

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE INTER-ALLIED LABOR WAR AIMS

The worker, the man at the lowest rung of the social ladder, he upon whom press all the burdens of society, has asserted himself and has voiced his wishes and his claims as an international force, speaking in terms of the universal, representative of a true international faith, defending his country against aggression, but presenting to the world a basis of an understanding and cooperation among nations.

The declaration of the inter-allied Socialist conference rises to the noblest heights of Socialist ethics. It is free from malice and hatred. There is no jingoism about it. The philosophy of the international Socialist movement which has been striving for more than half a century to curb imperialism, to eliminate national antipathies, to do away with clandestine diplomacy, with secret treaties, to remove force as a means of settling national differences, and to bring order into the relations of peoples, finds there its noblest expression.

The work of the conference is inspired, not by a desire to restore the old, which carried within it the germs of the present conflict, but to build anew.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MEYER LONDON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1918



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Wednesday, May 1, 1918.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 11692) making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, the cables bring the news that the Socialists of Austria-Hungary have been organizing for to-day, the 1st of May, nation-wide demonstrations in favor of universal peace, of a peace without conquest and without annexations.

That the Austrian people are weary of this war is apparent to the most superficial observer. It is only the physical coercion, exercised by the overweening German junkerism, that keeps Austria in the fight. While the so-called peace with Russia, and particularly with Ukraine, is defended as a "bread peace," a sort of a truce to obtain the much-needed bread, the Austrian people realize that further subjection to Prussian domination involves a renewal of the struggle with Russia, and that only by universal peace, based upon the right of each nation to live an unmolested life, could a genuine peace be secured. From her internal experience Austria knows well that there is nothing more unstable than a peace based upon the oppression of one people by another.

The Socialists of Austro-Hungary are organizing peace demonstrations. We shall later know to what extent such demonstrations are taking place in Germany where international socialism has been steadily gaining ground at the expense of the so-called social patriots or Government Socialists.

You will recall that the 1st of May has in recent times, even before the war, been awaited in all countries and particularly in monarchical countries as the culminating day for manifestations of unrest. It carried an ominous threat to monarchical institutions on the Continent of Europe.

The 1st of May has special significance for the socialists. Some 25 years before the declaration of war, at an international Socialist congress, where representatives of the socialists of the world were assembled, the resolution was reached that the 1st of May should be celebrated as an international holiday by the Socialists and by labor throughout all countries. It was the first time in the history of the world that such a holiday was established. Men of all religions, of all nations, of all

aces were to unite on that day in demonstrations of the growing sentiment of international solidarity. They were everywhere to emphasize the ideals of universal peace and to seek everywhere better conditions and a larger measure of political and industrial liberty for the masses. They were everywhere to attempt to reduce to practice that noble ethical conception, recognized by all religious systems, that mankind is one family, and that all men are brothers. The day was to be consecrated to the religion of humanity.

It was not by any means an easy thing to carry out the resolution. The Governments of Germany, Austria, and Russia particularly looked upon these demonstrations as a foreboding of their downfall. Many a 1st of May demonstration ended in bloodshed. It met with as little favor with the Governments as with employers. When the 1st of May fell on a week day the Socialists were compelled in most places to organize their demonstrations in the evening. In one of the prisons of Siberia where a number of revolutionists were confined, they found no other way of celebrating the 1st of May than by burning their shirts. The Socialists adopted the French Marseillaise as their international hymn.

It is this emphasis of international solidarity by the socialists of the world that has given rise to the accusation made usually by the uninformed, or by those who know better but who are interested in suppressing the truth, that socialism is antinational. Nothing is further from the truth. Internationalism necessarily means cooperation among nations. It presupposes the existence of nations. It presupposes the right of a group of mankind, with a distinct language or a distinct culture, to exist alongside with similar groups. All that internationalism means is that a code of international right shall prevail in the relations of nations. The socialist code repudiates the rule of physical supremacy among nations. The socialists would have every nation constitute a member of a well-ordered international family, and would repudiate the rule of physical force in the relations among nations as civilized societies have learned to repudiate it in the relations among individual members of a community.

I have on numerous previous occasions called your attention to the magnificent efforts made by the socialists of the world to oppose militarism, to combat imperialism, and to contend against colonial acquisitions. In a pamphlet called *The Policy of the International*—it can be obtained in the Congressional Library—you will find a detailed recital of the efforts made by the socialists of Europe to prevent the Balkan wars from extending to the rest of Europe, as well as of the steps taken by the International Socialist Bureau and by the European socialists to prevent the present war.

Up to the very last minute there were mass demonstrations against war in Germany. The pamphlet contains a speech of and an interview with Camille Huysmans, the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau and a member of the Belgian Parliament and of the Brussel's City Council.

In speaking of a meeting held by the executive committee of the International Socialist Bureau on July 29, five days before the outbreak of the war, Huysmans said:

At that meeting it was agreed to strengthen again the action against war and to support the proposition that the Austro-Serbian dispute

should be submitted to arbitration. The German and French members went home with the mission, on the one hand, to insist at Berlin that the Austrian Government should be reasonable in its demands, and, on the other hand, to insist at Paris that Russia should not take part in the conflict. The English and Italian sections had authority to do all that they could at London and Rome to support this pacific action.

When the war broke out the socialists were staggered. They were nowhere numerically strong enough to prevent it. The duty of the French and Belgian socialists was clear. Their countries had been invaded; the existence of their peoples was jeopardized, and they rushed to the defense of their countries as brave men were expected to do. In defending France the French socialist defended not only his own country but the cradle of civilization for Europe. There was no dissension among the French socialists, no difference of opinion. By all the precepts of the highest patriotism and of international socialism they were bound to give unstinted aid to protect France.

In Germany, in which the Government had been preparing for years for the contingency of a European war and where the ruling class, guided solely by strategic military considerations selected the most favorable moment for the conflict, the socialists found themselves in an impossible position. In 24 hours the Government could have crushed every socialist organization in the country. But that was not all. While republican France and innocent little Belgium were to the west of them, what was then considered a powerful military force—Russia—threatened Germany from the east. The war was on. The question that presented itself to the socialists was whether they should vote for the military budget. The individual socialist was already in the ranks, a part of a military machine. The parliamentary group, consisting of 110 members out of 397, were divided on the question of voting military credits. By a caucus rule they decided to vote for the war budget. The chairman of the Socialist Executive Committee of Germany, Haase, was in the minority in the caucus. Since then the best intellectual forces of the German social democracy have refused to vote military credits and have fearlessly denounced the imperialistic policies of the Government. What was in the beginning of the war a minority seems to represent now a formidable power in the socialist movement of Germany.

It was Haase who mercifully flayed the Government for the so-called Russian peace and who exposed the annexationist designs of the German Government.

The Socialists of the world, who for more than 50 years advocated international cooperation, were compelled by the very force of events to defend their respective countries.

They have not, however, abandoned the desire to tie together the severed bonds of internationalism.

The average conception of patriotism is that a man must always insist that his country is right, and as the Austrian Socialist Adler recently said on the floor of the Reichsrath it seems to be "considered a patriotic duty to lie for the Fatherland."

It was a difficult task that devolved upon the Socialists. No one can afford to weaken his country when its very existence may depend upon the success or defeat of its arms. To oppose the country entering a war is one thing; to oppose the country after it has been put in danger by entering a war is a responsi-

bility that no one can honestly assume. The German Government has been contending that Germany is in danger of being dismembered, that it is threatened with annihilation, that it is fighting a war of defense.

The test of its sincerity came with the Russian revolution. An incompetent, inefficient, dishonest, antinational and anti-social autocratic Government was overthrown by the Russian people. The Revolutionary Government renounced all claims upon the territory of other nations. Although access to Constantinople was a vital need for Russia, and the dream of her statesmen for centuries, the new democracy did not hesitate to bring conclusive evidence of its good faith by repudiating all designs upon Constantinople. An internal revolution in war time does not add to the strength of a belligerent. Even the allies of Russia failed to understand the import of the revolution. The Socialists saw the full significance of it, and a movement for an international Socialist congress, which would have enabled the Socialists of the allied countries to put to the test the internationalism of the German social democracy, gained momentum.

Unfortunately the allied Governments prevented the assembling of such a congress. As I said on a previous occasion, "It was a blunder for which the full price has not yet been paid."

But while the allies blundered and the Socialists were prevented from coming together, the Imperial German Government took full advantage of the confusion and helplessness of the Russian people who were in the throes of war and revolution.

The German Government has now assumed the part heretofore played by czarism. Theretofore Russia was the gendarme of Europe; now the German imperialistic Government has become the executioner of Europe.

It has forced a so-called peace upon Russia. It has deprived her of her best Provinces. It has torn away from her Ukraine, the granary of Russia and Europe. It is to the credit of the German Socialists that they did not vote for the ratification of that infamous treaty.

The German Government is defying the world. Its only hope of survival is the old-fashioned kind of patriotism which sanctions every crime against every other nation, so long as one's own nation is aggrandized. The German Imperial Government hopes to continue to live, if it can bring as a compensation for all the sacrifices and as a result of all its crimes new territory, new frontiers, additional industrial opportunities, new domains.

Like the Government of the Czar, it is antisocial, antinational, and against the world.

Will the socialists of Germany be able to gather enough strength to overcome that kind of loyalty and that kind of patriotism? Are they prepared to uphold their Government in a career which will make the division of the world into Germans and anti-Germans permanent?

The Interallied Socialist Conference, held in London, England, in February of this year, has renewed the request for an international socialist congress. The allied Socialists are determined, however, that a conference of all the socialists, including those of the central powers, would be of value only then, when all the organizations which are to be represented

should pledge themselves in advance of the conference to the principle "no annexations, no punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and further, to quote the inter-allied conference report, "that they are working with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guaranties to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference."

It is to be hoped that the Governments responsible for the conduct of the war will see the wisdom of permitting such an international conference.

On a previous occasion I obtained leave to incorporate in the RECORD the memorandum on war aims agreed upon at the Inter-allied Socialist Congress. There were present at the conference representatives from England, Belgium, Roumania, France, Italy, Serbia, and Greece. Messages were received from the socialists of South Africa, Portugal, the socialist revolutionists of Russia, and the Menshevik section of the Russian Social Democratic Party indorsing the war aims of the conference, the substance of which had been made public two months before.

I consider this document one of the most valuable documents in the history of the war. The worker, the man at the lowest rung of the social ladder, he upon whom press all the burdens of society, has asserted himself and has voiced his wishes and his claims as an international force, speaking in terms of the universal, representative of a true international faith, defending his country against aggression but presenting to the world a basis of an understanding and cooperation among nations.

I am particularly interested in giving this document the greatest publicity, as it is my hope that the socialist movement in the United States will unanimously indorse and stand by the decision of the Inter-Allied Socialist Congress. As socialists, whatever our opinions might have been about the entry of the United States into the war, we certainly can not afford to see the United States worsted in the contest. The socialist is not called upon to betray his faith in international socialism nor in the necessity of substituting the now prevailing rule of physical force by an international code of right.

It is not that the allied countries are without their dark forces. There are imperialists everywhere. There are everywhere men who would wrap up their sinister designs in the folds of a national flag and would have whole peoples sacrificed in pursuance of schemes of economic aggrandizement.

These facts, however, are clear: An arrogant and willful military force threatens to crush the world. Had we not been participants in the war both our sympathies and interests as liberty-loving men would have been with France and Belgium and England and unfortunate Russia, as against German imperialism. But the United States is in the war. Whatever the designs or the dreams of capitalistic imperialists may be, the President of the United States has left no doubt that the American people, and he as their spokesman, have no selfish designs. The President has not only adopted the substance of the international Socialist program, but even the very formula of the international Socialist movement for his expression of the aims and objects of the United States in this war.

The Socialists in the United States can not be indifferent or neutral. There is surely no Socialist here who would like to see the United States defeated. In the absence of selfish national designs by the United States against any of the peoples of Europe American participation of the United States in the world contest will insure the presence of an element of moderation at the international peace conference.

The declaration of the Inter-Allied Socialist conference rises to the noblest heights of Socialist ethics. It is free from malice and hatred. There is no jingoism about it. The philosophy of the international Socialist movement which has been striving for more than half a century to curb imperialism, to eliminate national antipathies, to do away with clandestine diplomacy, with secret treaties, to remove force as a means of settling national differences, and to bring order into the relations of peoples, finds there its noblest expression.

The work of the conference is inspired, not by a desire to restore the old, which carried within it the germs of the present conflict, but to build anew.

The war aims of interallied labor lay special stress on the need of establishing a league of nations for the defense of international right. They would do away with professional armies. They emphatically oppose all projects for an economic war after peace has been secured.

They propose a comprehensive, constructive program for the solution of the problems which will arise with peace. They would provide for the restoration of the devastated areas and for the reparation of the wrongdoing not only by restoring "material property proved to be destroyed or damaged but by setting up the wage earners and peasants themselves in homes and employments."

While proposing solutions for the particular problems of (a) Belgium, (b) Alsace-Lorraine, (c) the Balkans, (d) Italy, (e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces, (f) the Jews and Palestine, (g) the Turkish Empire, (h) Austria-Hungary, (i) the colonies and dependencies, the main concern of the conference is that a supernational authority, guided by international principles of right, shall be the determining factor in solving each individual problem as it presents itself.

Under leave heretofore granted to me I incorporate the full text of the "Memorandum on War Aims."

INTER-ALLIED LABOR WAR AIMS.

The following is the full text of the Memorandum on War Aims adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London:

THE WAR.

I. The Inter-Allied Conference declares that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the Conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the Allied Nations on February 14, 1915:

"This conference can not ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which international socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every government has its share of responsibility.

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the Governments of those countries, by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

"While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances, and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

"Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the international, the members of the conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the allied powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the united States of Europe and the world."

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY.

II. Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the interallied conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations and was not protected by a super-national authority? That authority can be no other than the league of nations, in which not only all the present belligerents but every other independent State should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a league of nations implies the immediate establishment of an international high court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between States that are of justiciable nature but also for prompt and effective mediation between States in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such States. It is also under the control of the league of nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The league of nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pressure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an international legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized State would have their allotted share and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several States.

By a solemn agreement all the States and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any State or States refusing to submit to the arbitration award, or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the super-national authority implies complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the league of nations, with the absolute respon-

sibility of the Government, and more particularly of the foreign minister, of each country to its legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guaranties against aggression have been secured, the league of nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The league of nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened, as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The States must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the league of nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under international control either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for defense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Inter-Allied Conference declares that the rules upon which the league of nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforth become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

(1) That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case, and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

(2) That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

(3) Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustments of compromise of claims amongst rival States.

(4) That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and, consequently, of the world.

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

III. The Inter-Allied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which States calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a league of nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by States, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The conference declares it to be the duty of the labor and socialist movement to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various States which have led one government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law and the guaranties afforded by a league of nations ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation, and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the labor and Socialist movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century the theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the international can not but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries

that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the supernational authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

(A) BELGIUM.

The conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign State, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(B) ALSACE AND LORRAINE.

The conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem, the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The treaty of Frankfort at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the league of nations. To this league of nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

(C) THE BALKANS.

The conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, Albania, and all the territories occupied by military forces should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialistic pretensions of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, or other State.

Accepting this principle, the conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives, or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (a) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (b) the universal guarantee of freedom of religion and political equality for all races; (c) a customs and postal union embracing the whole of the Balkan States, with free access for each to its natural seaport; (d) the entry of all the Balkan States into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

(D) ITALY.

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian imperialism and believes that all

legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the deeds of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy, or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance of all of them, on one side or the other, full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

(E) POLAND AND THE BALTIC PROVINCES.

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

The conference declares further, that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland, or Lithuania would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

(F) THE JEWS AND PALESTINE.

The conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence, and trade, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the hard and oppressive Government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a free State under international guaranty, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(G) THE PROBLEM OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

The conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia they can not be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The conference condemns the imperialist aims of governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the conference insists that, conformably with policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a commission acting under the supernational authority or league of nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the league of nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

(H) AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The conference does not propose, as a war aim, dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the conference can not admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the league of nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian States for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

(I) THE COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

The international has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the interallied conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local government.

The conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchange or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the peace con-

ference, as to which the communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials; prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist, or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the Governments.

With respect to these colonies the conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement, under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, whilst respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

- (1) It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible for them.
- (2) The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.
- (3) The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

IV. The interallied conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only but in most countries, for an economic war, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class see in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people but also a grave menace to peace.

On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, can not be denied. The conference accordingly urges upon the labor and socialist parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government toward commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate Government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE.

V. To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The Interallied Conference insists that in view of the probable world-wide shortage after the war of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the Government must for some time maintain its

control of the most indispensable commodities in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

Moreover, it can not but be anticipated that in all countries the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several Governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged.

In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the conference holds that it is the duty of every government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the labor parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor, and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment, which if it is now in any country allowed to occur is as much the result of government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

RESTORATION OF THE DEVASTATED AREAS AND REPARATION OF WRONGDOING.

VI. The Interallied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication whatever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings, and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international commission.

The conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular governments have ordered and particular officers have exercised acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention in particular to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other noncombatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or government condemned to the persons who had suffered wrong or to their dependents. The several governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

VII. The Interallied Conference is of opinion that an international conference of labor and socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would at this stage render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an international conference held dur-

ing the period of hostilities should be organized by a committee whose impartiality can not be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence, and the conference should be fully representative of all the labor and socialist movements in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an international conference the commission is of opinion that the organizers of the conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles, "no annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guaranties to apply those principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the allied countries and the central powers, the commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas (France), M. Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Great Britain) be appointed as a commission to secure from all the Governments a promise that at least one representative of labor and socialism will be included in the official representation at any Government conference, and to organize a labor and socialist representation to sit concurrently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The conference regrets the absence of representatives of American labor and socialism from the Interallied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans (secretary of the International Socialist Bureau), proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The conference resolves to transmit to the socialists of the central empires and of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of socialist and international justice. The conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every socialist, and the conference asks for the answer of the socialists of the central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the international, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of democracy and peace.



