.

By 338 votes against 173 (the Socialists voting solidly against it) the charter of the Bank of France has been renewed for 25 years. Humanite has published several interesting articles explaining the terms of the agreement, which deals largely with the bank's financial operations on behalf of the State during the war. According to an article by Barthe, the Bank of France has made out of the State no less than four and a half millions sterling a year since the war began—and it has made this profit by pledging not its own, but the people's credit. The bank, moreover, on the ground that its finances may be endangered by the situation after the war, has been exempted from the excess profits tax on condition that certain sums are laid aside on reserves, and not immediately distributed as dividends. The financial interests in the French Chamber are, however, far too strong for the Socialists and the few Radicals who support their views on the subject.

GERMANY.

"Down with the War."

In the final session of the Reichstag on July 12, Geyer, the Independent Socialist, made a bitter attack on the German Government's militarist policy, especially in Russia and Rumania, and concluded:

"The boundless distress of the people increases to an unbearable degree. Hunger and misery destroy all that the war does not claim in human lives. We say 'Down with the war!'"

Apparently Troelstra's invitation to Haas and Ledebour to meet him in Holland was held back by the German censor until after the British Labour Party Congress. The German censor need not have troubled to do this—the British Government would have kept back Haase's declaration if he had made one.

BULGARIA.

"With regard to the general questions, the unity of Socialists is complete. The memorandum of the Entete comrades is a serious basis for discussion. . . . We, too, regard with favour a League of Nations, which Socialism will transform into an International Labour organisation, excluding all motives of armed conflict. We, too, have always desired the institution of arbitration and disarmament. We, too, support complete democratisation in all countries, and the abolition of secret diplomacy. We, too, are opposed to the traffic and exchange of peoples." Regarding the concrete proposals, it is argued that since "the rivalry of the Great Powers on the Colonial question has produced the war of to-day, Socialism ought to broaden the rule proposed for Tropical Africa and adopt it for all the colonies: that is to say, all the colonies ought to be placed

under the League of Nations, and thus become a free arena for all peoples." Further, it is urged that conquest by France should not precede a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine; and that Macedonia, instead of being handed over to Serbia, should be given a provisional autonomy as a first step to obtaining the decision of the population. "The transmission of the Inter-Allied Memorandum to us Socialists of the Central Powers constitutes a remarkable event, which may have great consequences for Inter-Socialist relations."

RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

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Ed. Note:—This is what the "Mail" terms "The Trotzky-Lenine"—"Mad Constitution"—presumably because all power is given to the wealth producers and in opposition to the profiteers and land-grabbers.

A "Declaration of Rights" and the draft of a constitution have been drawn up for adoption by the fifth Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets of workmen's soldiers' and peasants' delegates by a special commission working with the council of people's commissioners—which is the official designation chosen for itself by the Lenine government. The document has been printed in the "Pravda," of Moscow, which is the official organ of that government, and a German translation of the more important parts has been made accessible to the outside world by the "Vossische Zeitung," of Berlin. A translation of this German version follows:

Declaration of Rights and Duties of Laboring Humanity.

Approved by the Commission of the central committee for drafting the Constitution of the Soviets.

WE, the laboring people of Russia, workmen, peasants, cossacks, soldiers and sailors, united in the councils of the workmen's, soldiers', peasants' and cossacks' delegates, declare in the persons of our plenipotentiary representatives, who have assembled at the Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets, the following rights and duties of the working and despoiled people:

The economic subjection of the laboring classes by the possessors of the means and instruments of production, of the soil, machines, factories, railways and raw materials—those basic sources of life—appears as the cause of all sorts of political oppression, economic spoliation, intellectual and moral enslavement of the laboring masses.

The economic liberation of the working classes from the yoke of capitalism represents therefore the greatest task of our time and must be accomplished at all cost.

THE liberation of the working classes must and can be the work of those classes themselves, who must unite for that purpose in the Soviets of the workmen's soldiers, peasants' and cossacks' delegates. **IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO EVERY ILL THAT OPPRESSES HUMANITY** and in order to secure to labor all the rights belonging to it, we recognize that **IT IS NECESSARY TO DESTROY THE EXISTING SOCIAL STRUCTURE**, which rests upon private property in the soil and the means of production, in the spoliation and oppression of the laboring masses, and to substitute for it a socialistic structure. Then the whole

earth, its surface and its depths, and all the means and instruments of production, created by the toil of the laboring classes, will belong by right of common property to the whole people, who are united in a fraternal association of laborers.

ONLY by giving society a socialistic structure can the division of it into hostile classes be destroyed, only so can we put an end to the spoliation and oppression of men by men, of class by class; and all men—placed upon an equality as to rights and duties—will contribute to the welfare of society according to their strength and capacities, and will receive from society according to their requirements.

The complete liberation of the laboring classes from spoliation and oppression appears as a problem not locally or nationally limited, but as a world problem, and it can be carried out to its end only through the united exertion of workingmen of all lands. Therefore, the sacred duty rests upon the working class of every country to come to the assistance of the working men of other countries who have risen against the capitalistic structure of society.

THE working class of Russia, true to the legacy of the Internationale, overthrew their bourgeoisie in October, 1917, and, with the help of the poorest peasantry, seized the powers of government. In establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry the working class resolved to wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to unite all the means of production in the hands of the socialistic state and thus to increase as rapidly as possible the mass of productive forces.

The first steps in that direction were:

1. Abolition of property in land, declaration of the entire soil to be National property, and the distribution of it to the workmen without purchase money, upon the principle of equality in utilizing it.

2. Declaration as national property of all forests, treasures of the earth and waters, of general public utility, and all the belongings, whether animals or things, of the model farms and agricultural undertakings.

3. Introduction of a law for the control of workmen, and for the Nationalization of a number of branches of industry.

4. Nationalization of the banks, which heretofore were one of the mightiest instruments for the spoliation of society capital.

5. Repudiation of the loans which were contracted by the Czar's government upon account of the Russian people, thereby to deal a blow to international capital as one of the factors chiefly responsible for the war.

6. Arming of the laborers and peasants and Disarming of the propertied classes.

7. Besides all this, the introduction of a universal obligation to work for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society, is planned.

AS soon as production shall have been consolidated in the hands of the working masses, united in a gigantic association, in which the development of every single individual will appear as the condition for the development of all men; as soon as the old bourgeois state, with its classes and class hatred, is definitely su-

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