# THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR AIMS: REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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The French Socialist Party and War Aims: Replies to the Questionnaire by Anonymous

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# **ANONYMOUS**

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Replies to the Questionnaire

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# THE "QUESTIONNAIRE,"

- Conditions of peace.
- A. General bases of peace; the right of nations to dispose of themselves; self-government of nationalities; annexations; war indemnities; restitution.
  - B. Application of principles to concrete cases:
    - Belgium; Serbia; other Balkan countries; Poland; Finland; Alsace-Lorraine; North Schleswig; Armenia;
    - (2) Lithuania; the Ukraine; the Czechs; the Jews;
    - (3) Colonies.
  - Fundamental principles of international relations.
- A. International law; international order; international arbitration tribunals; league to enforce peace; penalties; coercive measures;
  - B. Disarmament and the freedom of the seas;
- C. Means of satisfying the demands for justifiable economic expansion without territorial expansion. (The internationalisation of international lines of transport, straits, canals, chief railways, etc.)
  - D. Abolition of secret diplomacy.

3.—Means of realising these aims in practice:

A. How far should these questions be discussed at peace negotiations?

B. Should commissions of enquiry be appointed to suggest solutions of certain questions?

 The part to be played by the Internationale and Democracy.

 A. Co-operation of neutrals in the promotion of peace.

B. Direct collaboration of Parliaments.

C. Collaboration of the Socialist parties.

D. Steps to be taken by the Internationale to exercise a continuous influence during early negotiations and during the sittings of official conferences entrusted with the discussion of peace terms.

5.—General Socialist Conference.

Are we prepared to take part in a general conference-

- (1) Without making conditions?
- (2) If not, on what conditions?
- (a) Statement of the attitude of the Socialist parties during the war; the question of responsibility;
  - (b). Majorities and minorities.

# THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR AIMS

## GENERAL REMARKS.

Any question relating to peace conditions assumes significance only when we have first decided in what spirit we seek to answer it.

If we make it our aim to set forth what in our view is the best geographical policy and the best international system possible in the present capitalist world, we shall have a basis for discussion, and there will be no differences of opinion except as regards secondary matters, which need not give rise to division among Socialists.

But if, on the other hand, we desire to assume a peace based on compromise, and to decide what lessening of our hopes we should or should not agree to, then the answers would be very various, and it would be difficult to come to an understanding. To reach

an agreement, it would first of all be necessary to state precisely the military, economic and financial position of the belligerents at the time of the peace pourparlers, and the answers would naturally differ according to the assumptions made. All discussion is useless so long as there is no well-defined situation to consider.

So we shall concern ourselves here only with the best possible kind of peace; that peace which the French Socialist Party has from the first always declared for. The unselfish intervention of the United States and the Russian Revolution allow us to count upon a realisation more perfect than we formerly dared to hope for of a really durable and just peace. So the Party has good reason to will more firmly than ever the peace which it has already adumbrated.

## 1.—Conditions of Peace.

# (a) Territorial Delimitations.

The basic principle is, that nations have the right to dispose of their destinies. This right leads them in some cases to demand their independence—that is, to desire to form a separate and sovereign state; in others, to demand self-government inside a state of which they are only a part. The federal state is a compromise.

Self-government and federation were the solutions envisaged by all oppressed European nations before the war, because the more thorough solution—the creation of a separate state—could not be hoped for. The war, by opening up all kinds of possibilities, has allowed them to formulate their wishes more candidly. Some of them desire independence; others would be satisfied with self-government. We do not know of any which ask for a federation of national states.