St. Louis Resolution Must Be Repudiated is Decision of Loyal American Socialists

by Emanuel Haldeman-Julius

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House cleaning in the Socialist Party has begun. From all over the country reports come to *The New Appeal* of Socialists, as individuals and locals, showing their determination to set the Socialist Party right before our fellow citizens and our comrades abroad. And should the party officials persist in suppressing the wish of the members to repudiate the disloyal St. Louis platform, their spirit is such that a new political Socialist organization is not impossible. Some of the most prominent Socialist leaders who have remained in the Socialist Party have written us that they are with *The New Appeal* in a thoroughgoing house cleaning. We shall have interesting developments to report in our next issue.

Other Socialists believe that the arbitrary decision of the National Executive Committee refusing to submit the Chicago resolution to a referendum can be offset by securing endorsements from locals as such directly. Carl D. Thompson and other Chicago Socialists favor this method. Mr. Thompson has sent *The New Appeal* a copy of an appeal to the Socialists of America signed by 35 prominent Chicago Socialists who are still members of the party urging them to reverse the decision of the National Executive Committee by action of the locals. He asks that party members interested in aiding this work should communicate with him at 4131 North Keeler Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

The New Appeal prints this statement because we realize that the machine-controlled papers will suppress it. Whether the procedure proposed by Mr. Thompson is the best we do not know. We do believe, however, that all the party's machinery should be utilized to their fullest extent before the party is given up as hopeless. Here follows the statement in part: To the Socialists of the United States:

Comrades:-

We, the undersigned, members of the Socialist Party, declaring anew our unfaltering faith in the fundamental principles of Socialism and reaffirming our faith in, and devotion to, the great cause of International Socialism, hereby endorse with the enthusiasm of a newborn hope, the program of the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference held in London, in February of this year [1919], with reference to War Aims and Peace Terms, and the program of the British Labour Party as proposed by its subcommittee with reference to Social Reconstruction after the war. We hereby most earnestly pledge our unqualified support of the general principles set forth in these remarkable and epoch-making documents, which we regard as the last, best word of the labor and Socialist movements of the world, and the highest note yet struck for a better and nobler civilization.

Profound and Revolutionary Changes.

Profound and revolutionary changes are taking place in connection with the great world war. Whatever may have been the causes that led up to the war, whatever the aims and purposes of those who started it, an entirely new situation confronts us now. The rise of the Russian revolution and the failure of the policy of negotiation for peace at Brest-Litovsk; the vanishing of the hope of an internal revolution in Germany as evidenced by the failure of the recent general strike; the ruthless and rampant invasion and subjugation of Russian territory and the continued military aggression of the German forces in Finland and northern Russia — all this has given the war an entirely new aspect, which Socialists cannot consistently ignore.

Socialist and Labor Influences Increase.

The steadily increasing power and influence of the Socialist and Labor forces in all the Allied nations of Europe tends still further to modify the aspect of the war, weakening the power and influence of democracy and Socialism in the conduct of the war and in the fixing of its final aims and the terms of peace.

The Inter-Allied Socialist Peace Program.

Reviewing these facts, the representatives of the Socialist and Labor movements of the Allied nations, which met recently at London, adopted a program of war aims that constitutes, we believe, the most constructive, most statesmanlike, and most consistently socialistic program thus far proposed. It is a program which offers the most promising basis upon which it will be possible to secure the permanent and a democratic peace, to reconstruct the Socialist International, and to unite once more the workers of the world in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

This program of the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference is an elaborate, comprehensive document that must be studied carefully to be appreciated. But the essential features are as follows:

1. Reaffirmation of the usual Socialist peace terms, viz., no annexations, no indemnities, self-determination of nations, a league of nations to enforce peace, free trade, disarmament, etc.

2. Endorsement of the war aims and peace program of President Wilson as enunciated in his recent address.

3. Repudiation of any purpose of destroying the Central Empires or of pursuing any policy of economic aggression of any kind against them, insisting, however, upon the right of independence and self-determination of all nationalities.

4. A firm resolution to resist every effort to transform this war into a war of conquest, and to oppose to the utmost every form of imperialistic aggression, holding that of all the conditions of peace, none are so important to the people of the world as that there should be henceforth no more war.

5. An elaborate and detailed program in reference to territorial and colonial readjustments and social reconstruction after the war.

6. A carefully formulated plan for calling together of the Socialist International again; and

7. With these terms definitely and clearly set forth, the conference *"inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved"* for these principles and *"supports the continuance of the struggle that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy."*

Socialism and Democracy at Stake.

Thus the trend of events in the progress of the war, the increasing definiteness and democracy in the avowed aims of the Allied nations, the increasing participation and influence of the Socialist and Labor forces of the various nations in the conduct of the war — all these things have worked together to bring the world war into a phase in which the Socialists have a profound and interesting and an unavoidable responsibility.

Collectivism alone is not Socialism, as we conceive it. To be true Socialism, collectivism must be under democratic control. Therefore, before we can hope for the realization of the Socialist ideal, we must achieve greater democracy. Militarism threatens to deprive the people of even that measure of democracy which has been achieved in all the struggles of the people of past generations. It is our duty not only to maintain what has been achieved by our forefathers, but to extend the rule of the people. To make that possible, militarism must be crushed. In that fight, the Socialists can well afford to combine their forces with all elements that are now engaged in the struggle against militarism.

Yours for a just and permanent peace in Social Democracy,

William E. Rodriguez Stephe Bielik Dorothy Stocker A.V. Vesely Bernard McMahon Otto Christensen Peter Sissman T.J. Sprague Frank Guynn Mrs. William Dunn Edward Carlson Carl D. Thompson Samuel Levin M. Schulman F. English William E. Dunn Walter Higgins Samuel H. Holland.

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