

The **AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR**

A Documentary History of the Attitude of the
Socialist Party toward War and Militarism
Since the Outbreak of the Great War.

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PREFACE

It is the aim of the Department of Labor Research to publish reliable information concerning the Socialist and Labor movements. The *American Labor Year Book*, first published last year, and the 1917 issue of which is now being prepared for press, was undertaken to fill the need for a reference volume of authoritative information on the international Socialist and Labor movements, as well as allied subjects of interest to students of social and labor problems.

A great deal of misrepresentation of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the present war was allowed to go unchallenged because of the absence of a compendium of official declarations of the party on the subject of war and militarism from the very beginning of the European war. The Department presents this booklet in the hope that it may prove useful to those who are genuinely interested to ascertain the reaction of the Socialist Party toward the great conflict.

The material used in this pamphlet is drawn from the files of the *American Socialist*, the *New York Call*, and official party bulletins. Only declarations and resolutions of responsible organs of the Socialist Party are included. The material is arranged chronologically so that those who consult this booklet may see the developmental character of the anti-war attitude of the Socialist Party. Since the position of the party was based on the declarations on war and militarism adopted at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, we reproduce the resolutions in the appendix.

During the first months of the European war the governments of the belligerent countries issued multi-colored books of official papers and correspondence purporting to explain the events which led to the outbreak of hostilities between the various nations. Every government was represented by a different color in the diplomatic literature of that time. As one nation after another was drawn into the vortex of the world conflict, the colors of the spectrum were being exhausted. The color red is nevertheless universally acclaimed as the official color of the Socialist movement. The editor presents, therefore, this collection of official "papers and correspondence" of the Socialist Party on the subjects of War and Militarism as THE RED BOOK OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

June 26, 1917.

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INTRODUCTION

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

(International Secretary, Socialist Party of America)

The Rand School of Social Science is rendering a genuine service to the Socialist movement of America in publishing this booklet.

The systematic campaign of misrepresentation waged against the Socialist Party by the capitalist press with the helpful co-operation of a group of "patriotic" Socialist intellectuals was bound to create a certain confusion in the minds of many about the attitude of the Socialist Party towards the war. Nothing short of a complete documentary record of the party's authorized utterances on the subject can effectively dispel the confusion, and this booklet presents such a record.

It is a record of consistent adherence to the principles of international Socialism of which the party may be proud.

From the day of the first declaration of war in Europe to the day of this writing the Socialist Party has been determined and emphatic in its opposition. It preserved an attitude of strict neutrality towards the belligerent powers before our entrance in the war. It protested vigorously on every occasion when our country seemed in danger of becoming involved in the conflict. It was the only political party and the only important organized force in America to maintain an active opposition after our country had been drawn into the world carnival of slaughter. Before and after our entrance in the war alike, the Socialist Party advocated an immediate and general peace. At all times it has endeavored to re-unite the Socialist International and to revive it as a factor for lasting peace within and among the nations of the world.

The Socialist opposition to war is based not merely on humanitarian grounds, potent and compelling as these are, but principally on the deep-rooted conviction that modern wars are at the bottom sanguinary struggles for the commercial advantages of the possessing classes, and that they are disastrous to the cause of the workers, their struggles and aspirations, their rights and liberties.

This attitude need not necessarily imply an equal condem-

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nation of all warring governments or of all methods of warfare or an indifference to the outcome of the war and to the terms upon which peace will be concluded.

Socialists may well recognize that Germany was primarily responsible for the immediate outbreak of this war; that her conduct of the war has been unusually ruthless, and that a decisive victory of German arms would be harmful to human civilization and social progress. But Socialists refuse to accept the naive theory that the great world catastrophe is due solely or even primarily to the sheer love of mischief on the part of an unruly nation, and that the future of mankind would be made safe by punishment of the culprit. The solemn assertion that Germany is the "swashbuckler of Europe" and must be spanked, may satisfy the simple minds of English statesmen and American newspaper editors. To Socialists accustomed to look to substantial motives back of great historical events, the explanation is singularly inadequate, and the remedy ludicrously inefficient.

Modern penology has long discarded the crude notion that crime is caused by wilful individual perversity and that punishment is either a corrective for the criminal or a deterrent for the would-be criminal. Enlightened penologists are unanimous in the conviction that crime is mostly the product of unjust and unhealthy social conditions and environment, and that a radical and permanent cure of crime can only be achieved in the improvement and correction of those conditions.

The Socialists hold that this obvious truth applies to nations in even a larger measure than to individuals. No nation is inherently vicious, but the irrational and inhuman conditions of modern "civilization" are bound to force them all into vicious and savage conduct from time to time.

The contemporaneous social order is based upon the principle of general, indiscriminate and unremitting struggle for life, wealth and power. The struggle is waged within each nation and between the nations, and before the outbreak of the war it had reached an acute and critical stage. The ruling classes of each leading country, the powers of money, industry and trade, were reaching out for the commercial control of the world, and their respective interests and ambitions were sharply clashing with each other. The governments of the nations were in all cases primarily the agencies of the capitalistic interests. The commercial quarrels of the latter reflected themselves in the diplomatic intrigues of the former.

The policy of imperialism necessitated secret treaties and alliances and active preparations for war. Hence the stupendous militarist regime of Germany, which, be it remembered, was pretty nearly equalled by that of Russia and France, and vastly

exceeded by the "navalist" regime of England. The war was thus systematically prepared and organized by the governments of the great European nations in the course of many years. It was due about 1914. Somebody had to begin it. It happened to be the government of Germany that took the odium of the initiative. The Imperial German government may be the immediate criminal in the world tragedy, but the governments of all other great European powers are accessories before the fact, and back of all of them and damning all of them lies the compelling motive for the crime—the greed of international capitalist competition.

Every great national or international iniquity has ever been clothed by its apologists in the iridescent garb of lofty idealism, and so this war is presented to us as a fight for democracy and justice. No doubt many of our ardent war apostles are entirely sincere in their professions. No doubt the bulk of the emotional masses unquestioningly accept this idealistic theory. But this cannot blind us to the fact that the war is essentially commercial in its origin, and that it is largely waged for material gain, at least in so far as the governments of some of the leading belligerent countries are concerned. It is this fundamental conception which largely determines the Socialist opposition to the war and the Socialist program of peace.

American Socialists have little patience with proposed peace terms based upon a desire to "repair the wrongs" of this war. The wrongs of this war are irreparable. No power on earth can recall to life the millions of young men, mostly workers, who have been slain on the dread battlefields of Europe, or restore to health the millions of maimed, crippled and disfigured human beings. No amount of territory or gold will atone for the bottomless havoc inflicted by this war, for the moral and spiritual ruin it has wrought. A peace built on the principle of "reparation" would leave all the active factors and causes of war in full and fatal operation. It would be nothing but a patched-up truce, a prelude to new wars. The Socialists strive above everything for a peace that will offer guarantees of permanence, a peace convention that will eliminate the danger of future wars. They believe that such peace terms are quite possible even today before the competitive system of capitalism, the most direct cause of modern wars, is abolished.

To this end the governments must first of all be divorced from the capitalist interests, and become true mouthpieces of the people. "The world must be made safe for democracy"; not democracy in form and name alone, as so many modern capitalist republics are, but democracy in fact such as prevails in Russia at this time. This one fundamental basis of peace can not be

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incorporated in a formal peace convention or brought about by victory on the battlefield. It can only be forced by the people of each country upon their own government, and the organization of the people of all countries for that step is the special task of the international Socialist movement. The other indispensable conditions, which may and should be incorporated in the peace compact, are these:

1. The nations must disarm, immediately and completely. There can be no lasting peace so long as armies and navies are held in constant readiness for war. There can be no wars so long as there are no armies and navies to fight them.

2. The world and its highways must be made free for international intercourse and trade.

3. Each nation must be given the right of complete political self-government without interference by any other nation.

4. All nations, large and small, must form a union for peaceful co-operation in the work of advancing international progress and for the rational and peaceful adjustment of disputes.

When these basic and vital conditions have been achieved the question of adjusting the immediate differences between the nations at war assumes a secondary importance. The main object of the terms of immediate settlement must be to reconcile the hostile nations and to prepare them for friendly collaboration. That is presumably what the President of the United States had in mind when less than half a year ago he announced to the unanimous acclaim of all forward-looking men and women of the country "that it must be a peace without victory. * * * Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand."

This is also the true and deep meaning of the terse slogan of the Russian Revolution: "No annexation, no indemnities."

Is such a peace program feasible and practical or is it merely the utopia of the dreamer?

That depends. If peace is to come through the victory of arms and its terms are to be dictated by the governments through the conventional methods of diplomacy, the formula of perpetual peace without humiliation or spoliation will remain a mere dream, but if peace is to be brought about by the workers, those of Germany as well as the other belligerent countries, it

will become a reality in fact as it is already a reality in the official policy of the Russian republic.

As the fatal war progresses it becomes daily more evident that the sinister forces of social strife and disorder which the rule of capitalism has conjured up are stronger than the conscious will of the ruling classes and the governments themselves. Just as the rulers of the nations have been unable to prevent the outbreak of the war, so are they now impotent to terminate the conflict. The hope of the world rests upon the people of the world, and in the first instance upon the Socialists of all countries.

The international Socialist movement, which in August, 1914, was overwhelmed by the suddenness and violence of the world catastrophe, is beginning to recover. In every country at war, including Germany and Austria, the Socialist opposition to the war is growing daily. If the Socialist International has proved too weak to prevent war, the indications are that it will eventually become a compelling power for the restoration of peace. Of all the forces that operated in modern society before the war Socialism alone promises to emerge from the abyss chastened and strengthened, victorious and triumphant. It will forever be to the credit of the Socialist Party of America that during the period of the acutest crisis in the life of international Socialism, it has not failed or wavered, but has stood loyally and courageously by the working class and upheld the true ultimate interests of human civilization in the face of attacks, persecution and desertion.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR

FIRST CALL TO ACTION

The voice of the American Socialist movement in protest against war was heard at the very beginning of the European conflict. In a proclamation of the National Committee on Immediate Action published in the *New York Call*, August 12th, 1914, the Socialist Party extended fraternal sympathy to the workers of Europe and reiterated its opposition "to this and all other wars, waged upon any pretext whatsoever."

To demonstrate that the workers of the world have no quarrel among themselves, the party called upon the foreign-born workers, particularly those who came from the warring nations, to hold joint demonstrations of protest against the war in Europe. The United States government was also urged to open immediate negotiations for a speedy termination of the conflict.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby extends its sympathy to the workers of Europe in their hour of trial, when they have been plunged into bloody and senseless conflict by ambition-crazed monarchs, designing politicians and scheming capitalists.

We bid them to consider that the workers of the various nations involved have no quarrel with each other, and that the evils from which they suffer—poverty, want, unemployment, oppression—are inflicted upon them not by the workers of some other country, but by the ruling classes of their own country.

We bid them to take thought before they allow themselves to be used blindly by heartless and inhuman despots who would spill the blood of thousands, inflict pain and sorrow upon millions, devastate the land and set back civilization in order to further their own wretched plots and schemes.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in conformity with the declarations of the international Socialist movement, hereby reiterates its opposition to this and all other wars, waged upon any pretext whatsoever; war being a crude, savage and unsatisfactory method of settling real or imaginary differences between nations, and destructive of the ideals of brotherhood and humanity to which the international Socialist movement is dedicated.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby expresses its condemnation of the ruling classes of Europe and points out to the world that by their action in this crisis they have conclusively proven that they are unfit to administer the affairs of nations in such a manner that the lives and happiness of the people may be safeguarded.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby calls upon all foreign-born workingmen residing in this country, particularly upon those whose home governments are engaged in the present strife to hold joint mass-meetings for the purpose of emphasizing the fraternity and solidarity of all working people, irrespective of color, creed, race or nationality. We call upon the Socialist locals throughout the country to promote such meetings and to give all possible assistance.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby pledges its loyal support to the Socialist parties of Europe in any measures they might think it necessary to undertake to advance the cause of peace and of good will among men.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby calls upon the national administration to prove the genuineness of its policy of peace by opening immediate negotiations for mediation and extending every effort to bring about the speedy termination of this disastrous conflict.

STARVE THE WAR AND FEED AMERICA!

The cost of living, a problem for the masses of the American people before the outbreak of the European war, became the all important problem for the wage-earners, as the United States began to export large quantities of food and other necessities to the battlefront of Europe.

The slogan, "Starve the War and Feed America" was adopted by the American Socialists both to meet the problem of the increasing cost of living as well as to aid in bringing about a conclusion of the war by cutting off the supply of food to the warring nations.

The National Committee on Immediate Action issued a manifesto on August 14th, 1914, which became the guiding program of agitation and propaganda for the Socialist organizations throughout the country.

To the American People:

A desperate situation confronts the people of America.

Unscrupulous capitalists, using the European War as a pre-

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text, are increasing the cost of food so that millions are threatened with starvation.

The President of the United States has ordered an investigation of the increase in food prices and the prosecution of those responsible for it. Such investigations and prosecutions have brought no results whatsoever in the past and are not likely to do so now.

European governments, when confronted with a similar situation, realized that there was only one measure that can be depended upon to bring relief—the seizure of all plants and industries responsible for the increase in prices and their operation by the government for the benefit of the people.

We demand that the government, as an emergency measure, seize the packing houses, cold storage warehouses, granaries, flour mills and such other plants and industries as may be necessary to safeguard the food of the people.

Such seizure will not only benefit the people of the United States, but also the people of Europe.

When the government controls the industries, the exportation of foods to Europe can be prevented. The rulers of Europe unable to secure food for their armies, will be forced to call off their soldiers.

We also demand that the exportation of money and of munitions of war to the European nations be prohibited. The United States must not aid the powers of Europe to continue their fratricidal strife. We call upon the people everywhere to hold mass-meetings and to send resolutions to the President and Congress demanding immediate and decisive action.

The need is urgent. We must act.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

As the fratricidal struggle was gaining momentum in Europe and the achievements of civilization were threatened with complete annihilation, the American Socialist Party realized the danger which the war had in store for the international working-class movement. The arduous efforts and untold sacrifices which went into building the edifice of the International were too dear to the American Socialists to allow the ruling classes of Europe to destroy the very foundations of the Socialist movement. The United States was then the only great neutral country and the American workers, not drawn into the vortex of the

struggle, were in a better position to initiate a movement for bringing together the Socialists from the contending as well as neutral countries.

Accordingly the following message, urging an international Socialist congress, was cabled in the middle of September, 1914, to party officials and members of the International Socialist Bureau from Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Austria and Hungary:

In present crisis before any nation is completely crushed, Socialist representatives should exert every influence on their respective governments to have warring countries accept mediation by the United States. This can be done without loss of prestige. Conference should be held at The Hague or Washington. Have cabled Socialist parties of ten nations urging this action. Wire reply.

The National Executive Committee meeting the following week (September 19-20) perfected plans for an early convocation of an international Socialist congress and addressed an appeal to party officials, Socialist leaders and leading Socialist publications in various European countries. The Socialists of the world were asked to consider seriously the advisability of an immediate holding of an international congress. Eager to serve the cause of peace, the various parties were invited to meet in Washington, the Socialist Party to pay the expenses of their delegates.

The appeal recalled to the Socialists of Europe the decisions of former international congresses at which the Socialist parties were pledged "not only to make every effort to avert the outbreak of war, but also, should war break out, to strive with all our might to bring the war to a speedy termination."

The Socialists of the United States of America offer their deepest sympathy and their brotherly hand to the European workers now in the midst of a world war.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the ravages of this terrible conflict. History will sit in judgment. But we must express our sorrow that workmen of the most enlightened countries of

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Europe, bound by the ties of international brotherhood and solidarity, are to-day arrayed in bloody combat against each other.

We do not presume to pass judgment upon the conduct of our brother parties in Europe. We realize that they are victims of the present vicious industrial, political and military systems and that they did the best they could under the circumstances.

Our country, however, has remained neutral in the present conflict. We, therefore, consider it our duty to address an appeal in favor of peace to our unfortunate comrades in the nations at war, as well as to our comrades in nations not at war.

We are not now concerned as to what government was the aggressor in this terrible conflict, nor is that the question of greatest importance. History will sit in judgment on this also. We appeal to you in the name of Socialism, and acting in agreement with your own proclamations, we ask you to help us to stop this mass murder. You, yourselves, in every country, have declared that this war was not of your choice. Your noble and eloquent declarations still hold good. We know that no nation can gain by the continuation of this war. Whatever rewards and advantages will come from it will go to the ruling classes; all the sacrifices, sufferings and sorrows it will entail will fall to the lot of the workers. And every day that the slaughter continues thousands of our comrades and brothers are killed.

At the International Congress in Stuttgart a resolution was adopted by which the international Socialist movement pledged itself not only to make every effort to avert the outbreak of war but also, should war break out, to strive with all our might to bring the war to a speedy termination.

The Socialists of the war-stricken European countries have worked faithfully and heroically in the spirit of the first part of this resolution. But their voices were silenced by the cannon of the hostile armies. Capitalist militarism proved stronger than the young spirit of Socialist brotherhood.

The Socialists of the world must now proceed at once to the realization of the second clause of the resolution—"to work for the speedy termination of the war."

The International Socialist Bureau does not function at the present time. Therefore the Socialist party of America deems it its duty to invite all countries represented in the International Bureau to send their regular number of delegates to an extraordinary peace session of the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress, to be held either in Europe or in America, at a date to be fixed as soon as acceptances are received from the various Socialist organizations represented in the Bureau.

We request the Socialist party or other labor body entitled to a delegation at the International Congress, to indicate its preference as to whether the Congress shall meet in Europe or

America, offering the suggestion that a choice be made between Copenhagen and The Hague.

We earnestly invite our comrades to meet in the United States, at Washington, D. C., and in case our European comrades decide to meet in America, in order to assist in the success of this congress, the Socialist Party of America offers to pay all the necessary expenses of five delegates from every nation entitled to twenty votes, and in proportion for the delegates from every nation, the minimum to be two delegates, according to the representation established by the International Socialist Bureau.

The agenda of this congress shall be the discussion of ways and means to most speedily and effectively stop this war, and such other matters as may pertain to the subject of World's Peace.

Comrades, in the name of the past achievements and future hope of humanity, in the name of the welfare of future generations, we issue this call and urge your favorable and immediate response. We ask that action be taken at the earliest possible moment and reply made according to the directions herewith from our National Executive Secretary.

The International Congress which the Socialist Party was promoting did not materialize. A conference of Socialists from neutral nations was called to meet January 15th, 1915, in Copenhagen, Denmark.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in December, 1914, instructed Morris Hillquit, the delegate to the conference from the United States, as follows:

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America, in anticipation of some action by the approaching international conference of delegates of the Socialist parties in neutral countries, that will tend toward a speedy termination of the present European war, and on some basis which will afford preservation and extension of the civil rights of the workers of all nations, hereby instructs the delegate representing the Socialist Party of America as follows:

First, the provision that all the adult inhabitants of those countries engaged in the present war shall be constitutionally protected in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights unrestricted by property, religious or racial qualifications.

Second, and, specially, a provision that in each of those countries, where peace is concluded, adequate constitutional measures shall be created to secure the people of the Jewish race

in the full enjoyment of equal civil, religious and political rights with all other races.

THE LUSITANIA CRISIS

When the sinking of the Lusitania gave the militarists and jingoes of this country the opportunity to demand an immediate declaration of war upon Germany, the National Committee of the Socialist Party assembled at its annual meeting, May, 1915, addressed a manifesto to the American people warning them against the influence of the interests which were laboring hard to stampede the United States into war. It called upon the workers to oppose war agitation and to refuse to support the ambitions of those who profit by war.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Fellow Citizens:

The insidious propaganda of American militarism has received a powerful impetus through the destruction of American lives as a result of the war-operations in Europe. The jingo press of the country is busily engaged in reckless efforts to turn the cries of natural indignation of the people into a savage howl of revenge. Short-sighted "patriots" and professional militarists are inflaming the minds and blinding the reason of their fellow citizens by appeals to national vanity. The sinister influences of the armament ring work through thousands of hidden channels to stimulate a war sentiment, which to it means business and profits.

In this grave hour of national crisis, the Socialist Party of the United States raises its voice in solemn and emphatic protest against this dangerous and criminal agitation, and proclaims its undying opposition to militarism and war. No disaster, however appalling, no crime, however revolting, justifies the slaughter of nations and the devastation of countries.

The destruction of the Lusitania and the killing of hundreds of non-combatants, men, women and children on board the steamer, brings more closely home to us the fiendish savagery of warfare and should inspire us with stronger determination than ever to maintain peace and civilization at any cost.

Strong armaments and military preparations inevitably and irresistibly lead to war as the tragic example of the nations of Europe has conclusively demonstrated.

We call upon the people of the United States to profit by the

lesson of our unfortunate brothers on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean and to throttle all efforts to draw this country into the dangerous paths of international quarrels, imperialism, militarism and war.

We call particularly upon the workers of America to oppose war and all agitation for war by the exercise of all the power in their command, for it is their class who pays the awful cost of warfare, without receiving any of its rewards. It is the workers who primarily furnish the soldiers on the battlefield and give their limbs and lives in the senseless quarrels of their masters.

Let us proclaim in tones of unmistakable determination: "Not a worker's arm shall be lifted for the slaying of a fellow-worker of another country, nor turned for the production of mankilling implements or war supplies! Down with war! Forward to international peace and the world-wide solidarity of all workers!"

NO INDEMNITIES. NO ANNEXATIONS. FREE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS

The battle cry of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies in their efforts to secure a just and durable peace to war-torn Europe was proclaimed by the American Socialist Party two years ago. The National Committee adopted at the meeting on May, 1915 a peace platform, a draft of which was widely discussed in the party press prior to the meeting of the Committee.

The manifesto contained a searching analysis of the causes which make for war and pointed out the reasons for the Socialist opposition to war and militarism. The manifesto was followed by a peace program, which, in the opinion of the National Committee, the Socialists should work for in order to remove the possibility of friction in the future, as well as to aid in establishing a universal and lasting peace.

The proposed terms of peace, calculated to insure the advance of internationalism, demanded among other things, the adoption of the principles: no indemnities, no forcible annexations and the free development of nations. The program also advocated the international federation of the

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world, universal disarmament, extension of democracy, and the removal of the economic causes making for war.

The supreme crisis in human history is upon us.

European civilization is engulfed. The world's peace is shattered. The future of the human race is imperilled.

The immediate causes of the war are obvious. Previous wars and terms of settlement which created lasting hatreds and bred thoughts of revenge; imperialism and commercial rivalries; the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente dividing all Europe into two hostile camps; secret intrigue of diplomats and lack of democracy; vast systems of military and naval equipment; fear and suspicion bred and spread by a vicious jingo press in all nations; powerful armament interests that reap rich harvests out of havoc and death, all these have played their sinister parts. But back of these factors lie the deeper and more fundamental causes, causes rooted in the very system of capitalist production.

Every capitalist nation on earth exploits its people. The wages received by the workers are insufficient to enable them to purchase all they need for the proper sustenance of their lives. A surplus of commodities accumulates. The capitalists cannot consume all. It must be exported to foreign countries.

In every capitalist nation it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to re-invest their accumulated profits to advantage in their own country, with their people destitute and their resources fully developed and exploited. The capitalists are constantly forced to look for new and foreign fields of investment.

In many countries of Europe, limited territorially and densely populated, the supply of natural resources is insufficient to support the large volume of industrial requirements. The capitalists must look for new sources of raw materials and supplies to less developed foreign countries.

Hence arise the commercial struggles between the nations, the rivalries for the acquisition of foreign colonies, the efforts to defend and extend the oversea "possessions"; the policies of imperialism, the conflicts for commercial supremacy, ever growing more intense and fierce as the nations expand and the world's field of conquest narrows. Hence arise the policies of armaments every year more immense and monstrous. Hence arise the strategy, the intrigues of secret diplomacy, till all the world is involved in a deadly struggle for the capture and control of the world market.

Thus capitalism, inevitably leading to commercial rivalry and imperialism and functioning through the modern state with its vast armaments, secret diplomacies and undemocratic governments, logically leads to war.

Reactionary ruling classes sometimes also deliberately plunge

countries into war for the purpose of crushing progressive movements by creating false patriotic excitement and thus sidetracking the real class issues. Every war, furthermore, is used by the capitalists in order to destroy the organized forces of the labor movement.

For more than half a century the Socialist movement has warned the world of this impending tragedy. With every power at their command the Socialists of all nations have worked to prevent it. But the warning has gone unheeded and the Socialist propaganda against imperialism, militarism and war has been ignored by the ruling powers and the majority of the people of all nations.

To-day our prediction has been only too swiftly and too tragically fulfilled. War, with all its horrors is upon us.

And it has come as the logical and inevitable outcome of the forces of capitalist system. It has come in spite of the warnings and protests of the Socialist and labor movements and indeed in spite of the personal desires of many of the capitalists themselves. The capitalist system is a modern Frankenstein which is destroying its own creators.

If this unspeakable tragedy shall serve to demonstrate to the world, and particularly to the workers of all nations, the real and fundamental causes of war, so that by removing these causes man henceforth may live at peace, the war may be worth the cost.

If, on the other hand, the people shall remain blind to the terrible lessons of this war, and leave the destinies of the world in the hands of unscrupulous, war-inciting capitalist rulers, then indeed is this world-war an unmitigated curse. For, if the causes that brought on this war are left to operate, then this war will not be the last. It will be only the first of a series of wars more terrible and more tragic, until one mighty and monstrous imperialism has drenched the world in blood and subdued the peoples in abject slavery. Socialism alone will ultimately save mankind from the standing menace of self-destruction.

The supreme duty of the hour is for us, the Socialists of all the world, therefore, to summon all labor forces of the world, for an aggressive, an uncompromising opposition to the whole capitalist system, and to every form of its most deadly fruits—militarism and war—to strengthen the bonds of working-class solidarity; to deepen the currents of conscious internationalism, and to proclaim to the world a constructive program leading towards permanent peace.

The Socialists of America extend the hand of comradeship to their unfortunate brothers in all countries now ravaged by the war, the sufferers and victims of the vicious system which

has engulfed them in fratricidal carnage. We convey to them our unflinching faith in the world-wide class-struggle, in international Socialism and in the brotherhood of man. We proclaim our determination to join our comrades in the task of rebuilding the Socialist International upon such a basis that henceforth it cannot be shaken by the most violent storms of capitalist conflicts.

To the Socialist and labor forces in all the world and to all who cherish the ideals of justice, we make our appeal, believing that out of the ashes of this mighty conflagration will yet arise the deeper internationalism and the great democracy and peace.

As measures calculated to bring about these results we urge:

I. TERMS OF PEACE AT THE CLOSE OF THE PRESENT WAR must be based on the following provisions:

1. No indemnities.
2. No transfer of territory except upon the consent and by vote of the people within the territory.
3. All countries under foreign rule be given political independence if demanded by the inhabitants of such countries.

II. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION—THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD:

1. An international congress with legislative and administrative powers over international affairs and with permanent committees in place of present secret diplomacy.
2. Special Commissions to consider international disputes as they may arise. The decisions of such commissions to be enforced without resort to arms. Each commission to go out of existence when the special problem that called it into being is solved.
3. International ownership and control of strategic waterways such as the Dardanelles, the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez, Panama and Kiel Canals.
4. Neutralization of the seas.

III. DISARMAMENT.

1. Universal disarmament as speedily as possible.
2. Abolition of manufacture of arms and munitions of war for private profit, and prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipments and supplies from one country to another.
3. No increase in existing armaments under any circumstances.
4. No appropriations for military or naval purposes.

IV. EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY.

1. Political democracy.
 - (a) Abolition of secret diplomacy and democratic control of foreign policies.
 - (b) Universal suffrage, including woman suffrage.
2. Industrial democracy.

RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGES IN ALL COUNTRIES TO ELIMINATE ECONOMIC CAUSES FOR WAR, such as will be calculated to gradually take the industrial and commercial processes of the nations out of the hands of the irresponsible capitalist class and place them in the hands of the people, to operate them collectively for the satisfaction of human wants and not for private profits in co-operation and harmony and not through competition and war.

V. IMMEDIATE ACTION.

Immediate and energetic efforts shall be made through the organizations of the Socialist parties of all nations to secure universal co-operation of all Socialist and labor organizations and all true friends of peace to obtain the endorsement of this program.

THE MEXICAN CRISIS

While the war was raging in Europe, the relations of this country with Mexico were reaching the breaking point in the summer of 1915, and threatened to involve the entire American continent in a bloody conflict. The war with Mexico would not only have brought the same disaster which came to the people of Europe, but would have also thwarted the brave struggle for liberty which the Mexican people have carried on for a number of years. It is with these considerations in view that the National Executive Committee addressed a memorial to President Wilson in June, 1915, protesting against the threat of intervention which was made to Mexico by the American Government.

TO THE HONORABLE
WOODROW WILSON
PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES.

We, The members of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States, in regular meeting assembled, and speaking for more than one million voters, view with grave

alarm the implied threat contained in your recent warning to the contending elements among the liberty-seeking people of war-torn Mexico.

The Socialist Party is unalterably opposed to armed intervention, and if that is the hidden meaning of your changed attitude on the Mexican situation, then we do hereby solemnly protest against your mandate, issued from the White House, on June 2, 1915, in which you declare that:

"It is time, therefore, that the government of the United States should frankly state the policy which in these extraordinary circumstances it becomes its duty to adopt. It must presently do what it has not hitherto done or felt at liberty to do, lend its active moral support to some man or group of men, if such may be found, who can rally the suffering people of Mexico to their support in an effort to ignore, if they cannot unite, the warring factions of the country, return to the constitution of the republic, so long in abeyance, and set up a government at Mexico City which the great powers of the world can recognize and deal with, a government with whom the program of the revolution will be a business and not merely a platform."

We have, since the evacuation of Vera Cruz, Mexico, felt with deep satisfaction that your administration of the affairs of government at Washington intended to honestly assist, in every way possible, without resort to arms, the enslaved people of Mexico in achieving their liberty.

We feel now, more than ever, that the United States will best serve the interests of the Mexican people by not meddling or interfering in the present crisis.

You say, "Mexico is starving." We say, "The United States is starving."

The national government can better engage itself by attending to conditions at home rather than interfering with the internal affairs of our neighboring nation. In the United States millions are idle for want of employment. We do not know how many are starving in the dark places of our cities; but this number must far exceed the number who are in want in Mexico.

We feel that armed intervention in Mexico by the United States means the practical assassination of the aspirations of the liberty-loving Mexican people; just as the sending of troops into West Virginia, Michigan, Colorado, and elsewhere, meant the crushing of the hopes of our own citizens for better working conditions, increased wages and an ever widening industrial liberty.

This course we earnestly protest and will oppose with all the power at our command, no matter upon what pretext such action may be based.

SOCIALISTS AND WAR BUDGETS

Long before the outbreak of the present war Socialist representatives in various parliaments have demonstrated the opposition of their parties to war and militarism by voting against appropriations for war and military purposes. This practice was, however, given up during this war by some Socialist legislators which fact brought them before the bar of International Socialism.

Having before them the experience of the European Socialist movement and anxious to prevent a similar breach of Socialist policy, the National Committee of the Socialist Party at its meeting, May, 1915, formulated a new section to the constitution of the Party which was later ratified in a referendum of the membership by a vote of 11,041 for and 782 against.

Article II, Section 7—Any member of the Socialist Party, elected to an office, who shall in any way vote to appropriate moneys for military or naval purposes, or war, shall be expelled from the party.

MEDIATION BY NEUTRAL NATIONS

The lone Socialist Congressman, Meyer London, expressed the will of his party when he introduced at the very opening of the Sixty-fourth Congress a resolution calling upon the President to convene a congress of neutral nations with the purpose in view of offering mediation to the belligerent nations, and thus end the bloody carnage in Europe. The resolution also contained several suggestions for terms of peace, which Representative London considered prerequisite to the securing of a just and durable peace.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its meeting in December, 1915, expressed satisfaction with the action of Congressman London and decided to circulate petitions in support of the resolution as well as to communicate with Socialist representatives in neutral countries and ask them to introduce similar resolutions in their parliaments. A Committee was also elected to wait on the

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President as well as on Congress and urge in the name of the Socialist Party the adoption of the resolution:

Whereas, the people of the United States, while neutral, cannot be indifferent to the fratricidal conflict which is devastating Europe; and

Whereas, the longer the war is continued the more does the code of physical force replace every other code of human conduct; and

Whereas, the war has brought about a state of fear in the minds of millions of American people which menaces the normal development of this nation, and beclouds the real issues which confront our generation by the artificial issue of "Preparedness" against an invisible and unnamable enemy;

Whereas, a declaration by the national legislature of the greatest neutral nation in the world in favor of an immediate conference of neutral nations will strengthen the hand of the President of the United States in his efforts for international peace; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the President of the United States be and he is hereby called upon to convene a congress of neutral nations, which shall offer mediation to the belligerents, and which shall sit in continuous session until the termination of the war; and

Be it further resolved, that it is the judgment of the Senate and House of Representatives that a durable peace can be established if the following principles shall be made the basis of discussion in said congress of neutral nations:

First—Evacuation of invaded territory.

Second—Liberation of oppressed nationalities.

Third—Plebiscite by the population of Alsace-Lorraine, Finland and Poland as to their allegiance or independence.

Fourth—Removal of political and civic disabilities of the Jewish people wherever such disabilities exist.

Fifth—Freedom of the seas.

Sixth—Gradual concerted disarmament.

Seventh—Establishment of an international court of arbitration, with the commercial boycott as a means of punishment for disobedience.

THE MEXICAN CRISIS

In the spring of 1916 the Mexican situation became once more serious and threatened to involve this country in a war. The National Executive Committee issued a proclamation in

March, 1916, protesting against the war agitation and questioning the motives of the government in its relations with Mexico. The workers were warned not to be carried away by the hysterical appeals to avenge the murder of American citizens by Mexican mercenaries. The proclamation intimated that "the outrage upon American citizens was doubtless inspired by the same capitalist interests who have so freely hired gunmen to kill, to break strikes in the past."

American citizens have been murdered by Mexican mercenaries. This is made the excuse by the Government of the United States for furthering the campaign for "preparedness," which means militarism in the interests of the masters.

This outrage upon American citizens was doubtless inspired by the same capitalist interests who have so freely hired gunmen to kill and to break strikes in the past.

The yellow press will attempt to create a war spirit to further the plans for military organization and armaments. The same interests who have hired assassins to break strikes by murder do not hesitate at international murder by armies to further their plans and create a pretext for war.

President Wilson has surrendered to these interests in order to further his own political fortunes. The Congress of the United States has in the main supported the President's new attitude.

War with Mexico would mean re-election for Wilson, and the complete overthrow of the program of the Mexican workers for their emancipation from the legal robberies of American and foreign capitalists.

Workers, you have the power to prevent all wars. You have no enemy but the same enemy which the Mexican workers seek to overthrow. Use your power to prevent not only war with Mexico, but to prevent that preparation for war which leads to war. Protest to your congressmen, protest to President Wilson. Refuse to buy an election for the President with the lives of American workers.

Use every power at your command to prevent war with any nation. Serve notice to the masters that you recognize in them your only enemy. Protest against war and preparedness. Let the masters know that you realize your power. That you will not tamely submit to the orders for intolerable military burdens. Serve notice on them that if you must fight you will fight your real enemy and not the workers of this or any other land. Protest as individuals and as organizations. Do it now!

Raids on the Mexican border continued. The danger of war was hanging over the American people as the sword of Damocles.

The National Executive Committee, meeting in June, 1916, forwarded an address to President Wilson calling attention to the irritation which the Mexican people felt because of the presence of American forces on the border, which may have been responsible for the raids across the Rio Grande.

To the President of the United States:

Mexico's national wealth amounts to seven billion dollars. Of this wealth, four billions is owned by Americans. The Socialist Party sees a connection between these facts and the fact that American interests have been trying for several years to force your administration to embroil the two countries in war, the evident purpose being the subjugation and annexation of a part of Mexico. We protest against the exchange of American blood for Mexican gold. We have what we believe is reliable information that Mexican raids upon American territory are inspired by and paid for by American interests. We believe our frontier should be protected, but we believe it should be protected by troops stationed upon our side of the Rio Grande. The Mexicans are a proud people. They have but to read the memoirs of our own General Grant to learn that in his opinion the United States once waged an unrighteous war against them and robbed them of half of their country. Naturally they resent the presence of Americans on their soil now. Naturally they are suspicious. The Socialist Party believes they have abundant reason to be suspicious. We demand the protection of our frontier by soldiers stationed only on the American side of the Rio Grande, but we also demand the capture of the Americans who have inspired the Mexican raids across our border.

THE U-BOAT CONTROVERSY

Relations with Germany were becoming threatening in the spring of 1916. The American Government was busily engaged in an exchange of diplomatic notes with the German government over the use of submarines as a means of warfare.

On April 21, when the situation seemed critical, the Na-

tional Secretary met with the various Translator-Secretaries and drew up a proclamation which was later submitted to the National Executive Committee for approval.

The manifesto reiterated the unalterable opposition of the Socialist Party toward war, assailed the system of secret diplomacy and laid the existence of friction between the two countries at the door of the capitalist interests.

The Socialist Party of America re-affirms its unalterable position against war. More than a year ago this position was taken and it sees no reason now to change that position.

In the present crisis it sees no reason for plunging our country into the ruin which is only too evident in the European countries. The workers of this country will bear the brunt of suffering if we engage in war.

Had President Wilson warned Americans to keep off the vessels of belligerents, as Sweden has done, in this war, and as England has done during the Russo-Japanese war, the present crisis would probably never have arisen.

If diplomacy were conducted openly and above board instead of being guarded by the utmost secrecy and guided by the will or whim of an individual instead of it being an expression of public will, misunderstandings between nations would be less frequent and the danger of war would be lessened. Had President Wilson conducted diplomatic relations openly, we would know the facts in the present case which are now denied us.

We repeat the accusation that business interests of this country, bankers, the Wall street gang and especially the munition manufacturers, are not only interested in perpetuating the war in Europe, but are exerting their influence through every conceivable channel to the end that this country be plunged into the bloody maelstrom.

Knowing these facts, we call upon all workers and those opposed to war to hold mass meetings and voice their protest in unmistakable terms, denouncing the attempt to stampede the people of the United States into a war that they do not want. We call upon the people to demand that this country keep its hands out of the European madhouse. We suggest and appeal that the workers as a measure of self-defense and as an expression of their power exert every effort to keep America free from the stain of a causeless war, even to the final and extreme step of a general strike and the consequent paralyzation of all industry.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The Socialist Party entered the national campaign of 1916 fully determined to wage an open struggle against any and all movements directed either to plunge the country into war or to saddle militarism on this nation in preparation for future wars.

The candidates for president, Allan L. Benson, and for vice-president, George R. Kirkpatrick, were nominated for the first time in the history of the party by a referendum vote of the membership. The candidates secured their nominations mainly for the reason of their conspicuous opposition to war and militarism.

No American journalist has written more in opposition to war and has exposed the so-called movement for "preparedness" as a vicious attempt to militarize this country, more than Mr. Benson. In the eyes of the rank and file of the Socialist Party he was the outstanding opponent of war and militarism, and was acclaimed as the standard-bearer of the party in the most critical year of the world's history.

The running mate of Benson was a person of no less prominence as an anti-militarist. Mr. Kirkpatrick's trenchant book "War—What For?" which went through many editions, has made him famous as a fearless opponent of war and everything that helps to bring about war. He was for many years the welcome speaker at Socialist rallies and he never missed the opportunity to impress upon the workers the truth that militarism spells the death of democracy. A brilliant orator and propagandist of long training and experience, Kirkpatrick was the logical man to put forth in the anti-war and anti-militarism campaign which the Socialist Party decided to make preparatory to the presidential election in the fall of 1916.

The Socialist Party did not stop with nominating strong anti-militarists as its standard-bearers. The national platform which was also adopted by a referendum vote of the members, crystallized the anti-war and anti-militarist sentiment of the rank and file of the party. Adherence to the covenant with the International was re-stated in unmistak-

able terms. The causes of the European war were closely analyzed and explained. The "preparedness" movement was condemned as a pretext to saddle militarism on the nation. The workers were called upon to consider this movement as an attempt of the capitalist class to commit this country to a policy of imperialistic aggrandisement.

As measures to insure peace, the platform agitated for the repeal of the laws and appropriations for the increase of the army and navy. It demanded that the foreign policies of the nation be shaped by Congress rather than by the President with the aid of the dangerous system of secret diplomacy and, that no war should be declared without a referendum vote of the people. It also demanded that the outworn and dangerous Monroe Doctrine be abandoned, that the Philippine Islands be given independence and that the United States Government call a congress of neutral nations with the aim in view of ending the European war and securing a just and durable peace.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM 1916*

In the midst of the greatest crisis and bloodiest struggle of all history the Socialist Party of America reaffirms its steadfast adherence to the principles of international brotherhood, world peace and industrial democracy.

The great war which has engulfed so much of civilization and destroyed millions of lives is one of the natural results of the capitalist system of production.

The Socialist Party, as the political expression of the economic interests of the working class, calls upon them to take a determined stand on the question of militarism and war, and to recognize the opportunity which the Great War has given them of forcing disarmament and furthering the cause of industrial freedom.

An armed force in the hands of the ruling class serves two purposes: to protect and further the policy of imperialism abroad and to silence by force the protest of the workers against industrial despotism at home. Imperialism and militarism plunged Europe into this world-war. America's geographical and industrial situation has kept her out of the cataclysm. But Europe's extremity has been the opportunity of America's

*Excerpts dealing with war and militarism are given.

ruling class to amass enormous profits. As a result, there is a surfeit of capital which demands the policy of imperialism to protect and further investments abroad. Hence the frenzy of militarism into which the ruling class has made every attempt to force the United States.

The workers in Europe were helpless to avert the war because they were already saddled with the burden of militarism. The workers in the United States are yet free from this burden and have the opportunity of establishing a working class policy and program against war. They can compel the government of the United States to lead the way in an international movement for disarmament and to abandon the policy of imperialism which is forcing the conquest of Mexico and must, if carried out, eventually plunge the United States into a world-war.

The working class must recognize the cry of preparedness against foreign invasion as a mere cloak for the sinister purpose of imperialism abroad and industrial tyranny at home. The class struggle, like capitalism is international. The proletariat of the world has but one enemy, the capitalist class, whether at home or abroad. We must refuse to put into the hands of this enemy an armed force even under the guise of a "democratic army," as the workers of Australia and Switzerland have done.

Therefore, the Socialist Party stands opposed to military preparedness, to any appropriations of men or money for war or militarism, while control of such forces through the political state rests in the hands of the capitalist class. The Socialist Party stands committed to the class war, and urges upon the workers in the mines and forests, on the railways and ships, in factories and fields, the use of their economic and industrial power, by refusing to mine the coal, to transport soldiers, to furnish food or other supplies for military purposes, and thus keep out of the hands of the ruling class the control of armed forces and economic power, necessary for aggression abroad and industrial despotism at home.

The working class must recognize militarism as the greatest menace to all efforts toward industrial freedom, and regardless of political or industrial affiliations, must present a united front in the fight against preparedness and militarism. . . .

The capitalist class, for a great many years, has been trying to saddle upon this country a greater army and a greater navy. A greater army is desired to keep the working class of the United States in subjection. A greater navy is desired to safeguard the foreign investments of American capitalists and to "back up" American diplomacy in its efforts to gain foreign markets for American capitalists. The war in Europe, which diminished and is still diminishing the remote possibility of

European attack upon the United States, was nevertheless seized upon by capitalists and by unscrupulous politicians as a means of spreading fear throughout the country, to the end that, by false pretenses, great military establishments might be obtained. We denounce such "preparedness," as both false in principle, unnecessary in character and dangerous in its plain tendencies toward militarism. We advocate that sort of social preparedness which expresses itself in better homes, better bodies and better minds which are alike the products of plenty and the necessity of effective defense in war.

The Socialist Party maintains its attitude of unalterable opposition to war.

We reiterate the statement that the competitive nature of capitalism is the cause of modern war, and that the co-operative nature of Socialism is alone adapted to the task of ending war by removing its causes. We assert, however, that even under the present capitalist order, additional measures can be taken to safeguard peace, and to this end, we demand:

Measures to Insure Peace

(1) That all laws and appropriations for the increase of the military and naval forces of the United States shall be immediately repealed.

(2) That the power be taken from the President to lead the nation into a position which leaves no escape from war. No one man, however exalted in official station, should have the power to decide the question of peace or war for a nation of a hundred millions. To give one man such power is neither democratic nor safe. Yet the President exercises such power when he determines what shall be the nation's foreign policies and what shall be the nature and tone of its diplomatic intercourse with other nations. We, therefore, demand that the power to fix foreign policies and conduct diplomatic negotiations shall be lodged in the Congress and shall be exercised publicly, the people reserving the right by referendum to order Congress, at any time, to change its foreign policy.

(3) That no war shall be declared or waged by the United States without a referendum vote of the entire people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion.

(4) That the Monroe Doctrine shall be immediately abandoned as a danger so great that even its advocates are agreed that it constitutes perhaps our greatest single danger of war. The Monroe Doctrine was originally intended to safeguard the peace of the United States. Though the Doctrine has changed from a safeguard to a menace, the capitalist class still defends it for the reason that our great capitalists desire to retain South and Central America as their private trade preserve. We favor

the cultivation of social, industrial and political friendship with all other nations in the western hemisphere, as an approach to a world confederation of nations, but we oppose the Monroe Doctrine because it takes from our hands the peace of America and places it in the custody of any nation that would attack the sovereignty of any state in the western world.

(5) That the independence of the Philippine Islands be immediately recognized as a measure of justice both to the Filipinos and to ourselves. The Filipinos are entitled to self-government; we are entitled to be freed from the necessity of building and maintaining enough dreadnoughts to defend them in the event of war.

(6) The government of the United States shall call a congress of all neutral nations to mediate between the belligerent powers in an effort to establish an immediate and lasting peace without indemnities, or forcible annexation of territory, and based on a binding and enforceable international treaty, which shall provide for concerted disarmament on land and at sea and for an International Congress with power to adjust all disputes between nations, and which shall guarantee freedom and equal rights to all oppressed nations and races.

THE REVIVAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The American Socialist Party has tried from the very beginning of the European war to reestablish the International. While various conferences of Socialist parties and groups were held (Neutrals—at Copenhagen and The Hague; Allies—at London; Central Powers—at Vienna, and the minorities—at Zimmerwald and Kienthal), yet the shattered ties of the International demanded that the entire Socialist movement of the world be brought together in an attempt not only to rebuild the International, but to solidify the forces of the revolutionary proletariat in opposition to the war and for a speedy and universal peace.

The demand for an international congress made at the outbreak of the war, was repeated by the National Executive Committee in January, 1917. The following message was addressed to the International Socialist Bureau and copies of it were also sent to party officials in Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England, France,

Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Belgium, and Argentine, with the request that they support the proposal:

Convinced that the time is ripe for a revival of the Socialist International on the basis of a concerted working class movement for an immediate, just and lasting peace, the Socialist Party of the United States requests that an International Congress be called June 3, 1917 at The Hague. Unless by March 1st, the Bureau takes steps to call such Congress, our party will consider itself justified in taking direct initiative. This message is being communicated to all affiliated parties.

A statement addressed to the members of the Socialist Party was also prepared at this meeting of the National Executive Committee, in which the condition of the international Socialist movement was reviewed and reasons for the call of an international congress given.

To the Comrades of the Socialist Party:

Comrades: Thirty terrible months have elapsed since the outbreak of the world war. Never in the history of the world has so much carnage, devastation and frightfulness been encompassed within such a space of time. As the twentieth century with its science and invention, its economic organization and achievements dwarfs all the previous history of mankind, so the war excels all previous wars of human history in magnitude, horror, destruction and deadliness. All the inventive genius and creative power of many of the greatest modern nations, in neutral as well as belligerent countries, have been prostituted to the lust of war. Now that millions of lives have been sacrificed and millions of other lives broken and ruined, while all civilization has been imperilled, the war weary world cries with agonizing voice for peace. Even the ruling classes are at last realizing its unspeakable horror and futility and are beginning to speak openly of their desire for peace.

The Socialist movement ought to be and can be the greatest force for peace in the world. The Socialists of the world can do more to bring about a just, conclusive and lasting peace than all the world's diplomats and statesmen combined. Even amid the hellish hate and brute passions of the war, often at great peril to themselves, loyal comrades of all the belligerent countries, true to the principles of internationalism, have consistently opposed the resort to barbarous methods of warfare, and bravely urged the cause of international solidarity and peace.

It would be a calamity only comparable to the war itself if the organized Socialist movement of the world should fail to

exert its great influence and power to bring about a speedy termination of the war madness. Further, international Socialism would lose its great opportunity and betray its trust if it should fail to make all possible efforts to safeguard the interests of the working class of the world in the adjustments that are to come.

Far more important than any or all of the questions of indemnification and territorial re-arrangements, is the assurance which must be obtained by the proletariat that the settlement of the war should be just and lasting; that it shall not contain the germs of future wars. Every capitalist device which may contain the potential provocative of future wars must be stoutly resisted by a re-united international Social-Democracy.

It is in a special sense the task of the Socialist parties to create the necessary working class sentiment and rally the forces to insure the adoption of means to prevent future wars. All that imperils the fraternity of peoples must be swept into oblivion. Disarmament, both military and naval, is essential to an assured and permanent peace. To the rulers and war lords who have caused the implements of industry to be transformed into implements of murder and rapine, a re-united working class must manifest its determination to beat all the deadly armaments of the air, the land and the sea into tools of life-giving industry.

It is our task to see that the reactionary bureaucratic rules which war has of necessity brought to the most democratic of the belligerent nations, and enormously strengthened in the others, are not permitted to continue. A wide extension of democracy in all the lands must be our aim in the readjustments which the close of the great world tragedy must bring about.

On the other hand, those measures of collectivism which have been established in the different nations during the war, must be maintained. As Socialists we had always known and declared that capitalism was inefficient and incapable of affording the largest utilization of our natural resources and our productive powers. In the perils and stress of war the ruling classes and war-makers have discovered this, and as a result have been forced to replace capitalist industrial enterprise by a species of collectivism. The much talked of "War-Socialism" is not Socialism at all. There can be no Socialism apart from democracy. But the collectivism which has been linked to militarism in the war is the wrong application of a great and beneficent principle of social action which must be redeemed from misuse and maintained to bless mankind. The collectivism of war must be made into the Socialism of humanity. Above all other needs is the need of a world organization based upon the solidarity of all nations. All barriers which stand in the way—tariffs,

armaments, alliances, commercial treaties and fortifications at strategic channels of world intercourse—must be broken down. Upon the blackened ruins of this greatest of human tragedies must be laid the foundations of the greatest of human ideals, the federation of the world.

Recognizing the solemn obligation resting upon the Socialists of the United States, as the representative section of the Socialist International in the greatest of all neutral nations, the Socialist Party has taken the initiative in calling a special International Congress to be held at an early date, to face the grave problems herein briefly indicated. By means of such a congress we believe that the sundered strands of our international solidarity can be re-united, and that we can enlist the workers of all lands to fight side by side once more in the great struggle to overthrow the system of economic exploitation and servitude whose natural fruitage is murder, rapine, destruction and war. To our comrades in all the stricken lands we send greetings and fellowship, and hope that before long we shall be able to unite with them in a common struggle for Social Democracy and Peace.

THE GERMAN CRISIS

The diplomatic relations of the American and German governments were drawing to an end. According to present undemocratic methods of international relations such a situation once reached, meant the possibility of war between the two countries. Since the controversy between the two governments was based mainly upon the question of safe travel and conduct of goods on the high seas, the Emergency Committee of the Socialist Party met at the National Office, February 2, 1917, when the crisis assumed alarming proportions, and addressed an embargo proclamation to President Wilson. Copies of this proclamation were sent to Congressmen Meyer London, Claude Kitchin, Democratic leader of the House; James R. Mann, Republican leader of the House, Henry D. Flood, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; Speaker Champ Clark, Senator William J. Stone, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Senator Robert M. La-Follette.

The Emergency Committee called the President's attention to the fact that the Socialist Party has adopted the

slogan, "Starve the War and Feed America," from the very beginning of the war. It again argued for an embargo believing that to be the real neutral position which this country should take and because it would release a great deal of food supply for home consumption and thereby reduce the climbing prices of necessities of life. The Emergency Committee was also of the opinion that such a step once taken by the government of the United States would terminate the war in Europe as well as remove the menace of war from the United States.

His Excellency Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

In behalf of the great multitude of Socialists in the United States, we, the National Emergency Committee of the Socialist Party, in order to preserve peace in our country, urge that a complete embargo be placed upon all shipments of whatsoever kind from the United States to any and all of the belligerent countries.

At the time when the war began, we made this identical demand. We urged that this country should "starve the war and feed America."

We took this position then, and we take it now, for the following reasons: First, because it is the only way in which our country can be made guiltless of participation in the bloodshed of war. Second, because it is the only way in which this country can take a genuinely neutral position. Third, because it is the only way in which this country can keep its products at home where they are sorely needed in order to assist in reducing the cost of living.

From the beginning of the war the United States has not been neutral. It has obeyed the letter of international law, but has constantly and viciously violated its spirit by shipping munitions and other supplies to one side when it was prevented by that side from shipping them to the other.

Piercing through technicalities and going to the heart of the matter, this is a flagrant violation of neutrality because it helps one side and injures the other. It is also morally base, resulting as it does in the selfish plutocrats of our country enriching themselves at the expense of the warring nations and placing the guilt of murder at the door of the American people.

By this means the United States has helped to kill in cold blood millions of our fellow human beings. At the same time, the exportation of the substance of the country to the warring

nations has increased the cost of living among the masses of our people and thereby increased their sufferings.

All three of these wrongs—the participation in bloodshed, the anti-neutrality, and the exportation of our substance—would be avoided by placing an embargo upon all shipments to all of the belligerents.

In addition, it would tend to bring the war to a close. We are sincerely neutral, and we heartily agree with you in the opinion that the interests of humanity demand that "there should be no victory in this war." Certainly it would be much more likely to so end if the United States should cease to help one side.

This plan would also preserve peace in our own country. It would be preposterous for this country to go to war for the right to permit its selfish rich to still further enrich themselves by acting as accessories in murder.

Mr. President, we most earnestly remind you that the warlike opinions expressed in the daily press of the country are dictated by these same wicked and selfish vultures.

We, the Socialist Party, constitute a large portion of the common masses of the people, whose voices are not heard in the metropolitan press, but whose hearts are right and who do not want war. It is the voice of the common people that you should hear before you act.

Follow the example of your illustrious predecessor, Thomas Jefferson, Mr. President, and have a complete embargo placed on all shipments. It will end the war.

The embargo proclamation of the Emergency Committee was soon superseded by a proclamation of the National Executive Committee which was issued upon the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. The workers of the country as well as all liberty-loving citizens were appealed to to protest vehemently against the threatened war through mass-meetings, demonstrations, and messages to Congress. The proclamation laid bare the hollowness of the motives which actuated the government to take the decisive step and declared that the workers of the United States had no desire to shed the blood of their fellows in the furtherance of the profit schemes of American capitalists.

By a mere executive decree, the President of your country has broken off diplomatic relations with the German Empire and placed the people of the United States in imminent danger of being actively drawn into the mad war of Europe.

During the last thirty months, the blackest months in the

annals of human history, six million innocent men have been brutally and deliberately killed, and many more millions have been crippled and maimed for life. Whole countries have been devastated and the accumulated treasures of human industry and nature's generosity have been ruthlessly destroyed.

Europe is a dread house of mourning in which the disconsolate sobs of the widows and orphans at home mingle with the agonized groans of the wounded and dying on the battlefield.

In this savage carnival of wholesale and indiscriminate murder, there was but one powerful member of the family of nations that preserved an attitude of comparative sanity—the United States of America. Removed by the vast stretch of the Atlantic ocean from the scene of the inhuman conflict, safe in our economic self-sufficiency, and proud of our advanced and democratic institutions, we watched the self-destruction of our European brothers with bleeding hearts, eagerly waiting for the opportunity to bring them back to reason and peace, to life and happiness.

And suddenly with little notice or warning, without the sanction or consent of the people and without consultation with the people's chosen representatives in congress, we are practically ordered to join in the mad dance of death and destruction and to swell the ghastly river of blood in Europe with the blood of thousands of American workers.

The Socialist Party of the United States speaking in behalf of hundreds of thousands of its adherents and in behalf of the working class of the country, enters a solemn protest against this wanton attempt to draw us into the European conflict.

We are opposed to wars between nations because war is a reversion to brutal barbarism. We are opposed to the present threatened war in particular because no great war has ever been waged with less justification and on more frivolous pretenses.

The policy of unrestricted and indiscriminate submarine warfare recently announced by the German Government is most ruthless and inhuman, but so is war as a whole and so are all methods applied by both sides.

WAR IS MURDER!

War is the climax of utter lawlessness and it is idle to prate about lawful or lawless methods of warfare.

The German submarine warfare does not threaten our national integrity or independence, not even our national dignity and honor. It was not aimed primarily at the United States and would not affect the American people. It would strike only those parasitic classes that have been making huge profits by manufacturing instruments of death or taking away our food and selling it at exorbitant prices to the fighting armies of Europe.

The workers of the United States have no reason and no desire to shed their blood for the protection and furtherance of the

unholy profits of their masters and will not permit a lying and venal press to stampede them into taking up arms to murder their brothers in Europe.

The six million men whose corpses are now rotting upon the battlefields of Europe were mostly workingmen. If the United States is drawn into war it will be the American workers whose lives will be sacrificed—an inglorious, senseless sacrifice on the altar of capitalist greed.

Workers of America, awake!

The hour is grave, the danger is imminent, silence would be fatal.

Gather the masses in meetings and demonstrations!

Speak in unmistakable tones!

Let your voice of vehement and determined protest resound from one end of the country to the other.

Send telegrams or letters to President Wilson, to the United States Senators and Congressmen. Demand that the American citizens and American ships be forbidden to enter the war zone, except at their own risk. Insist that the nation should not be plunged into war for the benefit of plundering capitalists.

Down with war!

Down with the inhuman social system that breeds wars!

Long live peace!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers of all nations!

On the eve of the opening of the special session of the United States Congress at which President Wilson was to appear in behalf of his program for an armed conflict with Germany, the Emergency Committee of the Socialist Party addressed a message on March 30 to the President as well as to the members of Congress, protesting against a declaration of war upon Germany, and demanding that the people of this country be given an opportunity to express their opinion through a referendum vote whether a declaration of war should be made.

In behalf of the Socialist Party of the United States, we earnestly urge you to oppose declaring war against Germany or declaring that a state of war exists.

Instead, we urge you to vote to warn all American citizens to keep out of the danger zone. Our government has respected the war zone designated by the Government of Great Britain, why should we not do the same of the war zone declared by Germany? Anyone who enters the danger zone at this time is

not a good citizen. Foolhardy persons who deliberately put their country in danger of war, do not deserve protection. Should the country go to war, it will be for the interest of financial freebooters only.

We also urge that if the question of declaring war is to be voted upon at all, it shall be put to a referendum vote of the adult citizens of the United States, both men and women. We desire to put it squarely up to you whether or not you are willing to take the responsibility of deciding that the blood of thousands of your fellow human beings shall be spilled. Will your conscience permit you to do so when you can avoid it by voting against war, or by letting the people decide the question themselves?

THE "MAJORITY" AND "MINORITY" REPORTS OF THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

Since the regular convention of the Socialist Party, which was to be held in the summer of 1916, was set aside by the membership, the party did not have the opportunity from the beginning of the European war to formulate a national program which would represent the view of the largest majority of the membership.

Upon the formal declaration of war by Congress, the National Executive Committee issued a call for an emergency convention to consider the war policy of the Party and to take such measures as would be deemed advisable to inaugurate a movement for a speedy termination of the war. The call for the emergency convention was accepted with universal approval and nearly 200 delegates from every part of the country assembled at St. Louis, Mo., during the second week of April (7th-14th) and proceeded to shape the policy of the party on the questions of war and militarism.

Two reports emanated from that convention which are now before the membership of the party, the so-called "majority" and "minority" reports. The designations are somewhat misleading. The Committee on War and Militarism of the convention presented a majority and two minority reports. The first was signed by eleven members of the Committee and, having received 140 votes, is the majority report of the convention. One minority report, signed by three

members of the Committee, and substantially supporting the position of the majority report, but expressed in different terms, received 31 votes, while the second minority report which attempted to justify the present war and was signed by the remaining member of the Committee, received only five votes.

Neither of the minority reports having received the required number of votes (50), they could not be submitted to the membership. Thereupon a statement was drawn up by those not in accord with the declarations in the majority report and, having obtained the required number of signatures of delegates (50), was sent forth with the referendum as a substitute for the majority report. It is now before the party as the minority report.

As the voting on these reports is still in progress, we reproduce both reports as representative of the opinion of the two groups within the Socialist Party.

MAJORITY REPORT

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense", they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of

the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

The mad orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries.

In each of these countries, the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth but the bulk of it was withheld from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The huge profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence, they were driven to look for foreign fields of investment. The geographical boundaries of each modern capitalist country thus became too narrow for the industrial and commercial operations of its capitalist class.

The efforts of the capitalists of all leading nations were therefore centered upon the domination of the world markets. Imperialism became the dominant note in the politics of Europe. The acquisition of colonial possessions and the extension of spheres of commercial and political influence became the object of diplomatic intrigues and the cause of constant clashes between nations.

The acute competition between the capitalist powers of the earth, their jealousies and distrusts of one another and the fear of the rising power of the working class forced each of them to arm to the teeth. This led to the mad rivalry of armament, which, years before the outbreak of the present war, had turned the leading countries of Europe into armed camps with standing armies of many millions, drilled and equipped for war in times of "peace."

Capitalism, imperialism and militarism had thus laid the foundation of an inevitable general conflict in Europe. The ghastly war in Europe was not caused by an accidental event, nor by the policy or institutions of any single nation. It was the logical outcome of the competitive capitalist system.

The six million men of all countries and races who have been ruthlessly slain in the first thirty months of this war, the mil-

lions of others who have been crippled and maimed, the vast treasures of wealth that have been destroyed, the untold misery and sufferings of Europe, have not been sacrifices exacted in a struggle for principles or ideals, but wanton offerings upon the altar of private profit.

The forces of capitalism which have led to the war in Europe are even more hideously transparent in the war recently provoked by the ruling class of this country.

When Belgium was invaded, the government enjoined upon the people of this country the duty of remaining neutral, thus clearly demonstrating that the "dictates of humanity," and the fate of small nations and of democratic institutions were matters that did not concern it. But when our enormous war traffic was seriously threatened, our government calls upon us to rally to the "defense of democracy and civilization."

Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States who boast of the enormous profit of seven billion dollars from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American food stuffs and other necessities. They are also deeply interested in the continuance of war and the success of the allied arms through their huge loans to the governments of the allied powers and through other commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the Western Hemisphere.

The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American "honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people, as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin cold profits out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism.

It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe. Democracy can never be imposed upon any country by a foreign power by force of arms.

It is cant and hypocrisy to say that the war is not directed against the German people, but against the Imperial Government of Germany. If we send an armed force to the battlefields of Europe, its cannon will mow down the masses of the German people and not the Imperial German Government.

Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will

give the powers of reaction in this country, the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of Germany or of any other country. The people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Germany or any other country. The American people did not want and do not want this war. They have not been consulted about the war and have had no part in declaring war. They have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country through its representatives in the National Administration and National Congress, its demagogic agitators, its subsidized press, and other servile instruments of public expression.

We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world.

In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage.

No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalist class is forcing upon this nation against its will.

In harmony with these principles, the Socialist Party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expense by taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire, furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right to strike.

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American people from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United States has already accentuated, we demand—

(a) The restriction of food exports so long as the present shortage continues, the fixing of maximum prices and whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in their hands;

(b) The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage, and the marketing of food and other necessities of life;

(c) The socialization and democratic management of all land and other natural resources now held out of use for monopolistic or speculative profit.

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers against the evil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The Socialist Party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.

MINORITY REPORT

Congress has declared that a state of war exists between this nation and Germany. War between the two nations is a fact.

We opposed the entrance of this republic into the war, but we failed. The political and economic organizations of the working class were not strong enough to do more than protest.

Having failed to prevent the war by our agitation, we can only recognize it as a fact and try to force upon the government, through pressure of public opinion, a constructive program.

Our aim now must be to minimize the suffering and misery which the war will bring to our own people, to protect our

rights and liberties against reactionary encroachments, and to promote an early peace upon a democratic basis, advantageous to the international working class.

Furthermore we must seize the opportunity presented by war conditions to advance our program of democratic collectivism. Every one of the other belligerent nations has discovered through the war that capitalism is inherently inefficient. To secure a maximum of efficiency, whether for military or civil needs, it has been found necessary to abandon the essential principle of capitalist industry. The warring nations have had to give up the organization and operation of industry and primary economic functions for profit, and to adopt the Socialist principle of production for use. Thus the war has demonstrated the superior efficiency of collective organization and operation of industry.

Guided by this experience, we would so reorganize our economic system as to secure for our permanent domestic needs the greatest possible results from the proper utilization of our national resources.

In furtherance of these aims we propose the following:

1. We propose that the Socialist Party shall establish communication with the Socialists within the enemy nations, to the end that peace may be secured upon democratic terms at the earliest possible moment.

2. We demand that there be no interference with freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assemblage.

3. We demand that dealings between the government and the workers in all of the industries and services taken over and operated by the government shall be conducted through their organizations with due regard to the right of organization of those not yet organized.

4. We demand that conscription, if it come at all, shall begin with wealth. All annual incomes in excess of \$5,000 should be taken by the government and used to pay the current expenses of the war. If it is just to conscript a human being, it is just to conscript wealth. Money is not as sacred as human life.

5. We demand that there shall be no conscription of men until the American people shall have been given the right to vote upon it. Under the British empire the people of Australia were permitted to decide by ballot whether they should be conscripted. We demand for the American people the same right.

6. We demand that the government seize and operate for the benefit of the whole people, the great industries concerned with production, transportation, storage and marketing of the food and other necessities of the people.

7. We demand that the government seize all suitable vacant

land, and have the same cultivated for the purpose of furnishing food supplies for the national use.

8. We demand that the government take over and operate all land and water transport facilities; all water powers and irrigation plants; mines, forests and oil fields; and all industrial monopolies; and that this be done at once, before the nation shall suffer calamity from the failure of their capitalist direction and management under war pressure.

CONSCRIPTION AND TERMS OF PEACE

While the members of the Socialist Party are balloting on the "majority" and "minority" reports of the St. Louis convention, the Emergency Committee of the National Executive Committee is not losing time in perfecting a movement among the workers of the country for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people.

A proclamation was issued by the Committee June 10, 1917, appointing July 4 the day upon which liberty-loving citizens of the country should assemble in mass-meetings and demand that the Government of the United States submit the Federal Conscription Act to a referendum of the people, and that it issue a clear and definite statement of the objects for which the war is waged.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon all Socialist organizations in conjunction with sympathetic bodies, to hold public mass-meetings and demonstrations on July 4, 1917, for the purpose of peacefully voicing the following demands on Congress:

1. **A referendum on conscription.** This is said to be a war for democracy. The least that can be done to bear out this claim is to give the people a chance to decide whether they want to be slaughtered in this unjustifiable war.

Congress violated the federal constitution in passing the conscription law and broke its trust with the people. Congressmen at the very outset exempted themselves from the provisions of this law, which fastened the shackles of militarism upon the young men of the nation. Therefore, we demand that the conscription law be amended by adding a provision to the effect that the law be submitted to a referendum vote of the people, and that its operation be suspended until it shall have been approved upon such vote.

2. A clear statement of what we are fighting for, and the terms upon which peace will be made.

Some say we are fighting for democracy, others say that it is to protect Morgan's loans to the allies. Some say we are at war because of the invasion of Belgium, others say it is because of what is going to happen to the world's trade routes and markets. So the American people demand a clear cut, definite statement from President Wilson and his Department of State as to what agreements have been made with the allied governments. Above all, we who did not want to enter this war want to know the terms on which it will be brought to a close.

Politicians have done the bidding of Wall Street, and declared this war, but neither Wall Street nor politicians will do the fighting. They expect the people to do the dying, the suffering, grieving and paying. Before they ask the working class to fight let them tell us what we are to fight for.

The Fourth of July is the most American of all American holidays. Most of the others are imported. But this day is supposed to mark the beginning of American liberty. On this day the Declaration of Independence was signed; on this day the Liberty bell first rang out the joyous message. But this year, 1917, the glorious Fourth will look upon a different condition of affairs. It will find this nation shackled with the band of military serfdom. It will see the blight of murder and slavery fastened upon its youngest and strongest men. It will see every constitutional guarantee of life and liberty in danger of extinction at the hands of those powers who were elected to office while sailing under the false colors of an anti-war record.

The Socialist Party standing now, as always, for the complete freedom of the human race, will, with every legitimate power at its command oppose the prussianizing of America. We are fighting to make this a "land of liberty."

We, therefore, call upon the people of this country to make this Fourth of July mark the beginning of a new spirit of independence. Our forefathers in 1776 cast off the bonds of political slavery on this day; let us gather to repudiate the fetters of military slavery that have been forced on us in 1917.

In every town and city of this nation the protest should be heard. We have been plunged into the bloodiest war of all time, and in that decision we, the American people, never have been consulted. Now comes the time to demand that before a single American is sent to his death across the sea this government, which has declared the war, shall first give out a clear and definite statement of what it will have gained when the ends for which it strives have been won. Before this attempt to fasten upon our youth a heritage of death the people of this land—men and women—must first have the right to speak.

We, therefore, call upon all people who value the fundamental

liberties of this land to join together with the Socialist Party in arranging mass meetings for the purpose of stating the above. In every city and town of this country let the voice of the people, in unmistakable terms, be heard, so that the President will hear and understand. Let our message be, "Not a single soldier until we know what we are fighting for."

A petition to Congress is also being circulated by the local organizations of the Socialist Party throughout the country asking that the Selective Draft Act be submitted to a referendum vote of all adult men and women citizens of the United States.

PETITION TO CONGRESS.

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States has passed the "Selective Draft Law" that aims to conscript for military service a large portion of the young men of this nation; and

WHEREAS, the congressmen at the very outset exempted themselves from being conscripted under this law; and

WHEREAS, it is claimed that the war in which our country is now involved is a war for the extension of democracy; and

WHEREAS, our nation should practice the democracy it preaches, by giving the people an opportunity to decide whether or not they favor this conscription law; and

WHEREAS, the burden of war falls upon the women equally with the men; and

WHEREAS, the question of conscription, when it was up for consideration in Australia, was, on demand of the people, submitted to a referendum vote and overwhelmingly defeated, the vote of the soldiers in the trenches largely determining the results; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the undersigned, hereby most earnestly petition the Congress of the United States to submit this law to a vote of the adult men and women, citizens of the United States, and let them, in the name of democracy, decide whether or not they approve conscription.

APPENDIX THE INTERNATIONAL AND WAR

The following declaration and resolutions on war and militarism were adopted at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart (1907), which outlined the war program of the Socialist parties of the world.

The Congress reasserts the resolution adopted by former

International Congresses against militarism and imperialism, and declares afresh that the war against militarism must proceed hand in hand with the general class war. Wars between nations are, as a rule, the consequences of their competition in the world market, for each state seeks not only to secure its existing markets, but also to conquer new ones. This means the subjugation of nations and lands, and, therefore, spells war. But wars result furthermore from the continual attempts of all lands to outstrip their neighbors in military armaments—one of the chief supports of the capitalist class supremacy, and therefore of the economic and political oppression of the proletariat. Wars are also favored by national prejudices which the ruling classes fan into a flame for their own interests, and in order to turn the attention of the proletariat away from the interests of their class and from international consolidation of those interests. Wars, therefore, are part and parcel of the nature of capitalism; they will cease only when the capitalist system declines, or when the sacrifices in men and money have become so great as a result of the increased magnitude of armaments that the people will rise in revolt against them and sweep capitalism out of existence. The working classes, who contribute most of the soldiers and make the greatest material sacrifices, are, therefore, the natural opponents of war. Besides which, war is opposed to their highest aims—the creation of an economic order on a Socialist basis, which shall express the solidarity of all nations.

In addition to the above general declaration the Congress also adopted the following recommendations which were later endorsed at the Copenhagen (1910) and the Basle (1912) Congresses.

If war ever threatens to break out, the working classes and their representatives in parliament in the countries affected should, with the assistance of the International Bureau, strive to take every step possible in order to avoid the occurrence of war. They must use every effort which, in their view, according to the political situation and the opposing class interests, will best contribute to the maintenance of peace.

If, however, despite all efforts, war breaks out, then it becomes their primary duty to bring about its conclusion as quickly as possible, and thereafter to make the most of the opportunities offered by the economic and political crises which are sure to follow the war, in stirring up public opinion and hastening forward the abolition of capitalist class rule.

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