

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST
CONGRESS AT STUTTGART,
AUGUST 18-24, 1907.

AND

MANIFESTO OF THE EXTRAORDINARY INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST CONGRESS, BASEL,
NOVEMBER 24-25, 1912.

Resolution of the International Socialist Congress
at Stuttgart, August 18-24, 1907

The Congress ratifies the resolutions against militarism and imperialism adopted by previous international congresses and declares once more that the struggle against militarism cannot be separated from the socialist class struggle in general.

Wars between capitalist states, generally, result from their competitive struggle for world markets, for each state strives not only to assure for itself the markets it already possesses, but also to conquer new ones; in this the subjugation of foreign peoples and countries comes to play a leading role. Furthermore, these wars are caused by the incessant competition in armaments that characterizes militarism, the chief instrument of bourgeois class rule and of the economic and political subjugation of the working class.

Wars are promoted by national prejudices which are systematically cultivated among civilized peoples in the interest of the ruling classes for the purpose of diverting the proletarian masses from their own class problems as well as from their duties of international class solidarity.

Hence wars are part of the very nature of capitalism; they will cease only when the capitalist economic order is abolished or when the number of sacrifices in men and money, required by the advance in military technique, and the indignation provoked by armaments drive the peoples to abolish this order.

For this reason, the working class, which provides most of the soldiers and makes most of the material sacrifices, is a natural opponent of war, for war contradicts its aim -- the creation of an economic order on a socialist basis for the purpose of bringing about the solidarity of all peoples.

The Congress therefore considers it the duty of the working class, and especially of its representatives in the parliaments, to combat with all their power naval and military armaments and to refuse the means for these armaments by pointing out the class nature of bourgeois society and the motive for maintaining national antagonisms. It is also their duty to see to it that the proletarian youth is educated in the spirit of the brotherhood of peoples and of socialism and is imbued with class consciousness.

The Congress sees in the democratic organization of the army, in the substitution of the militia for the standing army, an essential

guarantee that offensive wars will be rendered impossible and the overcoming of national antagonisms facilitated.

The International is not able to mold into rigid forms the antinilitarist actions of the working class because these actions inevitably vary with differences in national conditions, time, and place. But it is its duty to co-ordinate and strengthen to the utmost the endeavors of the working class to prevent war.

Actually, since the International Congress at Brussels, the proletariat, while struggling indefatigably against militarism by refusing all means for naval and military armaments and by endeavoring to democratize military organization, has resorted with increasing emphasis and success to the most diverse forms of action so as to prevent the outbreak of wars or to put a stop to them, as well as to utilize the disturbances of society caused by war for the emancipation of the working class.

This was evidenced by the agreement concluded after the Fashoda incident by the English and French trade unions for the maintenance of peace and for the restoration of friendly relations between England and France; by the conduct of the Social Democratic parties in the German and French parliaments during the Moroccan crisis; by the demonstrations conducted by the French and German socialists for the same purpose; by the joint action of the socialists of Austria and Italy, who met in Trieste for the purpose of thwarting a conflict between these two countries; further, by the emphatic intervention of the socialist workers of Sweden for the purpose of preventing an attack upon Norway; and, finally, by the heroic, self-sacrificing struggle of the socialist workers and peasants of Russia and Poland waged against the war unleashed by Tsarism and then for its early termination, and also for the purpose of utilizing the national crisis for the liberation of the working class.

All these endeavors are evidence of the proletariat's growing power and increasing strength to render secure the maintenance of peace by means of resolute intervention. This action of the working class will be all the more successful if its spirit is prepared by similar actions and the workers' parties of the various countries are spurred on and consolidated by the International.

The Congress is convinced that, under pressure exerted by the proletariat and by a serious use of courts of arbitration instead of the pitiful measures adopted by the governments, the benefit derived from disarmament can be assured to all nations and will

enable them to employ for cultural purposes the enormous expenditures of money and energy, which now are swallowed up by military armaments and wars.

If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working class and of its parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the consolidating activity of the International (Socialist) Bureau, to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war by means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the accentuation of the class struggle and of the general political situation.

Should war break out none the less, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and to do all in their power to utilize the economic and political crisis caused by the war to rouse the peoples and thereby to hasten the abolition of capitalist class rule.

Manifesto of the Extraordinary International
Socialist Congress, Basel
November 24-25, 1912

The International, at its congresses in Stuttgart and Copenhagen, set up the following principles to guide the Proletarians of all countries in their struggle against war:

'If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working class and of its parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the consolidating activity of the International (Socialist) Bureau, to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war by means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the accentuation of the class struggle and of the general political situation.

Should war break out none the less, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and to do all in their power to utilize the economic and political crisis caused by the war to rouse the peoples and thereby to hasten the abolition of capitalist class rule.'

Recent events have imposed upon the proletariat more than ever the duty of devoting all its forces and energy to planned and concerted action. On the one hand, the universal craze for armaments has aggravated the high cost of living, thereby intensifying class antagonisms and arousing in the working class an invincible spirit of revolt; the workers desire to put a stop to this system of panic and waste. On the other hand, the incessantly recurring menace of war is becoming more and more provocative. The great European peoples are constantly on the verge of being driven against one another; these attempts against humanity and reason cannot be justified by even the slightest pretext of serving the people's interests.

The Balkan crisis, which has already caused such horrors, would become the most terrible danger to civilization and the proletariat if it should spread further. At the same time it would be the greatest outrage in all history because of the crying disparity between the magnitude of the catastrophe and the triviality of the interests involved.

It is with satisfaction, therefore, the Congress notes that there is complete unanimity among the socialist parties and the trade unions of all countries in the war against war.

Because the proletarians of all countries have risen simultaneously in a struggle against imperialism, and because each section of the International has opposed to the government of its own country the resistance of the proletariat and has mobilized the public opinion of its nation against all bellicose desires, there has resulted a splendid co-operation among the workers of all countries which has so far contributed a great deal toward saving the threatened peace of the world. The fear of the ruling classes that a world war might be followed by a proletarian revolution has proved to be an essential guarantee of peace.

The Congress therefore calls upon the social democratic parties to continue their action by the use of all means which seem to be expedient. In this joint action it assigns a particular task to each socialist party.

The Social Democratic parties of the Balkan peninsula have a difficult task to perform. The great European powers, by systematically frustrating all reforms, have contributed to the creation of intolerable economic, national, and political conditions in

Turkey which necessarily led to revolt and war. As against the exploitation of these conditions in the interest of the dynasties and the bourgeoisie the social democratic parties of the Balkans have heroically advanced the demand for a democratic federation. The Congress calls upon them to maintain their commendable attitude; it expects that after the war the Social Democracy of the Balkans will make every effort to prevent the results of the Balkan War, achieved at the price of such terrific sacrifices, from being misused for their own purposes by dynasties, by militarism, and by the bourgeoisie of the Balkan states which is greedy for expansion. The Congress particularly urges the Balkan socialists not merely to oppose the renewal of the old hostilities between Serbs, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Greeks but also to offer resistance to every infringement of the rights of the Balkan peoples -- the Turks and the Albanians -- who are now in the opposite camp. It is the duty of the Balkan socialists therefore to fight against every disfranchisement of these peoples and to proclaim the fraternity of all Balkan peoples, including the Albanians, the Turks, and the Rumanians, against unchained national chauvinism.

It is the duty of the social democratic parties of Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina to continue with all their power their effective work for the prevention of an attack upon Serbia by the Danubian monarchy. It is their task to continue as in the past to oppose the plan of robbing Serbia by armed force of the results of the war, of transforming her into an Austrian colony, and of involving the peoples of Austria-Hungary proper and together with them all nations of Europe in the greatest dangers for the sake of dynastic interests. The Social Democratic parties of Austria-Hungary also will continue their fight in order that those elements of the South-Slavic people ruled by the House of Hapsburg may gain within the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the right of democratic self-government.

The Social Democratic parties of Austria-Hungary as well as the socialists of Italy must pay special attention to the Albanian question. The Congress recognizes the right of the Albanian people to autonomy; but it protests against making Albania a victim of Austro-Hungarian and Italian ambitions for domination under the pretext of autonomy. The Congress sees in this not merely a peril for Albania but also in the near future a menace to the peace

between Austria-Hungary and Italy. Albania can lead a truly independent life only as an autonomous member of a democratic federation. The Congress therefore urges the social democrats of Austria-Hungary and Italy to combat every attempt of their governments to draw Albania within their spheres of influence, and to continue their efforts to strengthen the peaceful relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy.

It is with great joy that the Congress greets the Russian workers' strikes of protest as a guarantee that the proletariat of Russia and of Poland is beginning to recover from the blows dealt it by the Tsarist counter-revolution. The Congress sees in this the strongest guarantee against the criminal intrigues of Tsarism, which, after drowning in blood the peoples of its own country and after many times betraying the Balkan peoples themselves and delivering them to their enemies, now vacillates between fear of the pressure of the nationalist movement which it itself has created and fear that the results of the war might not be favourable for it. However, if Tsarism should try again to act as the liberator of the Balkan nations, it will do so under this hypocritical pretext only to reconquer its hegemony in the Balkans by a bloody war. The Congress expects that the Russian, Finnish, and Polish urban and rural proletariat, whose strength is increasing, will destroy this web of lies, will offer resistance to all bellicose adventures of Tsarism, will combat every design of Tsarism whether upon Armenia or upon Constantinople, and will concentrate its whole force upon the resumption of the revolutionary struggle for liberation from Tsarism. For Tsarism is the hope of all the reactionary powers of Europe and the bitterest foe of the democracy of the peoples whom it dominates; to bring about the destruction of Tsarism must, therefore, be viewed by the entire International as one of its foremost tasks.

But the most important task in the International's activities devolves upon the working class of Germany, France, and England. At this moment, it is the task of the workers of these countries to demand that their respective governments withhold all support to both Austria-Hungary and Russia, that they abstain from any intervention in the Balkan troubles and maintain absolute neutrality. A war between the three great leading civilized peoples because of the Serbo-Austrian dispute over a port would be criminal madness.

The workers of Germany and France cannot concede that any obligation whatever to intervene in the Balkan conflict exists because of secret treaties.

But should the military collapse of Turkey, on further development, lead to the downfall of the Ottoman rule in Asia Minor, then it would be the task of the socialists of England, France, and Germany to oppose with all their might the policy of conquest in Asia Minor, a policy which would inevitably lead directly to a world war. The Congress considers the greatest danger to European peace to be the artificially cultivated antagonism between Great Britain and the German Empire. The Congress therefore greets the efforts of the working class of each country to bridge this antagonism. It believes that the best means to this end is to conclude an agreement between Germany and England on the limitation of naval armaments and the abolition of the right of capture at sea. The Congress urges the socialists of England and Germany to continue their agitation for such an agreement.

The overcoming of the antagonism between Germany on the one hand and France and England on the other would eliminate the greatest menace to universal peace, undermine the powerful position of Tsarism which exploits this antagonism, render an attack of Austria-Hungary upon Serbia impossible, and assure peace to the world. All the endeavors of the International, therefore, are to be directed primarily toward this goal.

The Congress notes that the entire Socialist International is at one on these principles of foreign policy. It invites the workers of all countries to oppose the power of the international solidarity of the proletariat to capitalist imperialism. It warns the ruling classes of all states not to increase by bellicose actions the misery of the masses which has been caused by the capitalist method of production. It emphatically demands peace. Let the governments be mindful of the fact that, with European conditions and the attitude of the working class as they are, they cannot let loose a war without causing danger to themselves. Let them recall that the Franco-German War was followed by the revolutionary outbreak of the Commune, that the Russo-Japanese War set in motion the revolutionary forces of the peoples in the Russian Empire, and that competitive military and naval armaments have accentuated in an unprecedented fashion the class antagonisms in England and on

the continent and have unchained vast strikes. It would be sheer madness for the governments not to realize that the very thought of the monstrosity of a world war would inevitably call forth the indignation and the revolt of the working class. The proletarians consider it a crime to fire at each other for the benefit of the capitalist profits, the ambitions of dynasties, or the greater glory of secret diplomatic treaties.

If the government authorities cut off all possibility of normal progress and thereby drive the proletariat to desperate moves, they themselves must bear the entire responsibility for the consequences of the crisis which they themselves have brought about.

The International will double its efforts in order to prevent this crisis; it will raise its protest with increasing emphasis and make its propaganda more energetic and comprehensive. The Congress therefore commissions the International Socialist Bureau to follow events with increased attentiveness, and, regardless of what may happen, to maintain and strengthen the contacts between the proletarian parties.

The proletariat is aware of the fact that at this moment it is the bearer of the entire future of mankind. The proletariat will make use of all its forces to prevent the destruction of the flower of all peoples, threatened with all the horrors of mass murder, starvation, and pestilence.

The Congress therefore appeals to you, proletarians and socialists of all countries, to make your voices heard in this decisive hour! Proclaim your will in every form and in all localities; protest in the parliaments with all your force; unite in large mass demonstrations; make use of all the means which the organization and the strength of the proletariat place at your disposal! See to it that the governments are constantly kept aware of the proletariat's vigilant and passionate will for peace! Oppose the capitalist world of exploitation and mass murder with the proletarian world of peace and brotherhood of the peoples!
