INTER-ALLIED
LABOUR AND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

Memorandum on
WAR AIMS

Agreed upon at the Central Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., on
February 20th to 24th, 1918.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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1, VICTORIA ST., WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W. 1.
INTER-ALLIED LABOUR AND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

The third Inter-Allied Conference, held on the 20th February, 1918, and three following days, was organised in consequence of a decision taken at the Conference of the British Trades Union Congress at Blackpool in September, 1917. Two days later the policy of the Labour Party on the resumption of International Labour and Socialist relations was assimilated to that of the Trades Union Congress, and a Joint Committee was appointed to consider the possibilities of common action.

In London, on the 20th December, 1917, the British "Memorandum on War Aims" was approved by a Special Conference of the Labour Party and the British Trades Union Congress, and the Executive Committees of these organisations thereupon made themselves responsible for the convocation of a Conference of Allied Labour and Socialist Parties, with the view of obtaining an agreement on the basis of this Memorandum, as the Conference might desire to amend it.

The two British National Committees consisted of:


They invited the Labour and Socialist organisations of the following countries to the Conference:

FRANCE.—Socialist Party and General Confederation of Labour.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Labour Party and Trades Union Congress.

BELGIUM.—Labour Party.

ITALY.—Socialist Party with Trade Unions; Reformist Party with Trade Unions.

SERBIA.—Socialist Party.

UNITED STATES.—American Federation of Labour.

PORTUGAL.—Socialist Party.

GREECE.—Socialist Party.

RUSSIA.—Social Democratic Party (Bolshevik and Menshevik Sections); Social Revolutionary Party.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Labour Party.

AUSTRALIA.—Labour Party.

NEW ZEALAND.—Labour Party.

CANADA.—Labour Party.

ROMANIA.—Socialist Party.
All these organisations, with the exception of the American Federation of Labour, the Bolsheviks, and the Roumanian Socialist Party, replied favourably to the invitation. The American Federation of Labour sent a telegram saying that circumstances made it impossible for them to be represented. The Bolsheviks refused to come because they could not accept an invitation to a Conference which, in their opinion, was opposed to the principles of the International. The Menshevik Section of the Russian Social Democratic Party and the Social Revolutionary Party of Russia were not represented at the Conference because the Bolshevik Government refused to give passports to their delegates. No reply was received from the Roumanian Party. Telegraphic approval of the draft Memorandum on War Aims of the British Parties was received from Portugal, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa. The Serbian delegation, who also approved of the main lines of the Memorandum as finally adopted, arrived after the close of the Conference. A few days later MM. Sideris, Couriel (deputés), and Dimitratos, who are qualified to express the point of view of the Greek Socialist Party, arrived from Greece. They also gave general approval to the Memorandum.

Delegates of the following organisations were admitted to the Conference in a consultative capacity:—

(a) Serbian political and trade union groups of Socialist refugees living in France.
(b) Socialist Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
(c) Italian Irredentist Groups.
(d) The new Labour Party of Roumania.

The following were the delegates to the Conference:—


BRITAIN.—The members of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.


BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.—Socialist Party: F. Markitch.*

ROUMANIA.—Labour Party: N. Lupu.*


(Those indicated by an asterisk were admitted as consultative delegates.)

Profiting by their experiences at the second Conference, where agreement could not be obtained, a British delegation and representatives of the French, Belgian, and Italian (Reformist) Parties took part in preliminary discussions at Paris. Owing to a difficulty about passports the delegates of the Italian Socialist Party were unable to be present at these Conferences.
The British delegation was composed of Bowerman, McGurk, Thorne, Webb, MacDonald, Thomas, and Henderson, accompanied by C. Huysmans. The meetings took place on February 15th, 16th, and 17th at the Chamber of Deputies, the offices of the Confederation of Labour, the offices of the Socialist Party, and, finally, at the meeting of the National Council of the French Party, where a complete understanding was reached.

The Inter-Allied Conference met in the Central Hall, Westminster, on the 20th February and three following days. The Chairmen on the respective days were Ogden, A. Thomas, Vanderelde, and Henderson.

In order to facilitate discussion the meetings were not open to the public, but official reports were issued daily to the Press, and the members of the Conference were not pledged to secrecy.

COMMUNICATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE.

Telegrams accepting the British "Memorandum on War Aims" were received from the Canadian Labour Party, the Australian Labour Party, Portugal, and Greece.

A telegram from the Poala-Zionist Socialists congratulated the British Labour Movement on their policy of a Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Gompers cabled: "Your January 16th letter reached me late Saturday, February 9th, and brought to attention Executive Council. American Federation of Labour, in session on 11th. We regret that circumstances make it impossible to be represented at the Inter-Allied Conference, London, February 20th. Executive Council in declaration unanimously declared we cannot meet representatives of those who are allied against us in this world-war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us. All should be advised that anyone presuming to represent Labour of America in your Conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative. We hope shortly to send delegation to England and France. Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Inter-Allied Labour Conference, and assure them that we are pledged and will give our man-power and at least half we have in wealth-power in the struggle to secure for the world justice and freedom and democracy.—GOMPERS.

This telegram, as published in the Press, contained an addendum which attributed to Gompers the statement that he believed German influences inspired the Conference. The Conference telegraphed to Gompers: "Press in this country circulating statement, on your alleged authority, that American Labour believes that German influences inspire the London Conferences. Nothing of this appears in your telegram to us, and we feel sure that you will resent gross falsification of your message, apparently part of a campaign of malicious misrepresentation on the part of enemies of Labour. Trust you will dissociate your Federation from statement, which is wholly untrue.—ALBERT THOMAS (Chairman), ARTHUR HENDERSON (Secretary)."

The Bolsheviks telegraphed in the sense already indicated.

Roubanovitch, who was in Paris, sent a telegram expressing his personal approval of the Memorandum, but regretting that he was unable to get into touch with the Committee of his party the Menshevik Section of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

The delegates of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries sent a protest from Russia against the refusal of passports by the Bolshevik Government.

A collective declaration of the Italian Irredentist and Reformist Groups, the South Slavs, the Serbians, and the Roumanian delegate present at the...
Conference asked for the nationalities of Austria-Hungary the right to determine their own political future. Telegrams to the same effect were received from various Irredentist Groups.

The South Slav Groups in England, France, and the United States of America sent letters in agreement with the declarations already referred to about the future of nationalities in Austria-Hungary.

A declaration presented by the Italian Reformist Socialists asked for such frontiers as would make the union of the Italian peoples possible and give freedom of development to the South Slav.

The Czecho-Slovak Socialist workingmen of America asked the Conference to pronounce in favour of an independent Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Letters were received from Polish Groups protesting against the cession of Polish territory to the Ukraine Republic.

The Polish Socialist Party of Poland (Revolutionary Section) appealed to the Conference in favour of a united and independent Poland.

A declaration on behalf of the new Labour Party in Roumania submitted to the Conference asked for the frontiers before the Treaty of Bukarest, 1913, and suggested an agreement among the countries interested regarding the Banat, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and other territorial questions.

The Italian Socialist Party protested against the admission of the Reformists in these terms: "Comrades Modigliani and Schiavi, representing the Italian Socialist Party, again protest in the strongest terms against the admission to the Conference of other and self-styled sections of the Italian Socialist and Labour Movement, whose right to represent the movement to any extent they contest. They found their protest on grounds which have many times been pointed out to the B.S.I. by the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party, and were repeated at the previous Inter-Allied Conference by the Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party. Moreover, taking into account the very recent formation of the Italian Socialist Union, comrades Modigliani and Schiavi draw special attention to the fact that the other Italian delegates really represent only a group formed with the single purpose of opposing the true Labour and Socialist movement in Italy."

**Business of Conference.**

The business of the Conference, as described in the invitation, was:

1. To consider the Memorandum on War Aims adopted by the British Conference on December 28th, 1917, with any amendments from countries represented.

2. To consider the advisability of convoking an International Conference, and the conditions.

3. To consider what steps should be taken to secure working-class representation at any official Peace Conference, and whether it is desirable to organise either an Inter-Allied or an International Conference to sit concurrently with the official Peace Conference.

4. Other business.

The Conference appointed five Commissions as follows:

I. GENERAL POLICY.—Renaudel (Chairman), MacDonald (Secretary), Bourderon, Laurent, Caetani, Laboule, Sexton, Wignall, and Novakovitch.

II. TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.—Webb (Chairman), Longuet (Secretary), A. Thomas, Luquet, Modigliani, Ara, de Man, Vandervelde, Poulton, Hutchinson.
III. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.—J. H. Thomas (Chairman), Mantica (Secretary), Jouhaux, Lefèvre, Schiavi, Tohalps, Meulemeester, Eekelers, Bramley, Carter.

IV. INTERNATIONAL.—Henderson (Chairman), de Brouckère (Secretary), Mistral, Merrheim, Dubreuilh, Silvestri, Modigliani, Maurin, Pericat, Bowerman, Cameron.

V. DRAFTING AND PUBLICITY.—Cachin (Chairman), Stuart-Bunning (Secretary), Canepa, Williams, McGurk, and Huysmans.

The Secretary and Chairman of each Commission reported to the General Conference and presented revised texts, which were accepted almost without question by the Conference. Before the discussion of the several texts the following resolution was moved by the delegates of the Italian Socialist Party, and rejected by the Conference:

"These war aims must be considered merely as a guide to the peace negotiations, which should follow the immediate conclusion of an armistice, because the Conference formally rules out the view that the war is capable of establishing the international relations of the peoples on a democratic basis. This democratic system can only be established through the political power which will be gained by the working classes after the war, both in international relations and with respect to the Governments in the several countries."

The following text was then adopted:

MEMORANDUM ON WAR AIMS.

I. THE WAR.

The Conference declares that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it.

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

"This Conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society, and the aggressive policy of colonialism and imperialism, against which International Socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every Government has its share of responsibility.

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

* The word "Italy" was added February 25th, 1913, at the request of the Italian delegation.
While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances, and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

Convinced that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the Conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries, recognising the identity of their fundamental interests, will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist Imperialism. The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful Federation of the United States of Europe and the world.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY.

Whatever may have been the objects for which the War was begun, the fundamental purpose of the Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for Democracy. Of all the conditions of Peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more War.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. It would mean nothing to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a super-national authority. That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent State, should be pressed to join.

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

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

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the Supernational Authority implies the complete democratisation in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who until now have assumed the right of
choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of legislatures elected by and intended to express the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulations of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the Government, and more particularly of the Foreign Minister, of each country to its Legislature.

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

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

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

To give effect to the above principles, the Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the Treaty of Peace, and will henceforward become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the Conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

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

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

3rd. Every territorial settlement involved in this War must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and

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

III.

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

The Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which States calling themselves sovereigns hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.
The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by States, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the 19th century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The Conference declares it to be the duty of the Labour and Socialist Movement to suppress without hesitation the Imperialist designs in the various States which, even in this war, have led one Government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantages.

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

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

The Conference accordingly emphasises the importance to the Labour and Socialist Movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither unity of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favour of federation or unification. During the 19th century theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

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

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

(a) Belgium.

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

(b) Alsace and Lorraine.

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

The Treaty of Frankfort at once and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.
The new Treaty of Peace, in recognising that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will exclude her gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

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

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

(c) The Balkans.

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

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

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

(d) Italy.

The Conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realises that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism, and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded, without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

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

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

(c) Poland and the Baltic Provinces.

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

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

(f) The Jews and Palestine.

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

(g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire.

The Conference condemns the handing back to the systematically violent domination of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The Conference condemns the Imperialist aims of governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the Conference insists that, conformably with the policy of “no annexation,” they should be placed for administration in the hands of a Commission acting under the Super-National Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralised and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations without hindrance or customs duties.

(h) Austria-Hungary.

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

(i) The Colonies and Dependencies.

The International has always condemned the Colonial policy of capitalist governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Inter-Allied Conference nevertheless recognises the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.
The Conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The Conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilisation, and for all the others a progressive participation in local government.

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

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, in which the communities in their neighbourhood will be entitled to take part. But the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none is shut out from legitimate access to raw materials prevented from disposing of its own products, or deprived of its proper share of economic development.

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

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

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

IV. ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

The Conference is of opinion that the main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. It declares against all the projects now being prepared by Imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an Economic War, after Peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an Economic War, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defence be driven. The Conference realises that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by Protective Tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class see in the alliance between the Military Imperialists and the Fiscal Protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to Peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defence of its own economic interests, and, in face of the world-shortage
hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The Conference accordingly urges upon the Labour and Socialist Parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government towards commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development by appropriate Government action of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

V.

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE.

To make the world safe for Democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the Treaty of Peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The Conference insists that, in view of the probable world-wide shortage, after the War, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis, for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on Peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in War trades, and the demobilisation of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several Governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the Conference holds that it is the duty of every Government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the Labour and Socialist Parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their Governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways, and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings, and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be
required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for
the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a
rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist
enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level
year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labour;
and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this
way it is quite possible for any Government to prevent, if it chooses, the
occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which
if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of
Government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

VI.
RESTORATION OF THE DEVASTATED AREAS AND REPARATION
OF WRONGDOING.

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

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

VII.
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.
The Conference is of opinion that an International Congress of Labour and
Socialist organisations, held under proper conditions, would at this stage render
useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings
as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International
Socialist Bureau, we consider that an International Congress, held during
the period of hostilities, should be organised by a committee whose impartiality
cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such con-
ditions as would inspire confidence among all who take part; and the Congress
should be fully representative of all the Labour and Socialist Movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the Congress is convoked.

As an essential condition to an International Congress, the Conference is of opinion that the organisers of the Congress should satisfy themselves that all the organisations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "No annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guarantees to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official Peace Conference.

In view of the vital differences between the Allied Countries and the Central Powers, the Conference is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the Congress should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavour by mutual agreement to arrange a programme of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

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

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

The Conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and of the nations allied with them the Memorandum in which the Conference has defined the conditions of Peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and International justice. The Conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the Conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of Democracy and Peace.

Finally, the Conference invited the respective Labour and Socialist organisations and parties to demand the necessary freedom of propaganda, both written and oral, in favour of the principles adopted by the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference.